

Combined with "The New York Communist"

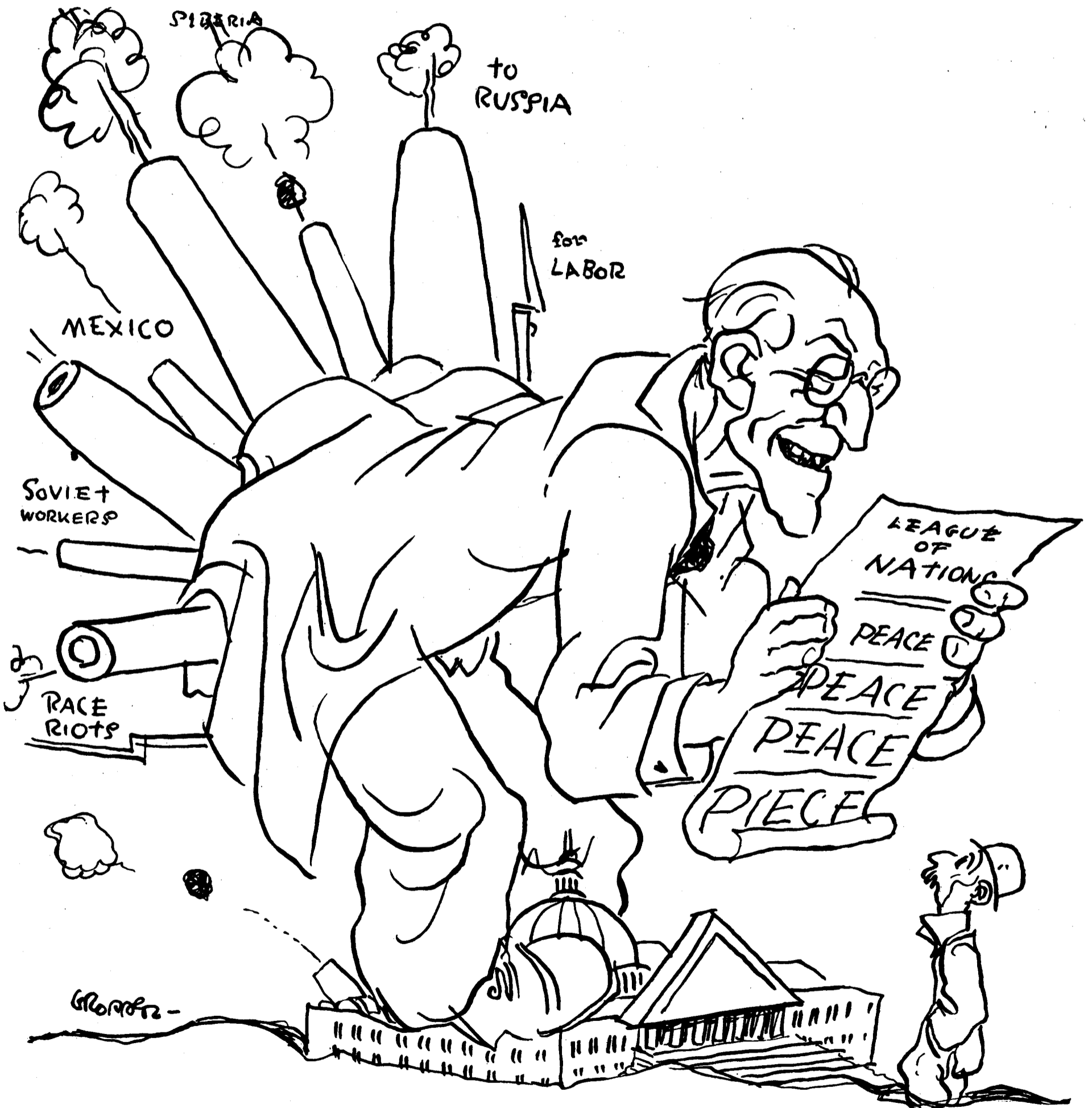
The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

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The Peace That Passeth Understanding

The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

National Organ of the Left Wing Section
Socialist Party

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WE are pleased to be able to inform our readers that John Reed, has joined the staff of *The Revolutionary Age* and will now contribute regularly. It is planned to have Reed cover some of the big happenings that are taking place in the labor and Socialist world so that our readers may have a first hand interpretation of these events and their relation to and effect upon the revolutionary movement as a whole.

The Internal Struggle

WE regret that we are forced to devote so much space in this issue to matters dealing with the internal affairs of the Left Wing. It has always been the policy of this paper to devote most of its attention to the broader aspect of the revolutionary movement. We are, however, going through a crisis in America just now. The revolutionary Socialist movement of this country is beginning to take a definite form. Within a few weeks it will emerge as the Communist Party of America. It is the duty of all revolutionary Socialists to see that this new Party is launched on such a basis as will ensure its steady growth, its unwavering adherence to the principles and ideals out of which it is born, its power among the masses of the proletariat in America and its ultimate success.

Much of what is transpiring may seem to some to be unimportant and in the nature of a petty squabble rather than one of those essential struggles without which no movement can be initiated. On the principles upon which the new party must be formed there is no dispute, on the nature of its organization and the initial tactics it must pursue there have arisen grave differences. These differences must be fought out and eliminated so that the Communist Party of America may be launched as the unified expression of the revolutionary Socialist forces in this country.

It is for these reasons that we may have to devote much space in the next few issues to this internal struggle.

The Race Riots

THE race riots which have broken out in Washington and Chicago are distinguished from the usual clashes between whites and Negroes by the fact that in both these cities the latter have offered an attempt at organized resistance and in several instances have taken the initiative. The history of the black race

in this country is a story of cowed submission to brutal tyranny. In few instances have the black men struck back.

That they should strike back now is the occasion for much surprise and not a little indignation on the part of the bourgeois press and the "best people." The statesmen in the nation's capital, where the first outbreaks occurred, share the common feelings. Race riots are actually taking place within the sacred precincts of the national legislature, the Negroes are fighting back, if they didn't fight back a one night's lynching party would have settled the whole affair, therefore the Negroes are obviously to blame and they must be punished! Several Congressmen immediately call for the establishment of the Jim Crow system in the national capital.

The Jim Crow system, on the doorsteps of the national legislature where the world's charter of democracy and liberty is at the moment under debate! The Jim Crow system as America's first contribution to the "new freedom!" The Jim Crow system as the laurel wreath for the brows of America's "black heroes" of the late war! The Jim Crow system, the expression of the ideology which causes race riots, as the cure for race riots!

The Washington riots have spread to Chicago and within a few days the list of dead has mounted to nearly fifty, while the list of wounded runs into hundreds. The causes of the riots as given by the newspapers vary somewhat, but the most general is the assault of white women by Negroes. It is stated that within a short period six white women have been assaulted by Negroes in Washington and that this was the direct cause of the trouble. It is not stated, however, by what process of reasoning a whole race is marked down for slaughter because of the color of a degenerate's skin.

As a matter of fact, this is like the boy's cry of "Wolf," it has been used too often to inspire any belief in its truth. The weight of evidence is all on the other side. It is the Negro who has cause for complaint. Only a few days ago an old Negro, over 72 years of age, was lynched for the "crime" of killing a white man in defense of his daughter, while it is generally admitted that all over the South the whites violate Negroes practically at will.

In Chicago, a reason leaks out which is much nearer the mark. It is stated that the big employers have been using the Negro to cut wages, and on several occasions it is reported that the Negroes have been attacked while leaving the factories and shops.

The influx of the Negro into the Northern industrial field has already resulted in several racial clashes, the most notable of which was the East St. Louis riots. But in East St. Louis the blacks did not strike back and the casualties were all on one side. It is, however, useless to blame the white worker for these tragedies. He is not yet able to see below the surface. He feels that he is being injured, he sees the Negro working for less wages than a white man, and he attributes his troubles to the Negro. The color line has become part of the national ideology, the craft unions, obsessed with that ideology, have in the majority of cases refused to recognize the Negroes with the result that the black race has been forced to take employment where it can or starve to death, and the industrial barons have used the influx of Negroes, as they have used the various waves of immigration in the past, against the organized workers.

The workers, whether they are black, white or yellow, have the same interests. The Negro worker has come into industry to stay and

unless both black and white worker recognize their common interests, not only are race riots bound to become more frequent, but each race must inevitably bind the chains of wage slavery tighter round both.

The Left Wing Conference

THIS issue contains the first instalment of verbatim report of the National Left Wing Conference. Right from the opening of the Conference there was discussion of the question of immediate formation of a new party. The preliminary report of Comrade Batt, as Secretary of the Ways and Means Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan, at once projected this question.

In view of the developments since June 21st it is important to note that the discussion of a Communist Party, which produced a split in the Conference, was in the first instance an issue of *new party at New York by action of the delegates to the Left Wing Conference*. These delegates had not yet agreed on the first principle of Communism. Conspicuously the Michigan delegates, who first projected the proposition of immediate new party, insisted at all times that they did not agree with the platform of the Left Wing. The most ardent advocate of immediate new party, Comrade Zucker of New York, during and since the Conference, has spoken only in scorn of the Left Wing platform. Of the minority group of the Conference, only the Federation delegates were in entire accord with the fundamental principles of Communism as elaborated in the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.

Comrade Batt makes it very plain that Michigan is the only State where there are any real "reds" worthy of taking the befuddled American party situation in charge. Those who have been taught the truths of Bolshevism by the historical developments of the past two years are not to be taken seriously. Michigan has had a *non-reformistic platform since 1914*, therefore Michigan alone is worthy of leadership. There is much merit in a non-reformistic platform, but that does not by any means make of the Michigan group adherents of Bolshevism. And so this group was unceremoniously told by the real Bolsheviks who agreed with them only on the point of the Communist Party, but who made the Michiganites swallow whole the Left Wing platform adopted by the Conference.

Consider the character of the Michigan proposal: We have laid down the platform and the program of action. You have had no chance to discuss anything at all. But, we tell you in advance, we are here to take you in complete charge, and if you dare go your own way in any respect, be assured Michigan will go right ahead to form a new party all alone. Anyone reading Comrade Batt's speech made before there had been a word of discussion in the Conference, will realize that this little group from Michigan would have been shunted out of the Conference in a minority all of their own, if not for the single fact of new party involved in the Michigan proposal. *It was only on the basis of the Conference platform of Communism that this proposal actually became a plan for a Communist Party.*

For the rest, the preliminary reports showed absolutely no membership mandate for immediate formation of a new party. That was true of New York and of the Federations, whence came the other champions of immediate formation of a new party by the New York Conference. In fact, the representative of the Russian-speaking Federations, Comrade Stoklitsky, made no mention of a new party

The New N. E. C. Meets

By Louis C. Fraina

Report of the Meeting of the National Executive Committee, Socialist Party—Chicago, July 26-27.

THE newly-elected National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party—meeting in spite of the sabotage of the party bureaucracy—has fulfilled the revolutionary expectations of the members who placed it in power.

The new N. E. C. has declared that the Socialist Party must become *the Communist Party of the United States*. It re-instates all expelled or suspended comrades.

The new N. E. C. urges the party membership to elect *Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Convention* at Chicago, August 30.

The new N. E. C. requests the co-operation of the National Council of the Left Wing Section Socialist Party, and its official organ, *The Revolutionary Age*.

These acts are historic. They assure the formation of the Communist Party of the United States. . . . *All decisions were unanimous.*

The N. E. C. met Saturday morning at the Bradley Hall, Chicago. Present: from District One—Louis C. Fraina and Edward I. Lindgren; from District Two—Fred Harwood, Marguerite Prevey, C. E. Ruthenberg; from District Three—William Bross, Lloyd; from District Four—none; from District Five—L. E. Katterfeld and H. M. Wicks. Eight members were present, constituting a majority and a quorum of the whole committee.

Comrade Katterfeld called the meeting to order. Chairman: Katterfeld; Secretary, A. Wagenknecht.

Harwood and Katterfeld were elected a committee to tabulate the vote on the elections. They reported that the eight members present were duly elected with a vote so large as to dispose of the lying charge of fraud, as were: District One—Nicholas I. Hourwich; District Three—Dennis E. Batt and John Keracher; District Four—Dan Hogan, Mary R. Millis and Pat Nagel; District Five—Kate Greenhalgh. The committee further reported that Louis C. Fraina, John Reed, C. E. Ruthenberg and A. Wagenknecht were elected overwhelmingly as International Delegates and Kate Richards O'Hare as International Secretary.

A committee was elected to demand of Executive Secretary Adolph Germer to turn over the National Headquarters to the new N. E. C. and appear at its sessions. This demand was presented in writing to Germer, who refused.

At the afternoon session, the following motion was adopted: "That we declare the office of National Executive Secretary vacant, inasmuch as the present incumbent violates his functions by refusing to tabulate the vote on referendums expressing the will of the membership, and refuses to recognize the regularly elected N. E. C." A. Wagenknecht was elected to act as temporary secretary until the convention of August 30.

Motion: "that the Massachusetts and Michigan state organizations be re-instated in the Party, and that the suspension of the Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Hungarian, Lettish and Ukrainian Socialist Federations be revoked.

This means that these expelled Left Wing organizations can elect regular delegates to the Emergency Convention; where this is impossible, suspended and expelled comrades must organize Left Wing organizations independent of the party and elect contesting delegates.

The N. E. C. condemned the expulsions and suspensions perpetrated by state and local organizations, and demanded re-instatement. It calls upon members to purchase convention assessment stamps; money from this source not to be sent to the old N. E. C., but held by the State Secretaries and given to the convention delegates.

Plans were made to raise money to defray extra cost of delegates; all members are urged to contribute, and the Yipsels are asked to cooperate.

The new N. E. C. decided to assume full

control of the Emergency Convention. A committee of three consisting of Ruthenberg, Harwood and Fraina, was elected to draft a declaration of the issues before the convention. The declaration, unanimously adopted, declared that the issues were not comprised in party democracy against party autocracy, but of revolutionary proletarian Socialism against moderate petty bourgeois Socialism, and affirmed: "*Out of the Emergency Convention must come the Communist Party of the United States.*" (This declaration was incorporated in a final declaration—published in full elsewhere in this issue.)

State secretaries on motion, were urged not to purchase dues stamps, unless absolutely necessary, in which event they can purchase regular party stamps from Temporary Secretary Wagenknecht. (This does not include expelled and suspended organizations, which will buy stamps from the National Council of the Left Wing.)

