

# Left Wing Notes

At the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, held June 8, at Minneapolis, it was decided to form a permanent organization of the Left Wing in the State. A motion condemning the action of the N. E. C. in suspending the seven language federations and expelling the State organization of Michigan was carried with instructions to the delegates to have their locals and branches second the Cleveland resolution, demanding that the question of expulsion be submitted to a membership referendum.

It was also decided to form a Left Wing State Executive Committee of five, and to elect seven delegates to the National Emergency Convention of the Party. Two delegates were elected to represent the State at large, at the National Left Wing Conference and it was decided that locals desiring to send delegates could do so. Comrades Gordon and Thompson were elected.

The convention went on record as believing that "the best way to strengthen the Left Wing movement is to teach the philosophy and economics of Socialism. Reformism can no longer draw any support from an apparent contradiction between Marxism and the facts of industrial development. Marxism has been completely vindicated by the war and its outcome. The Left Wing movement will grow in proportion to its success in making this truth known."

The Massachusetts Socialist Party State Conference held on May 30 to June 2, resulted in a clean sweep for the Left Wing. Two delegates, Comrades Marion Sproute and John J. Ballam, were elected to represent the State at the National Left Wing Conference. Comrade Louis C. Fraina is the delegate from Local Boston. About 20 delegates, out of over 200, bolted and formed another convention when the Left Wing Program was adopted. Debs, Haywood, Mooney and all other political prisoners were greeted in a resolution. Resolutions protesting against intervention in Russia, and the reign of terror in Finland were carried, as were resolutions greeting the Winnipeg workers, endorsing the Third International, expressing solidarity with the expelled Comrades and urging the formation of Shop Committees for spreading Socialist propaganda.

The Convention also resolved "That it is our sense that *The Revolutionary Age* become the central organ of the National Left Wing of the Socialist Party. That we recommend to Local Boston to turn over *The Revolutionary Age* to the Left Wing Conference, June 21, for its disposal."

The 3rd, 5th and 10 A. D. (unreorganized) holds its business meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday. Discussion meetings on alternate Mondays. The House Committee meets every Wednesday. The class in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" meets every Friday evening.

All Comrades who still have subscription lists should send them in immediately. We need the money! MAXIMILIAN COHEN.

## Left Wing Organizers, Attention!

The Communist in future will run a column of official Left Wing Socialist News. Organizers and secretaries should send in notices of the branch business meetings, street meetings and all other branch activities. The list for the week following our date of issue should reach this office not later than Tuesday. Thus the list of meetings for the week beginning Monday should be in this office on the preceding Tuesday.

## OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Friday, June 20, 8 o'clock at Rutgers Square, 2nd A. D.

Wednesday, June 25, 8 o'clock at 110th Street and 5th Avenue, 17th A. D.

Friday, June 27, 8 o'clock at 106th Street and Madison Avenue, 17th A. D.

## NOTICE

All Left Wing Branches in Kings, Queens, Manhattan and Bronx: Out-of-town speakers will be here during and after the National Left Wing Conference and it is advisable for all branches wishing to hold mass-meetings to make arrangements and get dates. Communicate with secretary.

Comrade L. E. Katterfeld will be open for three mass-meetings, week of June 23rd until June 29th. Locals or branches wishing to engage him communicate immediately with secretary. Comrade Katterfeld would also like to speak up-state for a few meetings. Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, Rochester, etc. take notice.

On the referendum to elect international delegates of the Socialist Party, Texas, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Ohio and the District of Columbia give the following returns:

John Reed, 4312; Louis C. Fraina, 3364; C. E. Ruthenberg, 3256; A. Wagenknecht, 2515; I. E. Ferguson, 2039. These are all Left Wing candidates. The moderates: Victor Berger, 1123; A. Germer, 1053; Algernon Lee, 438; John M. Work, 473; Seymour Stedman, 829; A. Shiplacoff, 674; James O'Neal, 365.

The full returns are, from the District of Columbia and 15 states—Texas, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Florida, Rhode Island, Maine, Kentucky, Arkansas, Minnesota, Michigan and Massachusetts:

John Reed, 11,911; Louis C. Fraina, 10,441; A. Wagenknecht, 7,938; C. E. Ruthenberg, 7,779; I. E. Ferguson, 4,577; Victor Berger, 2,262; A. Germer, 1,961; Seymour Stedman, 1,618; A. Shiplacoff, 1,337; James O'Neal, 1,143; Algernon Lee, 1,003; John M. Work, 920.

In 14 of these states (Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia not in) the vote on International Secretary is: Kate Richards O'Hare, 7,137; Morris Hillquit, 2,422.

The vote in Local Buffalo, New York