Several motions were passed to prevent the old N. E. C. from retaining control of party property.

Motion: "That we recognize the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, organized at the National Left Wing Conference, June 21-24, and its official organ, *The Revolutionary Age*, as an organized expression of the revolutionary sentiments of the party, and that we request their co-operation." Unanimously adopted.

A committee of three, consisting of Katterfeld, Fraina and Wicks, was elected to draft a final declaration to the party. The declaration after slight amendments, was unanimously adopted. (Printed below.)

After discussion of organization problems, a committee of three, consisting of Katterfeld, Wagenknecht and Harwood, was elected to bring in an organization report to the next session of the N. E. C., August 28, in Chicago.

The final act of the N. E. C. was to express its confidence in the revolutionary spirit of the membership, which would align the party with the new International.

N. E. C. Declaration to the Party

THIS meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party occurs under extraordinary circumstances. Elected by the votes of the membership—overwhelmingly—it is compelled to meet without the co-operation of the old party administration.

The old N. E. C., overwhelmingly repudiated on referendum, usurped power and attempted to prevent the new N. E. C. from functioning. This usurpatory action, together with the expulsion and suspension of more than 35,000 revolutionary comrades from the party, is a desperate move to retain control of the party for moderate, counter-revolutionary Socialism.

The old N. E. C. is dead; it throttled the

Comrade Hiltzik, who spoke for the Jewish Federation (Left Wing), was afterwards repudiated by his Executive Committee on the point of separating himself from the Conference majority, though approved for his stand on the principle of a Communist Party.

The later discussions will show the crystallization of sentiment for a new Communist Party to be launched September first, at Chicago, with delegates so instructed by membership groups from all over the country.

Issued by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

—An American Communist Party Urged.

will of the revolutionary masses in the party; you comrades, must act; we meet simply to provide you the opportunity to act and assert your supremacy.

At this moment of crisis—of crisis in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism—action is imperative. Action is imperative against Capitalism and against moderate Socialism in the party.

Your N. E. C., accordingly, acting under mandate of the party membership, convened in session at Chicago, July 26-27.

It met to rally our revolutionary forces for the struggle against Capitalism.

It met to rally the party members for the definite assertion of Communist Socialism in the American movement.

It met as a revolutionary N. E. C. expressing the revolutionary sentiments in the party.

Your N. E. C., by unanimous decision of the members in session decided:

1.—To oust National Executive Secretary

Germer, who refuses to recognize your N. E. C. as the organ of the party.

2.—To re-instate the expelled State organizations of Michigan and Massachusetts, and the suspended Language Federation restoring to the party, with all rights, more than 35,000 comrades.

3.—To re-organize the Socialist Party as a Communist Party, in harmony with our affiliation with the Communist International.

4.—To call upon the members, regardless of the party-wrecking old N. E. C., to rally to the support of the class war prisoners.

5.—To consider seriously and comprehensively problems of organization shamefully neglected by the old party administrations.

6.—To request the co-operation of the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party (and its official organ, "*The Revolutionary Age*") as an organized expression of the revolutionary sentiments of the party.

7.—To assume full control of the Emergency National Convention on August 30, the old N. E. C. and its executive secretaries leaving no authority to organize or postpone this Convention. We will shortly inform you of the place

(Continued on next page.)

(Continued from page 3)
where the Convention will meet, together with the roster of delegates. Our temporary executive secretary will call the convention to order.

* * *

The purpose of the old N. E. C. is to retain control for moderate petty bourgeois Socialism as against the proletarian Socialism of the Left Wing. It sabotaged the election; it expelled and suspended more than 35,000 members (and threatens to expel more) in order to control the Convention. This must be prevented; and your N. E. C., accordingly, assumes full control of this Convention—the most important in the party's history—in order that it shall actually become an expression of the revolutionary Socialism in the party. No postponement of the Convention by the old N. E. C. must be recognized by the party; no pleas of lack of money must be accepted; your N. E. C. assumes full financial responsibility. At this moment of crisis in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism, to abandon the Convention is treason to the revolutionary proletariat.

On the issues of the Convention, your N. E. C. adopts the following declaration:

The movement which culminated in the calling of the Emergency National Convention of August 30, did not have its origin in a contest over administrative actions of the party executive committee; its origin was a demand by large sections of the party membership for a re-formulation of the party tactics and a restatement of its principles in harmony with the revolutionary Socialist practice of the Bolsheviks of Russia.

Local after local, in resolutions and demonstrations urged the National Executive Committee to call a convention, great masses of the membership declared their adherence to the new revolutionary principles, but the National Executive Committee, the representative of moderate Socialism—the Socialism of Scheidemann and Kerensky—acting as self-appointed guardians of the party, refused to accede to the demand of the membership for a convention.

It was only after the membership itself had taken the matter out of the hands of the National Executive Committee and had endorsed the convention by an overwhelming vote, that the convention was finally called.

In their effort to maintain their rule of the party the moderate Socialists of the National Executive Committee did not hesitate to disrupt the organization. Members have been expelled and suspended wholesale in order to influence the vote of the referendum election, and to give the old National Executive Committee and moderate Socialism control of the convention and the party. These reactionary and treacherous acts have injected into the present party situation a bitter struggle for control of the party organization and the danger exists that this factional struggle over democracy against autocracy within the organization may overshadow the original purpose of the call for a national convention—to re-organize the Socialist Party of the U. S. on the basis of the Communist Socialism which is sweeping through the ranks of the Proletarian movement of the world and everywhere bringing new inspiration and courage to the workers in their struggle for emancipation. The old National Executive Committee consciously inspired this process by attempting to refer to the convention the controversial questions over administrative actions, which its disruptive

Recognizing this danger we call upon the membership to elect representatives to the Emergency National Convention, not merely on the basis of settling questions arisen out of the reactionary administrative action of the old National Executive Committee—the issue is not party democracy as against party autocracy, but Revolutionary Socialism against Moderate Socialism—but on the basis of reorganizing the party for the achievement of Communist Socialism.

The action of the membership in this question has already been indicated in the overwhelming and all but unanimous endorsement by referendum vote of affiliation with the Communist International, side by side with the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Russia and the Communist Labor Party (Spartacans) of Germany and other Communist parties of Europe. The work of the Emergency National Convention of August 30, will be to re-organize the Socialist Party on the basis of the Communist Socialist principles and tactics outlined in the declaration of the Communist International. *Out of the Emergency National Convention came the Communist Party of the United States.*

"To carry out this purpose we adopt the following program:

I.—We re-affirm the call for the Emergency National Convention to be held on August 30, in Chicago, and call upon all party units to send delegates irrespective of any action which the usurping members of the former National Executive Committee may take.

II. The convention will be held under the direction of this committee and the Executive Secretary elected by it will make up the roster of delegates and will call the convention to order.

III.—We call upon all sections of the party expelled or suspended by the reactionary Executive Committee and re-instated by this committee, to send delegates as provided in the rules of party procedure.

IV.—We call upon all party units expelled by state or local organizations to take such actions, in accordance with their local rules, as will insure them representation.

The Left Wing is simply the assertion of revolutionary Socialism in our party. It is a legitimate movement expressing the mass revolutionary sentiment of the party—legitimately organized to awaken the members to the necessity of Communist Socialism.

The party has, in referendum, (also suppressed by the old N. E. C.) overwhelmingly accepted affiliation with the Communist International.

This acceptance of the Bolshevik-Spartacan Communist International imposes the obligation for transforming the principles and tactics of the Socialist Party in accord with the Communist International—to build the Communist Party of the United States, the constituent elements of which are the revolutionary masses in our party.

You cannot, comrades, brook any compromise on this issue. You must act, and act uncompromisingly as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Communist Party in every nation is rallying the revolutionary proletariat against Capitalism and Imperialism. Harkening to the inspiration of the Communists of the First International and of the Paris Commune, and answering the call of the Communists of Russia, Hungary and Germany, the Communist Party calls the proletariat to the final struggle.

Comrades, history calls to you! We must challenge Capitalism; we must rally the proletariat for the Communist struggle, in accord with our own conditions.

The Socialist Party is hampered in its activity. But August 30, in the Chicago Convention, will mark the end of the Left Wing controversy. Revolutionary Socialism will control. You will crush the moderates. You will act! You will transform our party into a Communist Party, to express the mass struggle of the proletariat.

Then—action! Then—the revolutionary struggle!

We must go to the proletariat. We must build our movement anew. We must get the masses in our party—and answer the Communist call for action.

There are 30,000,000 American wage-workers—the force of potential revolution. Our chief task is to awaken and organize these proletarian masses, wage the working class struggle.

It is our determination—as it is yours, comrades—to act on problems of organization. We shall, as conditions allow, develop and unify our means of action; we shall systematically develop our press under party ownership, establish a party-owned publishing house, a party school for agitators, and a comprehensive lecture bureau. We shall develop the necessary technique to get your call for revolutionary action to the masses of the American proletariat.

The final struggle is coming. Our deeds in the days to come shall make proletarian history. Comrades—prepare!

Here and There

WE, of the Left Wing, have had some experience with a group in New York who issued a paper called *The Socialist*. We now find the first number of a paper called *The Communist*, issued by a group in Chicago. As far as we are able to discover the only Socialism in *The Socialist* was that contained in the title. Knowing the difficulty of getting out a new paper we don't want to be harsh in our criticism but we must candidly admit that the only Communism we can find in *The Communist* is also contained in the name. Apparently our *Communist* friends are laboring under the same delusion as *The Socialist* group: That if you call yourself by a name often enough you really take on the character that the name implies.

On the first page of *The Communist* we learn that it is the official paper of the "Communist Party of America" while immediately underneath this interesting information we find a "Call for a National Convention for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party of America." Of course we are always willing to learn but we frankly admit that we are unable to see how a publication can be the official paper of something that is not yet organized. On page five we learn from Alexander Stoklitsky that the National Left Wing Convention majority is made up of wavering centrist elements which constitute a "fetid swamp." On learning this astounding fact we immediately reverted to the first page Convention call to see wherein this real Communist-Bolshevik group differed from us only to find to our astonishment that the call is lifted bodily from the Manifesto and Program of the "fetid swamp." As we said before we are always willing to learn but so far no one has told us how a Communist Party can be formed on a centrist program. We always thought there was some sort of relation between a party and the program upon which it is founded.

* * *

The bourgeois press is jubilant over the "failure" of the General Strike in Italy, France and England. So far as we can ascertain the failure lay chiefly with the "leaders"—such "failures" have an awkward way of spelling success for the proletariat.

* * *

We see by the papers that the English House of Commons approves the Peace Treaty—now it only requires Congress to do likewise and then everybody will know that it is an iniquitous document.

* * *

Puzzle: What connection is there between the "rights of small nations" and Italy taking the cables from Austria?

* * *

The *New York Times* sees in the race riots, the results of Bolshevik and pro-German propaganda among the negroes. Would it not be nearer the mark to say that the riots are the result of the Americanism of the *New York Times* brand.

Now—do not relax your agitation. Do not allow the old N. E. C. to hamper your struggle for our class war prisoners—concentrate on this issue locally. Integrate your organization. *Elect Left Wing delegates to the Emergency convention* to express your revolutionary ideals.

You shall conquer!

Act, comrades—against Capitalism and reactionary Socialism.

Greetings to the revolutionary masses in our party! Long live the Communist International!

What of Amnesty?

WHAT can I say in answer to your cry? Were I to say "I care terribly as to the

fate of our bravest and best beloved Comrade—our 'Gene,'" would you believe if, in the very same breath, I added "but I must put all my energies into the organization of the Communist Party and into the industrial organization of the working class?" Would you not think that, perhaps, like the Pharisees of old, I was offering merely lip-service? That I do not really care what becomes of him who has devoted his long life to the workers that they might set themselves free, and is now imprisoned for their sake? Nevertheless, it is true that I care terribly, even though I am not giving any of my time and energy to the pulling of wires, seeing "people of influence," working up amnesty sentiment among the "liberal elements," or drawing up, and getting signed, petitions to the President.

May I hope, dear Comrade and friend, that you will nevertheless believe that I am convinced I am doing more toward the freeing of our "Gene" than those who work by the means above enumerated? Years ago, I left all the "charitable and philanthropic" work I was then intensely engaged in, and joined the Socialist Party, to which I gave all my devotion and service. This did not mean that I was less a lover of my kind or less charitable (though it seemed so to the superficians). It only signified that I had found a more fundamental means of "helping" the poor. Instead of working through surface reforms, I began to hammer at the root of the evils my "charities" never touched.

I believe that today I am taking the same fundamental attitude toward the question of the release of our class-war prisoners. Let who will putter with "Amnesty" conventions, petitions, sympathy of liberal-bourgeois reformers, it is my business to go to the root of power—the working masses—the proletarian ranks—with whom, and with whom alone, power lies.

I wish that, somehow, you could be saved from the bitterness with which misunderstanding of the great issues involved in the party divisions threaten you. If you had clear understanding of these issues, you could not believe that petty quarrels, senseless quarrels within the party, are preventing the early release of "Gene" and all our class-war prisoners. A vital difference in tactics is not a petty senseless thing. Tactics! I know with what a scornful curl of the lip the word is echoed by some. Yes, tactics, we say. Can there be unity and harmony between those who, for example, approach the social question, some from the point of view and theory of the charity-worker, others from the viewpoint and conviction of the social revolutionists? Only a question of tactics, isn't it? Yet the two elements cannot conceivably work together.

Either the one is right, or the other. They cannot both be right, and the wrong, if pursued lead, to futility or disaster.

We of the Left Wing, have no faith—not the slightest scrap of it—in the many-sided game of appealing to the logical enemies of the worker. Be they called liberal, radical, or anything else under the sun, we know that no power lies in that direction; and not only no power, but worse than that: *betrayal*—for every real or apparent "favor" granted! There is only one power that can safely release our prisoners; that is the power of a conscious proletariat.

A Letter from a Left-Winger to a Left-Over.

The "ranting reds," as some of our mistaken comrades have joined the bourgeoisie in naming us (the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party soon to be the Communist Party) are convinced that the most effective work they can do for the successful release of our comrades is to agitate like mad for the industrial organization of the workers and give the workers a consciousness of their own power. The organization of a Communist Party will do more to force the capitalist government into a new attitude toward our prisoners than would a dozen "Amnesty" Conventions. There are a few comrades who believe that the way to help is by "getting together" with the "best elements" among the bourgeois-liberals, and petitioning the president etc., etc.

We have no illusions on this score. We know that power lies with a conscious, unified working class; we are letting no grass grow under our feet before setting to work to instill that consciousness and aid that unity. We want the prison doors open, and we are convinced, this is the only way, it can be done. If I were to be asked to enter the prison gates tomorrow, I would be selfishly glad, as well as glad for all the imprisoned workers, *that outside, was a new Communist Party and a gathering industrial unity in the country*—the only power in these United States that can ultimately get and keep us out of prison.

If all who were busy flirting with the A. F. of L. officialdom and with the bourgeois-liberal elements had instead busied themselves making inroads upon the consciousness of the rank and file, the Convention in Atlantic City might have demanded the release of all political and class-war prisoners. *That* would have some significance. Let the industrial unions grow strong enough, and the Communist Party formidable enough and the working class will command the opening of all the prisons—a command that none will dare disobey. We shall not go begging on bended knee—kowtowing to the enemies of labor, for justice to our own class—justice to *their* enemies. No compromise with them is possible. We must stand alone—a working class depending on its power—a power that is gathering to the point of invincibility. Until then, we must be willing to suffer imprisonment, death, if need be. I am sure that 'Gene,' himself, the clearest of class conscious rebels, would agree to every word here uttered.

I know some of the arguments offered in favor of coalition for amnesty at this particular time, but no immediate advantage is worth the confusion that would result to the workers. We, in effect, become traitors to the working class if—for whatever laudable purpose—we gloss over or ignore irreconcilable class antagonisms—make the workers feel that their economic enemies are their political friends. Not that way lies power. That way lies only confusion. Confusion!—the one thing in the worker's consciousness that causes him to allow exploitation and delays the day of eman-

ipation and self-rule! Our purpose, as revolutionary Socialists is to make a class conscious proletariat and build working class solidarity. Thus, by coalition with the bourgeoisie—for amnesty or any other political purpose—and the resultant confusion to the workers, *we defeat the very purpose for which we suffer imprisonment gladly.* Would it not, therefore, be the strangest of contradictions for revolutionary Socialists to take part in such a convention as the official Socialist Party had proposed? Imagine: here we have worked for years and bitter years, to build up the class solidarity that would set the workers free. As the struggle becomes more clearly defined, the inevitable happens: many of us are thrown into prison. Then we rush into an "Amnesty" convention, taking into our arms and falling on the necks of the historic foes of the workers—and smash goes a good bit of the structure we have so painfully reared!

All honor to the comrades who are of the Left Wing, who refuse to lend themselves to such a policy of betrayal. With their attitude I am in full accord. I might myself have been confused on this issue, but for the fact that my own wandering (in 1917), blindly and in confusion, has given me clearer sight. Knowing where I was weak, I now prefer a longer term of prison for myself, rather than to expose the weakness of my own fellow workers to the same banal influences that confused and blinded me for a while.

I see no other way. There is no royal road to emancipation. We shall beg of none of our enemies, in the Government or out. I will agree with you that there are many sincere people, not of the workers, who are "friendly," but we are not concerned with individuals. We must work on the clear line of the class struggle. We must build our proletarian ranks conscious, determined, numerous as the "sands of the sea." They shall be invincible. Upon them we rely for their freedom and our own. If there is no help in them, there is no help anywhere. While the class conflict lasts (and that must continue, with increasing intensity until the proletarian revolution is an accomplished fact), we may not hope for freedom. Released from jail one day by the "friendly" enemy, we shall surely be clapped into jail again the next—*unless we desert the struggle!* No, there is no hope for help anywhere, except in the workers. The worker, conscious, unified, determined, is to be our deliverer. And him we have yet to create! Can you wonder then, that I believe in going to the task without any more delay? I want 'Gene' out of jail—I want everyone of my comrades out of jail, when I am in jail, I shall want myself out at the earliest possible moment, and I want the workers out of the jail of their slavery. That is why I am with the Left Wing, and shall be with the Communist Party.

'Gene' with his clear vision, sees this. That is why he too is of the Left. It is naturally harder for some of us to keep our vision clear, because our eyes are blinded with tears. We suffer too intensely for him, to think or see clearly *with* him. Without true vision, however, there can be no right action, and without right action no emancipation—no hope.

Please believe that I am yours with the dear love of Comrades,

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

July 28, 1919.

The Left Wing and the Communist Party

THE purpose of this statement is to set forth the position of the National Left Wing Council in relation to the Socialist Party; also in relation to the controversy which has arisen within the ranks of the Left Wing.

The National Left Wing Council came into existence on June 23rd, 1919, by action of the National Left Wing Conference held in New York June 21st to 24th. Since this Council was created by the National Left Wing Conference, the most exact way of arriving at an understanding of the character and purposes of the Council is by reference to the proceedings of the Conference.

On June 23rd (fifth session) the Conference Committee on Organization reported, among other matters, as follows:

"This Conference shall organize as the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party and shall have as its object the capturing of the Socialist Party for revolutionary Socialism."

(Adopted by vote of 43 to 14; recorded as not voting, 14.)

"Toward this end the Conference shall elect a National Council of nine members to act as the executive of the Left Wing Section. The National Council shall elect an executive secretary."

Whereupon the Conference proceeded with the election of the Council, the following being declared elected: Ruthenberg, Fraina, Ferguson, Ballam, Wolfe, Cohen, Gitlow, Larkin, MacAlpine. Announced as not taking part in this election, 24 delegates.

"The National Council is authorized to publish one or more educational and propaganda papers; issue declarations; print literature; route speakers and undertake such other activity as will place the principles and program of the Left Wing Section before the rank and file of the Socialist Party membership.

The National Council shall co-ordinate all suspended and expelled branches, locals, state organizations and Language Federations, issue a temporary dues stamp to these organizations and do all in their power to keep these organizations intact until such time as they may again function as sub-divisions of a national organization."

"The National Council shall direct an agitation to realize the following results and conditions at the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party:

a) It shall assist in all ways within its power to secure the election of Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party.

b) It shall call upon all suspended and expelled sub-divisions of the Socialist Party to elect delegates to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party; shall insist that these delegates be seated at this convention and that the convention organize as if no suspensions or expulsions had occurred.

c) The National Council shall exert every influence to the end that the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party may adopt the Left Wing Manifesto and Program as the basis for the Party's platform and policy.

d) It shall insist that the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party affiliate the Socialist Party with the Communist International which affiliation has in fact been decided by referendum vote.

e) It shall demand that the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party shall recognize the validity of the National Referendum elections for a new National Executive Com-

A Statement by the National Council

mittee, International Delegates and an International Secretary.

f) However, there may come a time when by the ready assistance of capitalist courts the Right Wing reactionaries will retain legal possession of the party machinery and property. Should therefore the National Emergency Convention prove reactionary and in the control through the assistance of capitalist police powers, of the moderate and despotic officialdom of the party; should this Emergency Convention rule in favor of the shameful acts of the present autocratic National Executive Committee, then the Left Wing Delegates to this Convention shall immediately organize a new Communist Party, representing the vast majority of the present Socialist Party, a party which shall speak the will of the rank and file of the more than 50 per cent of the party already expelled and suspended, a party which will be true to the Communist International and revolutionary Socialism.

g) The National Council shall be instructed to call delegates from all branches, locals, state and Socialist Federations to meet in Chicago or any other place designated to which the Emergency Convention is summoned. In the event that such Convention refuses to seat the Left Wing delegates—the delegates accepting the Left Wing Manifesto—the Council shall call such delegates, expelled to call delegates from all branches, locals, party based on the call summoning the Convention in Moscow on the initiative of the Communist Party in Russia.

(Note: this call is incorporated in the Platform adopted by the Left Wing Conference.)

h) In the event that the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party is not called on August 30th, as at present scheduled, the National Council is instructed to call the delegates who have already been voted upon, and hold a convention that will organize a new party then and there at Chicago on August 30th, the Communist Party. (Unanimously carried.)

At a further stage of the Conference (eighth session) a resolution was adopted that we call a conference in Chicago on September first of all revolutionary elements desirous of uniting with the revolutionary Socialist Party, or with the Communist Party to be organized by the Left Wing delegates who may secede from the convention of the Socialist Party on August 30th. In explanation of this resolution reference was made to a group of expelled members of the S. L. P. who might be desirous of joining themselves with a Bolshevik party; also it was stated that this provision would include such Federation groups as might want to join with the Left Wing on September first.

The final motion of the Conference was as follows: "That all business that may be left over, if any, shall be referred to the National Council, and that we do now adjourn to meet in Chicago September first."

From the foregoing it is clear that the National Council carries over the Left Wing Conference of June 21-24 to September first. Meanwhile its central task is to bring together at Chicago delegates from all groups desirous of establishing in the United States a party of revolutionary Socialism.

The instructions to the National Council cover: 1) co-operation with delegates elected to the Emergency Convention under the regular party methods who are recognized and

instructed by the Left Wing groups within their respective States; 2) co-operation with delegates elected by expelled and suspended Left Wing groups, aside from the regular party elections; 3) co-operation with delegates from groups not within the Socialist Party, who desire to affiliate themselves with us on the basis of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.

From the side of the machinery to be used by the National Left Wing Council, the instructions of the Conference cover: 1) the Emergency Convention; 2) an August 30th Convention in case the Emergency Convention is put off; 3) a special conference on September first with all elements desiring to unite on a Communist basis; 4) the reconvening of the Left Wing Conference on September first.

Finally, from the angle of the actual tasks to be fulfilled there are two clear-cut alternatives: 1) control of the Emergency Convention by the Left Wing delegates regularly elected, seating by them of Left Wing delegates elected by suffrage of expelled and suspended locals, States and Federations, and transformation of the Socialist Party into an organization of revolutionary Socialism; or 2) formation of a new party regardless of the Emergency Convention, on August 30th, or on September first, to be called the Communist Party.

The National Council is now engaged in gathering information, mobilizing the Left Wing forces, and carrying on the propaganda which will assure a party of revolutionary Socialism, by nation-wide co-operation of the Left Wing elements, by September first. Those who have attempted to raise the contention that the National Left Wing Conference did not sufficiently lay the basis for a Communist Party by September first deliberately misstate the plain facts.

There is no part of the Left Wing Conference program which is open to legitimate attack by any member of the Left Wing. That the National Left Wing Council is acting upon this program with a view to making the broadest possible preparation for the launching of a new party of revolutionary Socialism on August 30th and September first is conclusively shown by the record of our work and statements in *The Revolutionary Age*.

The main argument of the minority group in the Left Wing Conference was that it is impossible to expect the Right Wing to surrender control at the Emergency Convention. How then can there be any question, under the instructions above quoted, of the formation of a Communist Party outside the Emergency Convention? How could the National Council, assuming it were so disposed, which is not the fact, evade the responsibility for opening a convention to start the Communist Party.

Also, under these instructions, how could a Left Wing Emergency Convention—seating all Left Wing delegates—fail to establish a Communist Party?

Obviously there is no sincere argument that the Left Wing Conference did not completely cover the situation.

Let those who favor a Communist Party realize once for all, on the face of the Conference record itself, that so far as the question of a new party is concerned the minority group was defeated in the Conference on but one point: *the immediate formation, at New York, of a Communist Party*. Such an action would have been without mandate from the party membership; it would have been without

reckoning of the viewpoint of many thousands of revolutionary Socialists who are still members of the Socialist Party in good standing; it would have been the coup d'etat of a partially representative body, ignoring many states and tens of thousands of party members; it would have meant a surrender of the splendid propaganda opportunities within the Socialist Party until August 30th. But as for the principle of a Communist Party, and guarantees of its beginning by September first, there can be no dispute about the actions of the Conference.

So far as the minority group in the Conference are now attempting to claim a difference with the majority of the Conference, that claim falls to pieces when the actual facts of the Conference are considered. At the Sunday evening session of the Conference (third session, June 22) there was a roll call vote of 55 to 38 against the proposition of immediate organization of a new party. On Monday morning all delegates continued their participation in the Conference, though part of the minority group refused to vote on the proposition to join the Michigan call for a September first Convention to start a new Socialist Party. On Monday afternoon, all delegates voting, there was an election of a committee to take over the work of the Conference provided that a raid and arrests should make it impossible to bring a quorum together again. Four of the delegates elected to this committee later identified themselves with the minority which discontinued activity within the Conference, though not leaving. This step of conditional secession from the Conference occurred only after defeat of the proposition that each Federation should have a member on the National Left Wing Council, to be designated by the Executive Committee of the Federation, in addition to the 9 members to be elected by the Conference (in which election the Federation representatives would also participate). In a word, this meant that the National Council of the Left Wing should become subsidiary to the Central Executive Committees of the Federations. This proposition was defeated 23 to 41.

On Monday evening (sixth session) the following announcement was made: "Some 31 comrades from the various foreign federations, and some English comrades met about half an hour ago and decided to organize a new Communist Party on the basis of the principles laid down by the National Left Wing Conference on June 22nd, for which purpose they joined the convention call of the Michigan State Convention of September 1st. At the same time it was decided to withhold all activities of those 31 members from active participation in this Conference, and reserve their right to resume those activities at the time that they find fit."

Of this minority, the Federation delegates did not support the Michigan call when offered in the Conference, because they disagreed with the call in principle. On the other hand, the Federation delegates accepted the basis in principle for a new party as laid down by the majority of the Conference. Not one delegate left the Conference on the issue of immediate formation of the Communist Party. The Michigan call itself, and so the Michigan delegates explained, conceded the advisability of the campaign in connection with the Emergency Convention of August 30th. In other words, the Michigan call added absolutely nothing to the actions of the Conference, and was simply a bid to let the Conference make of the National Left Wing a tail to the kite of Michigan.

Three sets of delegates made up this curious

minority: 1) the Michigan group which wanted the Conference to accept in toto its pre-arranged plan and program, substituting the will and judgment of the Michigan State Convention for that of a group of delegates from all over the country, a group which has not even yet joined itself in any way with the National Left Wing, but was given the courtesy of representation at the Conference as an expelled State; 2) a small group of delegates who persisted in their demand for immediate formation of a new party, who obviously compromised their position by joining in a call for a new party on September 1st; 3) the largest element of the minority, the Federation delegates—who acted only after defeat of the proposition to give absolute control of the Left Wing to the Federation Executive Committees. This group was openly

From a Soldier in France

IN the midst of the deluge of abuse that is being directed against Soviet Russia by the press it is gratifying to find a few courageous publications like yours, attempting to stem the tide, presenting the case of the Russian workers and explaining and justifying the new society they are trying to build upon the ruins of the monarchy. The A. E. F. have even less access than you to any authentic and reliable information on Russian affairs and while I possess little accurate knowledge of the stirring and momentous events in that land of mystery and promise, I do know something of the principles and practices of the American press. This knowledge suggests to me but one interpretation of the campaign of hate that is being waged with such vigor against the Soviets namely: that the privileges for which that press stands and the interests whose message it preaches are in danger, perhaps even threatened with early and complete annihilation in Russia as the hands of a victorious proletariat, an event that could not but hasten the doom of special privilege in other lands outside of Russia. In no other way can I account for the hysterical and vicious denunciations of Bolshevism and its leaders that stare at me from every page of the daily papers. The strategy and also the tactics here employed so closely resemble the plan of campaign pursued by the press in the ceaseless industrial war in the States that it is possible to make a fairly accurate estimate of the character, the strength and the purposes of the Bolsheviki. And having observed the habits of the press in that war and noted its utter lack of the sportsman-like spirit and its shameful disregard of the most elemental requirements of literary honor, and knowing something of the sinister influences that control it, I cannot effect any surprise at its present behavior.

I cannot resist the conclusion that the masters of America, disturbed by visions of a Socialist government in Russia, are in their rage and desperation sounding through their mouthpiece the call for the sympathetic strike, the boycott, the lockout, the blacklist and even for the war of extermination in defense and on behalf of their vanishing brethren in Russia. In this they are obeying, though in a blind and stupid way, the instinct of self preservation. They are fools of more kinds than one but yet shrewd enough to understand that if the Russian proletariat wins, the American proletariat cannot lose.

opposed in principle to the Michigan group, yet joined with the Michigan group when they found that these delegates were ready to abandon their principles for the sake of "putting over" their *coup d'etat*.

Let anyone answer: which one of these groups acted on *principle* in separating themselves from the National Left Wing?

The call for the September 1st Convention made by this strangely assembled minority is based directly upon the Platform formulated by the Conference. Evidently the Conference did not falter in the principles of revolutionary Socialism. Neither in principle or tactics did the Conference waver or compromise on a single point, and the experience since the Conference proves beyond a doubt that the majority chose the best way in which to bring together all the elements in the Socialist Party ready for a Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism.

Comrades of the Left Wing: there is much important work to be done during the next month for the future of revolutionary Socialism in America—for a Communist Party that will be much more than a flourish of a glorious name, for a party that will actually bring into common action all the revolutionary proletarian elements in the United States. The Council has already appealed to you for funds wherewith to carry on its work. The Council has already urged upon you the support of Left Wing candidates to the Emergency Convention, or the formation of separate Left Wing provisional organizations as the basis for representation at Chicago. The Council appeals to you also for information about your local or branch so that we may know how to bring our plans into conformity with the varied party situation in the different States.

We address ourselves in this statement primarily to those already in accord with the fundamental principles of Communism, to those who have already grasped the vital significance of the Left Wing movement in the class struggle in America. We are just as eager to deal with the questions of those who have not heretofore been presented with the opportunity to study developments in world history and in Socialism itself out of which the Left Wing movement took form. But in the exigencies of the immediate party campaign we are forced to deal first with the pressing problems of party reorganization. However, we shall welcome the opportunity to answer all questions, through our Secretary, and to bring our literature into the hands of those not as yet aligned with the Left Wing.

We repeat our appeals for funds and for active co-operation. The response already has been most encouraging, but there are many parts of the country yet to be heard from. Act at once. Do your part to give the Socialist movement in this country an impetus on Aug. 30th which will carry us a long way toward the goal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in America!

National Left Wing Council.

JOHN BALLAM	MAXIMILIAN COHEN
ISAAC EDW. FERGUSON	BENJAMIN GITLOW
JAMES LARKIN	C. E. RUTHENBERG
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Labor and the League of Nations

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

Editor of "The Workers' Dreadnought."
London, England.

THE League of Nations Commission on International Labor, appointed by the Council of Ten in Paris, has devised a "Charter of International Labor Legislation," which it is proposed to insert in the Peace Treaty. The Charter bears a striking resemblance to that adopted by the Government Socialists at Berne. We should not be surprised by that fact; it is not a chance coincidence. The approved policy of all Government Socialists, and of the weaker reformist Liberals, is always to find out what the Government means to give and then to ask for that. The Peace Conference Charter contains many of the out-of-date resolutions of the oldest of ancient conferences on Labor. Most of the things it offers have either been obtained here already or are about to be obtained; the most notable exception being "a reasonable standard of life" for the workers, and of course opinions differ acutely as to what is reasonable! The provisions include:—

Children not to be gainfully employed under 14 years of age.

Persons between 14 and 18 not to do work harmful to their physical development, and to continue their education.

Every worker to have a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life having regard to the civilization of his time and country.

Equal pay for equal work. A weekly day of rest. 48-hour week, subject to an exception for countries where climatic conditions, industrial development, or other circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different.

(That we suppose means that Africans, Indians, and others whose power of protest is but feebly developed, will have to work longer hours.)

Foreign workers to have the same treatment as nationals.

State inspection of factories and workshops.

A poor programme, but all that the League of Nations has to offer the workers, to prevent them turning to Bolshevik Socialism, which will make the workers the rulers of the world and its destiny. Wilson Harris, in *The London Daily News* on March 21st, quoted some personage at the Peace Conference:

"Now Bolshevism, whatever else may be said about it, is a tremendous idealistic force—unquestionably the greatest idealistic force, in my opinion, since the birth of Christ. You may vilify it. You may spread reports of its excesses. You may advocate military measures against it. But there it remains—a tremendous idealistic force. There is only one way to fight an ideal. That is by opposing another ideal to it. And there is only one practical ideal in the world today that can oppose Bolshevism—the League of Nations."

And then the prophet came tumbling down from the heights and forgot all about idealism, saying: "The first weapon of the League must be food. You must have some force—police or military—to guard your lines of transport, but a loaf in your left hand is going to be more important than a sword in your right."

On March 31st this same Paris correspondent states that an investigator, employed by the British Government to make inquiries in Germany, has just returned and has reported that there will be a change of Government in Germany, but that a mere change of Government will not satisfy the country:

"The masses of the people would demand some control over administration, and this, it is submitted, could be obtained by the constitution of a national form of workmen's and soldiers' council as the first Chamber. . . . It is argued that such a compromise between the Soviet and Parliamentary systems is necessary to conciliate the masses. . . ."

There is another admission. Firstly, we are told that Bolshevism is the strongest idealistic force since Christ, and, secondly, it is admitted that the parliamentary system does not give the masses of the people control over the government, but that the Soviet system does. The

League of Nations is put forward as the one force that can stave off Bolshevism! And this is the Charter which the League of Nations offers to the workers as an alternative to Socialism!

The machinery of the International Labor Office which the Council of Ten ("moved," they say, "by sentiments of justice and humanity"), are about to set up, is as unsatisfactory as the Charter. It consists of a General Conference of four representatives from each of the countries represented; two of these four are to be representatives of the Government, one of employers of labor, and one of the workers. Labor is thus placed in a safe minority of one to three! Each delegate may be accompanied by two advisers, and where women's questions are concerned "one at least of the advisers should be a woman." This is to placate the middle-class suffrage societies. Some of them will no doubt feel highly flattered by the idea that the Governments have consented to allow the women to appear occasionally, in the proportion of one to eleven, and that sex barriers in the general League of Nations' machinery are verbally removed. The workers' and employers' delegates are to be selected in agreement with the most representative body of employers and workpeople, and the Conference, by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, may refuse to admit any delegate not so appointed—Bolshevik views can thus easily be excluded by a vote of the Government and employers' representatives!

The governing body of the International Labor Office is to consist of 24 members: 12 representing the workers' delegates. Thus Labor is placed in a minority of one to four!

The International Labor Office will collect and distribute information concerning international labor, and will publish a periodical in English and French.

If any country fails to fall in with the agreements made concerning Labor, a commission of inquiry shall be chosen by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, from a panel consisting of three representatives of the Governments, three representatives of the employers, and three workers' representatives. Any of these representatives, "not deemed to be fully qualified," may be rejected by a two-thirds vote of the governing body. Thus, again, the Government and employers' representatives may together veto any of the workers' representatives to whom they may object. The offending State may appeal from the Commission of Inquiry to the "Permanent Court of International Justice" to be created by the League of Nations, the findings of which will be final! The offending State may have passed upon it "an economic sentence." We suppose this means that it may be blockaded and boycotted, and that its people may be starved. *The London Times* states that "the British Dominions and India will have the same rights and obligations as if they were separate high colony of any signatory which the Executive contracting parties, and this will apply to any Council of the League of Nations admits to be fully self-governing." But how can this be? India is not "fully self-governing." She has not even a semblance of self-government; the mass of the Indian people are absolutely without political rights. We wonder whom the British Government will choose to represent

Indian Labor; indeed, we can hardly believe that they will allow the masses of the workers and peasants to choose their own representatives, though they might safely do so, since Labor in all countries is to be placed in a hopeless minority.

Labor in all countries should refuse to have anything to do with this scheme. It places Labor in an insulting minority. It brings Labor into the international machinery set up by the capitalist Governments to fight Socialism. It is the coping to the national machinery by which the Governments are seeking to divert Labor from the direct, independent action, in which it is daily growing more powerful and successful. In direct action the wire-pullers and negotiators take second place, and the rank and file are the rulers. By direct action the Russian working classes, the industrial workers, the peasants, the soldiers and sailors, established a government and abolished landlordism and Capitalism. By direct action the miners won the minimum wage and the eight-hour day; by the threat of direct action they have won the promise of a seven-hour day; by direct action the Glasgow women won the Rent Act.

In the political field Labor's gains are infinitesimal; any concessions made to Labor during the war, and for years before that, were made in fear of strikes outside. The pleadings of Labor men in Parliament fell on deaf ears.

In the committee room at the conference table Labor, always carefully placed in a minority there, is denied that which it is entitled to demand; and what is more, its spokesmen are too often bamboozled into accepting the denial with thanks, as "an instalment of justice," urging the rank and file to accept it, in order to avoid conflict.

In the international Labor machinery Labor will always be kept in a minority of one to three, or even one to four; and the Council of Ten, by giving to the employers' and governments' representatives the power to reject any of the Labor nominees of whom they may disapprove, will secure that even this representation shall consist of thoroughly tame and subservient people. Evidently there will be secrets to be learnt at the International Labor Committee with which Capitalism can only trust selected individuals who are warranted not to tell! Moreover, Labor must be held in complete subjection on this body, because this is the international body which is to act as a drag on all the Whitley Councils set up in the various trades; a drag on the National Industrial Councils in the various countries; this International Council will be like the Local Government Board, which surcharges Poor Law Guardians who relieve too generously, and either refuses to approve, or continually delays, the various housing schemes and schemes for municipal trading put forward by local bodies. Even on the Whitley Councils, Labor will be in a minority, for the Chairman appointed by the Government can always cast his vote on the other side. Moreover, when it comes to legislation, the Governments will only adopt the recommendations of these various councils as, and when, it chooses. In the case of the coal inquiry one report was signed by three employers' representatives, one by two employers' representatives and the Chairman, one by six workers' representatives. The majority report was therefore the report of the workers' representatives; but the Government has chosen to act on the report submitted by

the Chairman chosen by itself. So, too, with the International Industrial Council. If any combination of circumstances should produce a majority recommendation objectionable to international Capitalism, we believe the League of Nations would step in and arrange matters to suit itself. But such a contingency can scarcely arise since the workers are placed in so small a minority.

If the workers were to be diverted from their struggle to better their industrial conditions by the hope that this network of councils would do it for them, their emancipation would indeed be indefinitely postponed. But this will not happen. The toiling masses are just waking to the need for rank and file control of the industrial machine; they have just devized and are perfecting the organization of that control; they are just beginning to see that by travelling resolutely onward in that direction, they can take into their own hands the entire machinery of production and can govern society itself. It is impossible that they should leave behind that broad, inspiring prospect and revert to a still greater dependence upon official leaders. Above all, it is impossible that the workers should revert to dependence upon leaders who, failing to see the vision of rank and file co-operation, and the triumph of the workers, have entered into partnership with the capitalists by accepting seats upon the Joint Industrial Councils. When Arthur Henderson joined the Coalition Government he gave his support to Conscription, the Defence of the Realm Act,* and the Munitions Act, all of which were used to coerce the workers. He surrendered his freedom of independent protest; he accepted responsibility for the majority decision of the Cabinet; his lips were sealed. He has since declared that there were doings by the Coalition Government which, in his view, were detrimental to the interests of the workers whose representative he was, and to society as a whole. He has said that he could embarrass the Government by disclosing these matters. But he reveals them to no one, because, having joined the Government, he holds himself bound to keep its secrets. We strongly disagree with this view; we think it is Henderson's duty to make these matters public; we think he should have done so as soon as they came to his notice. At the same time we know that every artifice will be used to induce the members of the various so-called Labor Councils to consider themselves bound to help in enforcing the decisions of the Councils. Only those Labor representatives who are prepared to accept the Henderson standard of honor will be acceptable to the Governments and the employers as members of these Councils.

The powers that be are complacently preparing this network of Councils, which will take many months to arrive at even the simplest decisions, and which on big controversial matters cannot decide at all. Perhaps it is hoped that the workers will take years to discover that the Councils are ineffective.

Henderson and Huysmans, so often publicly snubbed by the Allied Governments, yet still playing the part of eager messenger boys to them, are busy in all these intrigues. *The London Daily Herald* reports that Henderson, Ramsay MacDonald, Stuart Bunning, Branting, Renaudel, Longuet, and Huysmans are conferring in Paris on the Berne resolutions, the organization of the International and the International Labor News Agency; Henderson

is also conferring with the British peace delegation, including Lord Robert Cecil, in regard to these matters. Ah, this wire-pulling and conferring with the guardians of Capitalism! Organized on this basis it was no wonder that the Berne Conference condemned the Bolshevik Revolution. The International Labor News Agency will be equally safe, equally useful from the capitalist point of view. Mr. Henderson will be able sincerely to assure Lord Robert that its effort will be to act as an antidote to Bolshevism. We have the capitalist press, the Ministry of Propaganda, and now we are to have the news bulletins of the Joint Councils of employers and trade union officials and the International Labor News Agency!

And there is *The London Herald* telling us a most curious story of the European situation:

"President Wilson and his friends; Lloyd George and his friends are doing what they can. . . Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel House are wholehearted supporters of the League. . . Mr. Lloyd George and the American delegates have vainly tried to speed up the work of the Conference. . . Mr. Lloyd George has again and again declared that the settlement must be one that leaves no bitterness, and that we must not create other Alsaces and Lorraines by robbing Germany of either part of the territory on the Rhine or in West Prussia."

All the delay, all the mercenary grabbing, all the cruel starvation of defenceless peoples by the blockade, the intervention in Russia—are all these supposed to be due to France and Italy? It is absurd to suggest it. America and Britain are more powerful, more able to impose their will than France and Italy. Moreover, every day brings further news showing that Britain and America are playing an active part in all that is going forward.

Our Government is blockading the starving peoples of Europe. We are sending war equipment to those who are fighting the Bolsheviks, beside taking a hand in the fighting ourselves. We are sliding gradually into a great international war. The new Army Annual Bill authorises a military force of 2,650,000 men, exclusive of those serving in India. It extends the penalties to those who encourage or assist deserters, to those who do the same for absentees. It provides penalties up to two years' imprisonment for those who spread reports prejudicial to recruiting. The Navy is appealing for volunteers for Russia, to sign on for nine months. Boatswains and motormen are to get \$13 10s. a month, A.B.s and firemen \$12 a month, free kit or an allowance, and, in

addition, "river transport allowance" of \$2 2s. a week to start on April 12th. The American Government is asking for 50,000 volunteers for three years' service in Europe—for Italy, France, or Russia. The French Foreign Minister on March 26th gave the following figures of troops in Russia:

Archangel: 13,100 British; 4,820 Americans; 2,349 French; 1,340 Italians; 1,280 Serbians, and 11,770 Russians.

Siberia: Czecho-Slovaks, 55,000; Poles, 12,000; Serbians, 4,000; Italians, 2,000; British, 1,600; French 760; Japanese, 28,000; Americans, 7,500; Canadians, 4,000; making a total of 118,000 men to which Pichon says must be added 92,000 Russian forces.

East Russia: French, 140,000; Rumanians, 190,000; British, 140,000; Italians, 40,000; Serbians, 140,000; Greeks, 200,000.

It is by no means certain that these are all the Allied troops in Russia. Regarding the military situation, the Allies seem to be losing ground in the north and south, whilst Kolchak is said to be gaining in the Urals.

It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that strong forces are driving the Allied countries further and further into the war against Socialism. It is not only *The London Morning Post* which declares: "Bolshevism must be fought" and "in Russia." *The London Daily Chronicle* also says: "The Associated Powers . . . are at war with Russian Bolshevism and we see no easy prospect of their making peace with it."

Now that Hungarian Bolshevism has joined Russia, it is important to notice that the General Assembly of Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, by 1,470 votes to 20, sent a telegram of congratulation to Soviet Hungary, pledging itself not to rest "until the final victory of Socialism is assured." But a short time ago the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared for parliamentary Government with a Coalition, and against the Soviet form of government with immediate Socialism; the change is significant and will shortly result in action. Even official Germany is growing more independent in its attitude towards Allied demands, and seeing it the Allies grow less truculent. Whilst the workers of Central and Eastern Europe turn towards the Soviets, the Allies prepare to fight Hungary as well as Russia. Reuter reports that Foch has consulted with the Council of Four regarding the military aspect. *Le Populaire*, March 26th, announces that two British monitors have arrived in Budapest.

Clara Zetkin Defends the Bolsheviks

IN *L'Humanite* of April 15th appeared an account of the Congress of the German Independent Socialists. Kautsky took the place of the murdered Eisner in reporting on the Berne Socialist Congress. He defended his action in having voted against the Adler-Longuet resolution, which refused to criticize the Russian Soviet Government on the ground of lack of proper information. Kautsky declared that a condemnation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential. He weakly argued that the Bolsheviks would not be impressed by an evasion of the question and that they could only be brought back into the International if they saw it to be strong and determined.

The conference called upon Clara Zetkin to reply to Kautsky. She said that the Party lacked energy and clear vision. During the war its policy had been feeble and hesitating; it had failed to take up a definite attitude on the question of national defence. Its peace policy inclined to an entente with the governments rather than towards the international action of the workers

Even after the Revolution the Independent Socialist Party, instead of understanding the action of the masses, had allied itself with the majority Socialists, who had betrayed revolutionary Socialism. Instead of immediately applying itself to the struggle against private ownership, the Independent Party opposed strikes and thus helped to bolster up Capitalism. It failed to consider socialization as a question of political power, and regarded it only from the standpoint of surmounting economic and technical difficulties. The Party assumed it to be of first importance to increase production; this was an error, a relapse into bourgeois economic conceptions. Not by scientific commissions, but by practical action will progress be made in the economic field.

Clara Zetkin reproached the Independents for joining the Coalition Government, declaring that they had contributed to limiting the power of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils and that the National Assembly, which is on parliamentary lines and which they had supported, is incapable of freeing the working

(Continued on page 14)

* Generally called Dora. The English equivalent of the American Espionage Law. It was supposed to be aimed at German spies but, like the Espionage Act, operated almost exclusively against Socialists and radical labor agitators.

Moscow During the Early Part of 1919

By Arthur Ransome

IT was a cold day when I struggled through the crowd out of the station in Moscow, and began fighting with the sledge-drivers who asked a hundred roubles to take me to the Metropole. I remembered coming here a year ago with Colonel Robins, when we made ten roubles a limit for the journey and often travelled for eight. Today, after heated bargaining, I got carried with no luggage but a typewriter for fifty roubles. The streets were white with deep snow, less well cleaned than the Petrograd streets of this year but better cleaned than the Moscow streets of last year. The tramways were running. There seemed to be at least as many sledges as usual, and the horses were in slightly better condition than last summer when they were scarcely able to drag themselves along. I asked the reason of the improvement, and the driver told me the horses were now rationed like human beings, and all got a small allowance of oats. There were crowds of people about, but the numbers of closed shops were very depressing. I did not then know that this was due to the nationalization of trade and a sort of general stock-taking, the object of which was to prevent profiteering in manufactured goods, etc., of which there were not enough to go round. Before I left many shops were being reopened as national concerns, like our own National Kitchens. Thus, one would see over a shop the inscription, "The 5th Boot Store of the Moscow Soviet" or "The 3rd Clothing Store of the Moscow Soviet" or "The 11th Book Shop." It had been found that speculators bought, for example, half a dozen overcoats, and sold them to the highest bidders, thus giving the rich an advantage over the poor. Now if a man needs a new suit he has to go in his rags to his House Committee, and satisfy them that he really needs a new suit for himself. He is then given the right to buy a suit. In this way an attempt is made to prevent speculation and to ensure a more or less equitable distribution of the inadequate stocks. My greatest surprise was given me by the Metropole itself, because the old wounds of the revolution, which were left unhealed all last summer, the shell-holes and bullet splashes which marked it when I was here before, have been repaired.

Litvinov had given me a letter to Karakhan of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, asking him to help me in getting a room. I found him at the Metropole, still smoking as it were the cigar of six months ago. Karakhan, a handsome Armenian, elegantly bearded and moustached, once irreverently described by Radek as "a donkey of classical beauty," who has consistently used such influence as he has in favor of moderation and agreement with the Allies, greeted me very cordially, and told me that the foreign visitors were to be housed in the Kremlin. I told him I should much prefer to live in a hotel in the ordinary way, and he at once set about getting a room for me. This was no easy business, though he obtained an authorization from Sverdlov, president of the Executive Committee, for me to live where I wished, in the Metropole or the National, which are mostly reserved for Soviet delegates, officials and members of the Executive Committee. Both were full, and he finally got me a room in the old Loskutnaya Hotel, now the Red Fleet, partially reserved for sailor delegates and members of the Navel College.

Rooms are distributed on much the same plan as clothes. Housing is considered a State monopoly, and a general census of housing

accommodation has been taken. In every district there are housing committees to whom people wanting rooms apply. They work on the rough and ready theory that until every man has one room no one has a right to two. An Englishman acting as manager of works near Moscow told me that part of his house had been allotted to workers in his factory, who, however, were living with him amicably, and had, I think, allowed him to choose which rooms he should concede. This plan has, of course, proved very hard on house-owners, and in some cases the new tenants have made a horrible mess of the houses, as might, indeed, have been expected, seeing that they had previously been of those who had suffered directly from the decivilizing influences of overcrowding. After talking for some time we went round the corner to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, where we found Chicherin who, I thought, had aged a good deal and was (though this was perhaps his manner) less cordial than Karakhan. He asked about England, and I told him Litvinov knew more about that than I, since he had been there more recently. He asked what I thought would be the effect of his Note with detailed terms published that day. I told him that Litvinov, in an interview which I had telegraphed, had mentioned somewhat similar terms some time before, and that personally I doubted whether the Allies would at present come to any agreement with the Soviet Government, but that, if the Soviet Government lasted, my personal opinion was that the commercial isolation of so vast a country as Russia could hardly be prolonged indefinitely on that account alone.

I then met Voznesensky (Left Social Revolutionary), of the Oriental Department, bursting with criticism of the Bolshevik attitude towards his party. He secured a ticket for me to get dinner in the Metropole. This ticket I had to surrender when I got a room in the National. The dinner consisted of a plate of soup, and a very small portion of something else. There are National Kitchens in different parts of the town supplying similar meals. Glasses of weak tea sold at 30 kopecks each, without sugar. My sister had sent me a small bottle of saccharine just before I left Stockholm, and it was pathetic to see the childish delight with which some of my friends drank glasses of sweetened tea.

From the Metropole I went to the Red Fleet to get my room fixed up. Six months ago there were comparatively clean rooms here, but the sailors have demoralized the hotel and its filth is indescribable. There was no heating and very little light. A samovar left after the departure of the last visitor was standing on the table, together with some dirty curl-papers and other rubbish. I got the waiter to clean up more or less, and ordered a new samovar. He could not supply spoon, knife, or fork, and only with great difficulty was persuaded to lend me glasses.

The telephone, however, was working, and after tea I got into touch with Madame Radek, who had moved from the Metropole into the Kremlin. I had not yet got a pass to the Kremlin, so she arranged to meet me and get a pass for me from the Commandant. I walked through the snow to the white gate at the end of the bridge which leads over the garden up a step incline to the Kremlin. Here a fire of logs was burning, and three soldiers were sitting round it. Madame Radek was waiting for me, warming her hands at the fire,

and we went together into the citadel of the republic.

A meeting of the People's Commissars was going on in the Kremlin, and on an open space under the ancient churches were a number of motors black on the snow. We turned to the right down the Dvortzovaya street, between the old Cavalier House and the Potyeshny Palace, and went in through a door under the archway that crosses the road, and up some dark flights of stairs to a part of the building that used, I think, to be called the Pleasure Palace. Here, in a wonderful old room, hung with Gobelins tapestries absolutely undamaged by the revolution, and furnished with carved chairs, we found the most incongruous figure of the old Swiss internationalist, Karl Moor, who talked with affection of Keir Hardie and of Hyndman, "in the days when he was a Socialist," and was disappointed to find that I knew so little about them. Madame Radek asked, of course, for the latest news of Radek, and I told her that I had read in the Stockholm papers that he had gone to Brunswick, and was said to be living in the palace there.* She feared he might have been in Bremen when that town was taken by the Government troops, and did not believe he would ever get back to Russia. She asked me, did I not feel already (as indeed I did) the enormous difference which the last six months had made in strengthening the revolution. I asked after old acquaintances, and learnt that Pyatakov, who, when I last saw him, was praying that the Allies should give him machine rifles to use against the Germans in the Ukraine, had been the first President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, but had since been replaced by Rakovsky. It had been found that the views of the Pyatakov government were further left than those of its supporters, and so Pyatakov had given way to Rakovsky who was better able to conduct a more moderate policy. The Republic had been proclaimed in Kharkov, but at that time Kiev was still in the hands of the Directorate.

That night my room in the Red Fleet was so cold that I went to bed in a sheepskin coat under rugs and all possible bedclothes with a mattress on the top. Even so I slept very badly.

The next day I spent in vain wrestlings to get a better room. Walking about the town I found it dotted with revolutionary sculptures, some very bad, others interesting, all done in some haste and set up for the celebrations of the anniversary of the revolution last November. The painters also had been turned loose to do what they could with the hoardings, and though the weather had damaged many of their pictures, enough was left to show what an extraordinary carnival that had been. Where a hoarding ran along the front of a house being repaired the painters had used the whole of it as a vast canvas on which they had painted huge symbolic pictures of the revolution. A whole in the Tverskaya was so decorated. Best, I think, were the row of wooden booths almost opposite the Hotel National in Okhotina Ryadi. These had been painted by the futurists or kindred artists, and made a really delightful effect, their bright colors and naive patterns seeming so natural to Moscow that I found myself wondering how it was that they had never been so painted before. They used to be a uniform dull yellow. Now, in clear primary colors, blue, red, yellow, with rough

* It was not till later that we learned he had returned to Berlin, been arrested, and put in prison.

flower designs, on white and chequered backgrounds, with the masses of snow in the road before them, and bright-kerchiefed women and peasants in ruddy sheepskin coats passing by, they seemed less like futurist paintings than like some traditional survival, linking new Moscow with the Middle Ages. It is perhaps interesting to note that certain staid purists in the Moscow Soviet raised a protest while I was there against the license given to the futurists to spread themselves about the town, and demanded that the art of the revolution should be more comprehensible and less violent. These criticisms, however, did not apply to the row of booths which were a pleasure to me every time I passed them.

In the evening I went to see Reinstein in the National. Reinstein is a little old grandfather, a member of the American Socialist Labor Party, who was tireless in helping the Americans last year, and is a prodigy of knowledge about the revolution. He must be nearly seventy, never misses a meeting of the Moscow Soviet or the Executive Committee, gets up at seven in the morning, and goes from one end of Moscow to the other to lecture to the young men in training as officers for the Soviet Army, more or less controls the English soldier war prisoners, about whose Bolshevism he is extremely pessimistic, and enjoys an official position as head of the quite futile department which prints hundred-weight upon hundred-weight of propaganda in English, none of which by any chance ever reaches these shores. He was terribly disappointed that I had brought no American papers with me. He complained of the lack of transport, a complaint which I think I must have heard at least three times a day from different people the whole time I was in Moscow. Politically, he thought, the position could not be better, though economically it was very bad. When they had corn, as it were, in sight, they could not get it to the towns for lack of locomotives. These economic difficulties were bound to react sooner or later on the political position.

He talked about the English prisoners. The men are brought to Moscow, where they are given special passports and are allowed to go anywhere they like about the town without convoy of any kind. I asked about the officers, and he said that they were in prison but given everything possible, a member of the International Red Cross, who worked with the Americans when they were here, visiting them regularly and taking in parcels for them. He told me that on hearing in Moscow that some sort of fraternization was going on on the Archangel front, he had hurried off there with two prisoners, one English and one American. With some difficulty a meeting was arranged. Two officers and a sergeant from the Allied side and Reinstein and these two prisoners from the Russian, met on a bridge midway between the opposing lines. The conversation seemed to have been mostly an argument about working class conditions in America, together with reasons why the Allies should go home and leave Russia alone. Finally the Allied representatives (I fancy Americans) asked Reinstein to come with them to Archangel and state his case, promising him safe conduct there and back. By this time two Russians had joined the group, and one of them offered his back as a desk, on which a safe-conduct for Reinstein was written. Reinstein, who showed me the safe-conduct, doubted its validity, and said that anyhow he could not have used it without instructions from Moscow. When it grew dusk they prepared to separate. The officers said to the prisoners, "What? Aren't you coming back with us?" The two

shook their heads decidedly, and said "No, thank you."

I learnt that some one was leaving the National next day to go to Kharkov, so that I should probably be able to get a room. After drinking tea with Reinstein till pretty late, I went home, burrowed into a mountain of all sorts of clothes, and slept a little.

In the morning I succeeded in making out my claim to the room at the National, which turned out to be a very pleasant one, next door to the kitchen and therefore quite decently warm. I wasted a lot of time getting my stuff across. Transport from one hotel to the other, though the distance is not a hundred yards, cost forty roubles. I got things straightened out, bought some books, and prepared a list of the material needed and the people I wanted to see.

The room was perfectly clean. The chambermaid who came in to tidy up quite evidently took a pride in doing her work properly, and protested against my throwing matches on the floor. She said she had been in the hotel since it was opened. I asked her how she liked the new regime. She replied that there was not enough to eat, but that she felt freer.

In the afternoon I went downstairs to the main kitchens of the hotel, where there is a permanent supply of hot water. One enormous kitchen is set apart for the use of people living in the hotel. Here I found a crowd of people, all using different parts of the stove. There was an old grey-haired Cossack, with a scarlet tunic under his black, wide skirted, narrow-waisted coat, decorated in the Cossack fashion with ornamental cartridges. He was warming his soup, side by side with a little Jewess making potato-cakes. A spectacled elderly member of the Executive Committee was busy doing something with a little bit of meat. Two little girls were boiling potatoes in old tin cans. In another room set apart for washing a sturdy little long-haired revolutionary was cleaning a shirt. A woman with her hair done up in a blue handkerchief was very carefully ironing a blouse. Another was busy with stewing sheets, or something of that kind, in a big cauldron. And all the time people from all parts of the hotel were coming with their pitchers and pans, from fine copper kettles to disreputable empty meat tins, to fetch hot water for tea. At the other side of the corridor was a sort of counter in front of a long window opening into yet another kitchen. Here there was a row of people waiting with their own saucepans and plates, getting their dinner for tickets. I was told that people thought they got slightly more if they took their food in this way straight from the kitchen to their own rooms instead of being served in the restaurant. But I watched closely, and decided

it was only superstition. Besides, I had not got a saucepan.

On paying for my room at the beginning of the week I was given a card with the days of the week printed along its edge. This card gave me the right to buy one dinner daily, and when I bought it that day of the week was snipped off the card so that I could not buy another. The meal consisted of a plate of very good soup, together with a second course of a scrap of meat or fish. The price of the meal varied between five and seven roubles.

One could obtain this meal any time between two and seven. Living hungrily through the morning, at two o'clock I used to experience definite relief in the knowledge that now at any moment I could have my meal. Feeling in this way less hungry, I used then to postpone it hour by hour, and actually dined about five or six o'clock. Thinking that I might have been specially favored I made investigations, and found that the dinners supplied at the public feeding houses (the equivalent of our national kitchens) were of precisely the same size and character, any difference between the meals depending not on the food but on the cook.

A kind of rough and ready co-operative system also obtained. One day there was a notice on the stairs that those who wanted could get one pot of jam apiece by applying to the provisioning committee of the hotel. I got a pot of jam in this way, and on a later occasion a small quantity of Ukrainian sausage.

Besides the food obtainable on cards it was possible to buy, at ruinous prices, food from speculators, and an idea of the difference in the prices may be obtained from the following examples: Bread is one rouble 20 kopecks per pound by card and 15 to 20 roubles per pound from the speculators. Sugar is 12 roubles per pound by card, and never less than 50 roubles per pound in the open market. It is obvious that abolition of the card-system would mean that the rich would have enough and the poor nothing. Various methods have been tried in the effort to get rid of speculators, whose high profits naturally decrease the willingness of the villages to sell bread at less abnormal rates. But as a Communist said to me, "There is only one way to get rid of speculation, and that is to supply enough on the card system. When people can buy all they want at 1 rouble 20 they are not going to pay an extra 14 roubles for the encouragement of speculators." "And when will you be able to do that?" I asked. "As soon as the war ends, and we can use our transport for peaceful purposes."

There can be no question about the starvation of Moscow. On the third day after my arrival in Moscow I saw a man driving a sledge laden with, I think, horseflesh, mostly bones, probably dead sledge horses. As he drove a flock of black crows followed the sledge and perched on it, tearing greedily at the meat. He beat them continually with his whip, but they were so famished that they took no notice whatever. The starving crows used even to force their way through the small ventilators of the windows in my hotel to pick up any scraps they could find inside. The pigeons, which formerly crowded the streets, utterly undismayed by the traffic, confident in the security given by their supposed connection with religion, have completely disappeared.

Nor can there be any question about the cold. I resented my own sufferings less when I found that the State Departments were no better off than other folk. Even in the Kremlin I found the Keeper of the Archives at work in an old sheepskin coat and felt boots, rising now and then to beat vitality into his freezing hands like a London cabman of old times.

Left Wing Pic-Nic Sunday, August 24th, 1919

at EASTERN BOULEVARD PARK
formerly Hoffman's Park
Eastern Boulevard and Fort Schuyler Road,
WESTCHESTER, N. Y.

Oriental Dances by Miss Katayama
Vladimir Resnikoff, Russian Singer
and many other attractions.

A RED PICNIC — A GREAT TIME
FOR A RED CAUSE

Picnic starts at 10 A. M.

arranged by the
LEFT WING SECTION SOCIALIST
PARTY OF THE BRONX.

Tickets in advance 30c At the gate 35c.
Directions: From E. 149th St. take West-
chester Av. car and change for Fort Schuyler,
get off at the Park.

Report of the National Left Wing Conference

First Session, June 21st, 1919

Opening Address

Meeting was called to order at 2:30 p. m. Maximilian Cohen presiding.

Mr. Fraina was elected temporary chairman.

Chairman: Left Wing Comrades of the Socialist Party: I think all of us realize that this conference is laying the basis for a new revolutionary Socialist movement in the United States. I think all of us realize that the tasks of this conference are tasks that are going to determine the future of the movement in this country. And the conditions that have brought this conference into being are conditions of crisis in Capitalism—conditions of crisis in Capitalism that have not only produced critical conditions in the life of Capitalism itself, but have equally produced conditions of crisis in the international Socialist movement, and in our own American Socialist movement.

We have met here this afternoon in answer to a mass impulse within the Socialist Party—a mass impulse that is trying to transform the Socialist Party into a revolutionary party of Socialism—a movement that is trying to square Socialism, not with passive, hesitant, compromising theory of ultra-Socialism and of the ultra conditions of Capitalism, but with the new militant conception of revolutionary Socialism of the proletarian struggle against Capitalism. We have been told by our opponents in the Socialist Party that it is just an isolated movement—that this Left Wing is not something that has its roots deep within life itself—that it is simply an emotional expression of the proletarian revolutions in Europe. It is true that the proletarian revolution in Europe is a vital contributing factor toward the development of the Left Wing movement in the American Socialist Party. But it has been a factor in developing this Left Wing movement in that it is proven by the actual test of the revolution that the concepts of the Left Wing within the American Socialist Party—a Left Wing that was not born today or the day before, but which has always been the militant "left"—the militant minority of the American movement that their concepts of revolutionary action have been proven correct by the experience of the proletarian revolution.

So that we don't have to base this movement of ours simply upon European events. We can base this movement of ours upon events within the American Socialist movement itself. We can say that the Left Wing of today is the child of the Left Wing of yesterday which has been given an experience, which has been given a new courage, and a new militant insight into its problem by the Communists of the revolutionary proletariat in Europe.

And so, comrades, we are met here this afternoon for two purposes—or rather, our task is a dual task. On the one hand, it is to crush the moderate Socialism within the American movement, by trying to conquer the Socialist Party for revolutionary Socialism. And we are also met to lay down here this afternoon not only a basis for this conquest of the Socialist Party but a basis for a new militant revolutionary party, for a party that can function either as the Socialist Party or as a party independent of the existing Socialist Party, if conditions compel us to realize that task.

And this party of ours is going to join hands with revolutionary Socialism the world over. It is going to do its task in accordance with the spirit and the tactics of revolutionary Socialism. It is going to do what it can in accord with its own conditions and its available

Owing to the fact that it is impossible to get out the complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the National Left Wing Conference, June 21-25, in booklet form in the short time at our disposal, it has been decided to run extracts from the report dealing with the matters now under dispute. It is proposed to give such extracts as will state the position of both sides and will throw all possible clarity on the issues involved.

forces to express revolutionary Socialism in the policy and the practice of the Socialist movement. And this does not mean, as the Right Wing within the party tries to insinuate, that we necessarily must have immediate revolution. We are simply trying to prepare ourselves for the day when the revolution shall come.

The test of revolutionary Socialism is not simply an immediate revolution. The test of revolutionary Socialism is in its policy during the actual struggles of the proletariat at all times, under all conditions in the struggle against Capitalism and the ruling class, and we can express the tactics and the principle of revolutionary Socialism just as well in ordinary times, just as well in pre-revolutionary times, as we can during the stress and turmoil of the revolution itself. And as a matter of fact, this revolutionary policy of ours, by impregnating the proletariat with the consciousness of militant action, is preparing the proletariat and ourselves as well for the final struggle against Capitalism—a preparation which is necessary because unless you have that preparation, unless the movement develops that revolutionary consciousness out of the actual struggle, the immediate struggle of the proletariat, when the day of the revolution does come, we shall find the movement lined up with the counter-revolution against the Socialist proletariat.

So, comrades, I don't think that we have to elaborate upon this thesis. I know that we are going to face this task in a spirit of revolutionary Socialism, and of revolutionary reality. I know that we are going to lay a basis here for a movement that is going to engage in the militant struggle against Capitalism. Because behind this conference is not simply the masses within the Socialist Party that have sent you here in order to realize their concept of revolutionary Socialism, but behind these masses within the party are the proletarian masses that are anxious to get the call of militant struggle against Capitalism, in order to realize the coming of the Socialist republic. And the spirit of this conference, the spirit of the delegates here assembled, the spirit of the masses in the Party behind this conference, is the spirit of the Communist International which calls upon the proletariat of the world to prepare itself for the final revolutionary struggle against Capitalism. (Applause.)

Preliminary Reports

The Chairman:

There being nothing before the house, comrades, I wonder whether it would be a good idea to fill in the time, I think it would be a good idea, as the Credentials Committee will take probably half an hour or so to get its report—it might be a good idea to have some of the comrades from the various parts of the country make reports upon the condition of

the movement in their section, short five-minute speeches.

Mr. MacAlpine: I make a motion that we listen to the State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Michigan.

Mr. Batt: He is not here. But I am secretary of the Ways and Means Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan, and might acquaint you with the situation.

Of course, there is nobody here that is not aware of the details of the activity of the National Executive Committee in expelling the Socialist Party of Michigan, and suspending the various language federations, in all approximately forty thousand members of the Socialist Party. The State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Michigan went over to Chicago to verify the reports that we have received unofficially as to the expulsion of the State of Michigan. And as a means of dealing with the issue, he called a special emergency convention of the Socialist Party of Michigan, which met last Sunday in the House of Masses, Detroit, to consider what would be the future activity of the Socialist Party of Michigan in reference to the Socialist Party of America and the general Socialist movement in this country. We have a peculiar condition in Michigan that does not exist in any other organized group of Socialists in the United States. The Left Wing program that you brought up and that has been endorsed, I dare say, over 50 per cent—yes, 75 per cent of the delegates here this afternoon, represent organizations that have only adopted that program in the last few months. I point out the fact that the Socialist Party of Michigan has been carrying on its propaganda on a non-reformistic basis since 1914. For the last five years, the so-called "left" element has had control of the Socialist Party of Michigan. There has been no reform propaganda carried on officially by the Socialist Party of Michigan in that number of years. We have concentrated our activity upon pointing out to the working class the necessity of seizing control of the political state and establishing a workers' government, generally called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And when we convened last Sunday afternoon there was no question of altering our position one iota. We never considered for one moment the proposition of apologizing to the National Executive Committee and reversing our stand upon the reform amendment that we placed in our constitution. That was not even considered by the convention. It was moved by the Finnish Translator-Secretary in the name of the Finnish delegates to the convention that we do that kind of a thing, and the convention hooted him off the floor. They would not listen to him.

The questions that we considered there last Sunday are the questions that the comrades are going to have to consider here. The National Executive Committee has demonstrated its reactionary tendencies by expelling from the Socialist Party of America forty thousand members—practically expelling them—suspending some and expelling others. If I know anything about yellow Socialists—if I have learned anything by the past activity of yellow Socialists both in the American movement and in the different European movements, there is no step too degrading, too contemptible, too miserably mean for the Executive Committee to take in order to maintain their control of the Socialist Party of America. (Applause.)

I warn you here, and I warn you now that the National Executive Committee of the So-

cialist Party of America would ruin the organization rather than turn the control of it over to you. The reason for the expulsion of the Socialist Party of Michigan is plainly apparent when you consult the votes taken on the National Executive referendum at the last election. The vote went overwhelmingly for what is commonly called "the red slate" or the "Left Wing slate"—Wm. Bross Lloyd of Chicago, John Keracher of Detroit, and myself. The expulsion of the state of Michigan excludes those three candidates who were duly elected. Keracher and myself are excluded, of course, by our expulsion from the party, and Wm. Bross Lloyd of Chicago loses all chance of being a member of the Executive Committee because the loss of the Michigan vote puts him behind Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee. So, you see, they very conveniently defeated the slate of the Left Wing in that district to which we belong. Their cry of constitutionality, their cry of living up to party rules, etc., is here plainly shown as just so much camouflage. They don't propose to perform all kinds of extra-constitutional acts in order to maintain their committee membership.

You are invited to attend a convention in August in the city of Chicago. You are invited to go—like hell you are. (Laughter.) You are not going to be represented there. The state of Michigan has been expelled. In all probability, other states will follow. The language federations which have formed a very strong part of the Left Wing movement has been suspended, and none of its membership will be represented at the national convention in Chicago in August. You are going to be tried, convicted and sentenced by whom? By the Right Wing of the Socialist Party of America. And if I know anything about the activities of that Right Wing in the past, the fact that the suspension of the language federations will be changed to expulsion is a foregone conclusion. And as for any repudiation of the acts of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America, as for their repudiation of those acts, there is absolutely no hope on your part. We considered these things in the convention in the State of Michigan last Sunday afternoon, and we arrived at a conclusion—a conclusion which I am going to offer to you in the course of the convention to consider—a conclusion which I think you ought to agree upon if you view the conditions rightly. We drew up a manifesto of the Socialist Party, and we intend to send it broadcast, with or without the endorsement of this Left Wing conference. We drew up a manifesto laying down what we have believed for the last five years to be the basis upon which the Socialist Party should be organized. We have laid down that basis clearly and concisely as a tentative program upon which the Socialists within the Socialist movement may unite in a convention and draw up a program and platform for a new Socialist Party in America. (Hearty and prolonged applause.)

We have set the date for that convention as September first 1919 in the city of Chicago. And I, as the Secretary of the Ways and Means Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan, have charge of the arrangements of that convention. Before this conference is over, you are going to have an opportunity to endorse that call. You are going to have an opportunity of urging the Lefts in this country to line up on their tentative program for the organization of a real Socialist Party. I know some of you don't want to do that. I know some of you would prefer to follow the middle course of fighting it out within the Socialist Party. I know some of you would want to sit in and fight—fight in a convention in which

you will have no representation—fight in a convention in which it is not as yet known that you will even have a voice—fight against such contemptible creatures as Victor L. Berger, Adolf Germer, Morris Hillquit, Seymour Stedman and a few others. They have demonstrated, in my estimation, beyond the peradventure of any doubt that they are not going to allow the control of the Socialist Party of America slip from their fingers. They have, since the expulsion of Michigan and the suspension of the language federations—they have turned the property of the Socialist Party of America over to trustees elected for long terms of years so that there will be no chance of any Left Wing element getting control of it. And some—some would ask us to continue a vascillating policy of fighting within such a corrupt organization of that sort. Some would even hesitate to strike now once and for all for a real Socialist movement in America. Some of you would prefer to fight this thing out within the party, but I, for one, have given up all hope of fighting it out in the Party. I considered, and we have considered—I speak in the name of the Socialist Party of Michigan—we considered that by this act of expelling some forty thousand members from the Socialist Party of America, the National Executive Committee has thrown down the gauntlet to the Socialist within the Socialist Party, and I for one will not hesitate to pick it up and hurl it into their teeth. (Prolonged and hearty applause.)

Mr. Paul: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The question he (delegate Zucker of New York) brought up was a resolution that was submitted by the Resolution Committee last Sunday, that the City Convention of the Greater City instruct its delegates to the National Left Wing conference to organize a Communist Party—The question was debated thoroughly on all sides, and the resolution was finally adopted by a vote of 62 to 51. The matter was then left for a referendum to the members of the branches and locals represented in that convention last Saturday. Outside of that, the Secretary of the City Committee has not received any reports from the various branches or locals.

Mr. Ferguson: Comrades, at the time of the meeting of the National Executive Committee, Comrade Ruthenberg, Comrade Fraina, Comrade Keracher came in, and an informal meeting was held—I remember these delegates, and all of the Translator-Secretaries, and perhaps I have forgotten two or three, some of the comrades from Chicago—a group of about twenty comrades met and informally organized a provisional committee, to carry on what campaign could be carried on until the time of the meeting of this conference. In view of what has been said, I might state the point of view—the policy of the members there gathered, and that was decidedly that it was up to the Left Wing to make the fight for control within the party, in spite of all the suspensions that had been made. So there you have another angle. The committee was unanimous in that respect. There was no proposition about organizing a new party. The proposition was that we had enough strength within the party—that the rank and file is so thoroughly disgusted—so thoroughly permeated with the ideals of revolutionary Socialism, that there is no question that if we do some measure of propaganda work, some measure of organization, we have the overwhelming majority of the newly elected Executive Committee on the vote which the old N. E. C. refused to recognize. We decided that at the appropriate time one of the newly elected members of the National Executive

Committee would make a motion to Adolf Germer to call the N. E. C. in session, and if he would refuse the newly-elected N. E. C. would meet in spite of Comrade Germer. This newly-elected Executive Committee, the majority of which are Left Wing delegates, would proceed to function as the regular National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, issue a declaration to the membership, and try, to a large extent within its power, to take over the actual official work of the organization. The four Left Wing delegates elected to the International Congress would meet in July, and issue a declaration to the party membership as the delegates to the International Congress of the American Socialist Party. We would furthermore try to take over the arrangements for the convention and bring the final fight to the Emergency Convention of August 30. We furthermore suggested to the comrades of the State of Michigan that they refuse to recognize their expulsion by the National Executive Committee. We recommended to them that they stay within the party, and send contesting delegates to the emergency convention at Chicago. And we furthermore recommend the same procedure to the expelled locals and branches of New York—that they organize independently of the Right Wing Party as the official Socialist Party in New York State, send their delegates to the convention, and then at the convention, we would decide whether we have got the Socialist Party, or whether we have to follow some other course of action. (Great applause.)

Mr. Ballam: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As Chairman of the Convention of the State of Massachusetts, which Convention elected its State Secretary, Comrade Sproule, and the Chairman of the Convention, who is also editor of its official organ, to represent the State of Massachusetts in this Left Wing Conference, I want to say speaking for its delegation, that it has gone solidly to the Left—decidedly to the Left—that it does not intend to quibble or treat with this proposition—that it has wiped out the Centre—recognizes no Centrist position; and in making this report I want to make that plain. I appreciate, and I think every delegate here appreciates the outraged feelings of the comrades of Michigan, and of the various Language Federations illegally suspended and illegally expelled by the N. E. C. We have made our propaganda to the rank and file of the Socialist Party, and the rank and file of the Socialist Party has accepted the Left Wing position. We have captured the party of America for the Left Wing. It is now in our hands. So that the position of the delegates from Massachusetts as the position of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, is that we will stay in the Party and fight this thing out, not allowing the N. E. C. to expell us, but that we will expell the N. E. C., and every member connected with them (applause) that we will prefer charges against everyone implicated in illegal acts such as they have performed, and throw them out of the Socialist Party of America, capture it for revolutionary Socialism—first throw them out, and let them take their places in America together with the other social-patriots that left the party during the war of their own accord—the Spargos and the rest of them. Now, that is the position of Massachusetts. We do not want to get out because they want us to get out. They cannot throw us out because they have not the power to throw us out. But if it should be proven after the Convention in August that in spite of the fact that by every demonstrable proof, by a counting of noses and votes, that we have the Party, but through their machinations they hold the

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Correspondence

The Situation in Canada

DEAR Comrade: I will try to give you a little history of the past two months. I guess you know that the workers of Winnipeg were out on strike, and I may say that they put up a great scrap. They had most of the City Aldermen, the provincial legislature, the Federal Government, the International Union Officers and a bunch of the reactionary elements in the unions against them. It was surprising to me how they kept it up so long.

After they had been out a month the radical boys were arrested, Armstrong, Russell, Johns, Blumenberg, Verenchuk, Charitinoff, Alanazoff, Private Schappellie of Winnipeg, Prichard of Vancouver, all of whom belong to the Left Wing, then there were Queen and Heaps, who are Social-Democrats and Aldermen of the City, Bray of the returned soldiers, Dixon and Woodsworth of Vancouver, who are members of the Labor Party, and Ivens, the editor of *The Western Labor News*. They were all taken from their beds between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning and taken to the Stony Mountain Penitentiary, except Prichard, who was arrested in Calgary, Johns and Dixon, for whom warrants were issued and who gave themselves up, and Woodsworth, who was arrested on Main Street and taken to the Provincial Jail. Mrs. Armstrong was also arrested and taken to the Provincial Jail.

With the exception of Blumenberg, Charitinoff, Alanazoff, and Schappellie, who were transferred to the Immigration Hall, and Verenchuk, who was released, all those arrested are out on bail.

The day of the riot—we call it Bloody Saturday—the returned soldiers were to hold a silent protest parade in the afternoon, but before they got in line about 50 North-West Mounted Police and mounted regulars in khaki started their horses at full gallop into the crowd. Of course some of the boys were run over, which made the rest angry, and when the soldiers and police re-charged the boys had a bunch of stones ready for them and let fly with full strength. Shortly afterward a street car tried to get through the crowd, but the boys attacked it, broke the windows, ordered the scabs off, and then set fire to it with the result that the Fire Department was called out. The Mayor read the Riot Act and the *Mounties* again charged the crowd only to receive the same dose as they got previously. Two *Mounties* were knocked off their horses and were taken into an undertaker's parlor opposite the City Hall.

The *Mounties* reformed and came round the front of the City Hall, pulled their guns and opened fire on the crowd, killing one man and wounding over thirty, while about forty arrests were made. I forgot to mention that when the Mayor read the Riot Act the Special Police were called out with clubs and revolvers. About twelve of these police had their guns taken from them and believe me it was a scene that the workers will never forget. It was the finest education they have ever had. I had all kind of fellows come up and shake hands with me and say they were Bolsheviki from now on. You know comrades, it made me laugh to think of the uphill fight we Left Wing Socialists have had and now the workers are coming to us of their own accord.

Johns and Russell got a great ovation when they appeared at the Trades and Labor Council last Thursday. The workers see that they are the only ones to be trusted. The Labor scabs and fakers have got themselves in bad with the masses, so much so good for us.

About midnight on July 1, I got a visit from the North-West Mounted Police, four were in uniform and one in plain clothes. I went to a Federation meeting that night and when I came out I met our International Officer and

Zetkin Defends the Bolsheviki

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class. She urged that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an essential transitory measure, the object of which is the abolition of the capitalist class. *In opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Independent Socialist Party had become an accomplice in preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.*

Zetkin demanded the immediate resumption of relations with the Russian Soviet Republic. The fact that the Soviet Government had so long maintained its power was the best proof that it was not an arbitrary regime resting solely upon the force of bayonets.

It was wrong for the Independents to go to Berne and illogical for those to participate in it who had been represented at Zimmerwald. Berne she described as "a conference of reciprocal and general amnesty." The delegates conjugated: "I am a sinner, thou art a sinner," and so on, and believed that it was possible thus to re-establish the International! "*The old International died in shame: it can never be resurrected!*"

The Berne Conference, so far as it could, had frustrated the establishment of an International of action, and had betrayed and deceived the masses. Great confusion had been created by the fact that the German Independents had refrained at Berne from separating themselves from the Majority Party.

Zetkin insisted that: "A union of peoples will never result from Wilson's League of Nations, but at the Berne Conference more faith was placed in Wilson than in Marx." Kautsky abused his influence at Berne. The repudiation of the Bolsheviki deserved the strongest condemnation. The rejection of the Adler-Longuet motion was a provocative insult to the Bolsheviki.

Hitherto the German Independent Socialist Party had not been inspired by that necessity. It was a product of the process of decomposition which had been going on in the old Social Democratic Movement, and its parentage has involved it in that process. The antagonisms which existed in its very midst could not be eliminated by a mere resolution of the Conference. A complete severance between the left and right wings had become imperative. "Personally," said Zetkin, "I am faced with a painful and difficult decision. It is impossible for me to remain in the Party if it maintains its present majority. I will not spend the closing years of my life in an atmosphere of death. I will spend my last years in an atmosphere pregnant with the forces of the future. Some people appear to think they can bury the Revolution, but the Revolution is more alive than ever. The agitations for higher pay have become revolutionary. The masses are animated by a new spirit. It is our duty as Socialists to guide them, but to do so we require a vision rendered strong by its keen foresight. Thus Socialist theory will become a living force which will take possession of the masses."

Clara Zetkin's closing words were received with loud and prolonged cheers.

walked down the street with him until I met the President of the Policemen's Union. I spoke to him a little and then boarded a car to go home. About half a block from my home I came upon a policeman sitting on his doorstep having a smoke, I stopped to talk to him as he comes from the same part of the old country as I do. (The North-West Mounted Police, who are a semi-military body, acted against the strikers while the regular city police offered to go out on strike in sympathy with the men—Ed.) While we were talking a car passed us, stopping about two doors from where we were sitting, the plain clothes man jumped out and asked a man sitting in the veranda what the number of this house was. We noticed four *Mounties* in the car, and the policeman said to me: "I'll bet they are going to your house." As he said it they stopped right in front of my door and asked my wife, who was sitting on the veranda, the number of the house. My wife went into the house to wake my brother up and when the detective knocked at the door he opened it. The men in the car got out with their guns in their hands and immediately dropping on their hands and knees began crawling over the boulevard towards my house. I watched the whole affair from the policeman's door-step. He said to me: "Well what do you know about that? I never saw the likes of it in all my life, you would think you were a desperate murderer."

They got a lot of books and papers and I learned later that they raided about fifty houses that morning. They are carrying out these raids all over the country and they have got the people sore, and believe me the workers are preparing for them now.

Well comrades, we lost the strike, but we gained a lot of experience. The police, firemen and all the rest of the civic employees had to sign a card that they would not belong to the Trades and Labor Council. Lots of them lost their jobs because they would not sign. All the mail carriers in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Calgary lost their jobs but I guess the workers will get over that. What they have lost in jobs they have gained in experience and they have also lost a few phrases like: British Justice, Our King and Country, Britons never shall be slaves, etc.

I am sorry I am not getting your papers and books. I could sell them very easily now, but I guess this "People's Government" we have got is holding them up. I will see the boys at the next meeting and will send you some money along for the papers that arrive.

Well, the One Big Union has started and the majority of the unions have decided to leave Gompers' outfit and go over to the O. B. U.

I forgot to tell you that this is Decoration Day—the capitalist class puts flowers on the graves of the Canadian boys who died here as a result of the wounds they received in the war. They always have a parade of the returned soldiers and the Boy Cadets on this day but this time it turned out a fizzle. About 150 returned soldiers paraded out of over 20,000, but to make the thing look big they turned out the mounted police, so you can see that the returned soldiers are getting wise. There is going to be a peace parade on Saturday, but not so far as the workers are concerned. I will let you know about it later.

Yours for the cause,

WALTER HENDERSON.

Official Left Wing News

A WAIL goes forth from the National Office of the Socialist Party that the membership has withdrawn almost completely its financial support. For the first four months of the year, the dues stamps sales exceed \$5,000 per month, which meant an average membership of over 100,000. In May the dues sales went down to \$3,335; June, \$2,109; first half of July, \$533.

The Literature Department is practically out of business, according to the July report. The "Defense and Organization fund ran for the first five months of the year as follows: \$7,309.; \$2,868.; \$1,095.; \$2,474.; \$4,349.; \$837; with first half of July, \$276.

In other words, there is no membership willing to entrust funds to the National Office, even for the purposes of legal defense. But this does not mean that the members will desert the comrades whose cases are to be tried or appealed. It simply means that the local organizations, city, state, or federation, will have to handle these cases directly. It goes without saying that the National Left Wing Council, through THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE, or in any way open to it, will do everything possible to help these local bodies in this emergency.

There is much complaint of the Left Wing activities as responsible for the bankruptcy of the National Office. A man from Mars might look at the above figures according to the calendar and, following the activities of the old National Executive Committee, might find a very ready explanation for the fact that the membership of the Socialist Party will no longer entrust funds to the National Office.

* * *

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION

A Special Convention has been called by the Massachusetts Executive Committee for August 10th, at Boston. This Convention will instruct the delegates from Massachusetts as to their stand at Chicago, on August 30th.

There is a small Right Wing group in Massachusetts, heretofore dependent on the Finnish Federation.

Now it appears that the Finnish Federation is no longer going to allow itself to be used for purposes of reaction, and the Finnish delegates to the Massachusetts Convention ought to line themselves up with the Left Wing. On the other hand, the groups in Massachusetts which have recently separated themselves from the Left Wing under spur of the deceitful campaign carried on in that State by the secessionists from the Left Wing Conference, particularly by Comrade Stoklitsky among the Russian members, ought to be ready to realign themselves with the National Left Wing Organization by the time of this Convention.

This is a highly important Convention, and the comrades in Massachusetts who are anxious to see all the revolutionary Socialists in the country lined

Workers!

Money is urgently needed for the defense of the men and women imprisoned throughout Canada for their part in the One Big Union movement, particularly for the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike.

Their cause is your cause, they are fighting your fight. In solidarity there is strength. Show your solidarity with your Canadian comrades by getting behind the defense. Stretch over the boundary line and show the capitalist class that the workers of the North American continent are united.

Send funds to:

E. Robinson, Secretary of the Trade and Labor Council, Trades Hall, James Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

up for common action on September 1st at Chicago, ought to instruct their delegates to act with the National Left Wing on the basis of the program of the National Left Wing Conference.

* * *

OREGON

Local Portland, Oregon, is looking for a good Left Wing organizer and lecturer. The Oregon party has about eighteen hundred members, of which more than one thousand are in Portland.

The letter comes to this office from Constance Svendsen, Secretary Local Portland, 131 Second St., and says, among other things: "As to wages, we could not pay more than a living wage at present, but the field is so large and the possibilities so great for the right man that the salary could probably be increased later."

Any one making application for this work will please send copy of such application to the National Secretary, so that inquiry can be made as to qualifications.

* * *

VIRGINIA

After nominations were made but before election had proceeded the National Office notified the Virginia organization that it was not entitled to representation at the National Convention. The two nominees appear to stand with the Left Wing. Comrade E. J. Beggs writes: "While the radicals in this section are not grouped in an organization, they are standing at attention ready for action when the pressure squeezes a little harder, as demonstrated during the war (1917) by over 5000 navy yard workers laying down their tools." Writing of the party situation, Comrade Beggs adds: "Personally I am as for 'over' (left) that I am only holding on to the present organization by that stub of a finger left from an industrial accident."

I. E. FERGUSON, Nat. Sec'y.

Greater New York News

ORGANIZERS of all branches contesting the primaries should file their petition lists in this office not later than July 28th.

First Bi-Weekly Letter To Enrolled Socialists—is now ready for distribution to branches. Price per hundred letters 60 cents.

Lists of enrolled voters can be purchased at this office.

* * *

Branches desiring more petition lists for enrolled Socialist Voters can procure them in this office.

Branch secretaries or organizers should procure new Left Wing application cards and duplicates from this office as no one will be permitted in to the membership meeting on August 3d unless he shows his Left Wing application card and his Socialist Party card.

* * *

All Left Wing New York Branches should elect their delegates on the basis of one for every twenty-five members to the new Left Wing N. Y. Central Committee.

* * *

Branch secretaries should send in the place and date of their meetings so they can be published in this column regularly. Also reports of activities of the branch.

* * *

Emergency Due Stamps and Emergency Party Cards are now ready and can be procured at this office.

* * *

Special Propaganda Stamps are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should do their best to push the sale of these stamps among the comrades and friends and sympathizers. Every comrade should carry a book of these stamps with him to the shop and union meetings and sell them to their comrades. At the same time it gives him an opportunity of explaining the Left Wing organization to those workers who as yet are in the dark about our movement.

* * *

Push the sale of the Propaganda Stamps—It provides us with funds and offers you the chance of presenting the Left Wing case to the workers.

All comrades should get busy in their branches as the branch activities must not be neglected at this important time. Every Left Wing branch must be made stronger than ever it was in the past. We are building for the future—the Communist Party of America—and the Social Revolution. To think

that you can stay home and let the branch take care of itself means only one thing—*stagnation*—and that must not creep into our movement. We have youth, enthusiasm and proletarian ideals on our side—this combination is invincible. Make your slogan—*All power to the Left Wing*—and act upon it by becoming active in your branch.

The 18-20th A. D. will hold an Entertainment and Dance on Saturday, August 9th at Socialist Hall, 1848 Lexington Ave. The proceeds will go to rebuild the branch headquarters, raided by the Right Wing.

* * *

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Due to the tremendous success obtained at the "Left Wing Excursion" to Great Bear Mountains, last Saturday afternoon, July 12, the 1st and 2nd Assembly District Branches of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, decided to run a second excursion for the convenience of all those who held tickets for the first excursion and were not able to get on the boat, as well as for the benefit of their friends.

This second and last excursion will be held on Saturday afternoon, August 16, 1919. The boat will leave the Pike Street Dock at 2:30 P. M. sharp. Dancing, singing, rowing, swinging and other entertainments are on the program for this day. Tickets may be obtained at the following places: 180 Henry Street, 255 Grand Street, *Novy Mir*, 113 E. 110th St. and at *The Revolutionary Age*, 43 West 29th Street.

* * *

General membership meeting of 1st, 2nd and 3d Russian Branches of N. Y. will be held on Friday, August 1st, at Madison Hall, 1666 Madison Ave. between 110th and 11th St., at 8 o'clock sharp.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING
Sunday, 1 P. M. August 3, 1919.
MANHATTAN LYCEUM
66 East 4th Street, New York
Ratification of the National Left Wing Conference and election of officers.
Admission by Left Wing Application Card and Socialist Party Card.
Application Cards can be secured at headquarters or from Branch secretaries.

All Left Wing branches participating in the primary election should send in the names of the candidates so their names can be published in the "Age."

MANHATTAN BRANCH NOTICE:

Nominations for delegates to National Emergency Convention should take place in every branch immediately. Each branch is entitled to make twelve nominations. These should be sent in to this office and when all the nominations are in, a letter will be sent to all nominees asking for acceptance or declination and those accepting and otherwise qualifying as delegates (three years membership in the party) will be placed on the ballot and then sent out for referendum to the various branches.

* * *

The 3d, 5th and 10 A. D. will hold a symposium debate, Monday, August 4, at 43 W. 29th St., on "The Limitations and Functions of Unionism." Its limitations will be presented by Comrades Daniels and Slater, while Comrades Larkin and Brahdry will present its functions and uses. Open discussion to follow.

* * *

The Left Wing Central Committee of Local Bronx was organized on Saturday, July 26, at 1304 Southern Boulevard. The following officers were elected: Recording Secretary, Abraham Nefsky; Organizer, Louis A. Baum; Treasurer, L. Glouberman. In addition an Executive Committee of 13 was elected.

The Central Committee will meet every 2nd and 4th Saturday, at 1304 Southern Boulevard. The Executive Committee will meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, at 1258 Boston Road.

* * *

The 1st A. D. will hold a concert and dance on Saturday Evening, August 2, at the Lettish Hall, 371 Willis Avenue.

* * *

Announcements—5th A. D. Bronx.

Friday, August 1st: A debate at the headquarters, 1304 Southern Boulevard, "Is there room for a Left Wing movement in the Socialist Party?" Jay Lovestone affirmative; Maurice Amberg, negative.

Admission free.

Tuesday, August 5th: Regular Branch meeting. Business will be suspended and Comrade I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary, will speak on "What is the Left Wing?"

Wednesday, August 6th: Open air meeting at Intervale and Wilkins Aves.

Report of the National Left Wing Conference

(Continued from page 13)

Convention, it will be plenty of time to act, and if it is necessary, then to organize the Communist Party in America. We can do so, but at this time, we mean to take possession—physical possession of all the party machinery that is built up through the sacrifice of the rank and file, and we do not propose to leave that intact in the hands of a few renegades that propose to use it for bourgeois purposes to betray the Socialist movement.

I think, briefly stated, that this is the position of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, and I sincerely hope it will be the position of the Left Wing Conference. (Applause.)

Mr. Stoklitsky: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: We have had a very pleasant time discussing questions with Comrade Germer. There were certain moments when I personally felt that I must leave that office and go away from there. Comrade Wagenknecht is here, and he can illustrate that thing from the side of a Comrade who was in the place and saw how we were treated there. As a matter of fact it was not the office of the Socialist Party, but it was merely a police station, comrades. (Laughter.) But we are used to fight, and we did our share. I don't think it is necessary for me to explain how it happened. You know all about it. I am sure that out federations—they will stay together as federated federations, with the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, if the Left Wing of the Socialist Party will prove that they are real Bolsheviki. (Hearty applause.) But, comrades, if there will be any question, and we will see that there

is not a real policy of Communists, we will fight, and we will fight very hard, even for a small technical thing. We are used to it. And the main power of the Bolsheviki is that they fight big things and small things with the same power and with the same force, and we will do that. I thank you, comrades. (Applause.)

Chairman: There was a convention recently, comrades, of the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party, in Boston. This convention was packed by the moderates. They used all kinds of parliamentary tricks to strangle the Left Wing delegates there, and the Left Wing delegates stayed away, and formed a Federation of their own. I have been asked to present to you the request of a representative of this new federation—revolutionary federation, to speak on this matter, Comrade Hiltzik.

Mr. Hiltzik: Comrade Chairman and Delegates: I am here to greet this convention in the name of the Jewish Left Wing Federation, just lately organized in Boston. Comrades, I just want to mention a word or two as to how our Left Wing has been formed in the Jewish movement. You all know that the only two conservative federations up to date have been the Jewish and the Finnish—that is the information that we got here in New York from the Socialist Party. We began a revolution in the Jewish Federation as early as May 1918. It was at the time when the Jewish machine—the machine of the Jewish Federation organized an effort to turn the Jewish Federation into a campaign of social-patriotism, and they called for that purpose a National conference here in New York last May,

to repudiate the St. Louis platform, and to recognize the social patriotic stand of all social patriots in the world. At that time, they decided by a fake majority of twenty-five against nineteen to support the Wilson administration, and to repudiate the St. Louis platform. That is the time when the revolutionary comrades in the Jewish movement found it necessary to organize and to test the rank and file of the Jewish movement, and we found that before the Left Wing was organized that the Jewish comrades in the movement were already in revolt against their federation. And we finally decided that when the Jewish convention will be called, we are certainly going to capture the Jewish Federation for the revolutionary Socialist Party—that is, for the Left Wing. But when we came to the convention we found that they had also at this convention a fake majority of social-patriots and opportunists, who have been trying to put a Jewish Socialist Federation on record as against the Left Wing. When we could not do anything else, we split the convention and a great minority, about 40 per cent of the delegates present—that is we were in the majority, if not for their fake make-up of a majority—we left the convention and formed our own convention. We named our convention the Jewish Left Wing Federation of the Socialist Party. We also decided at that convention that we go on record as joining the Left Wing—supporting the Left Wing morally and financially. We elected our officials, and the only thing we are waiting for now is for the establishment of a Communist Party, and at that time we are going to join the Communist Party.

Die and Tool Makers' Lodge No. 113

Gentlemen:-

Chicago, Ill., July 18, 1919
Kindly send us one hundred (100) copies of your weekly, until further notice, C. O. D. Machinists Society, 113 S. Ashland Ave.

Also let us have information as to best discounts in bundles of 50, 500, also information about return privileges.

Yours truly,
Machinist Society
By A. J. Predit.

Dear Comrade:

Denver, Colo.
Enclosed please find check for \$25.00 as a contribution to the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party from Local Denver.

As soon as we are in a position we shall try to send more.

Harry Intemann, Fin. Sec'y.

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

Philadelphia, Pa.
Enclosed please find check for \$5.00 for the National Council. Please credit this to the Philadelphia allotment. I do not belong as yet to the local branch and therefore it is immaterial through what channel my contribution reaches the fund.

H. Golden, M. D.

Comrades of the Left Wing—history calls to YOU!

The National Left Wing needs \$15,000

for its immediate work. We must prepare to bring together at Chicago August 30th, a truly representative Left Wing delegation from every State in the Union.

I. E. Ferguson,
Secretary, National Council
43 West 29th Street, New York City.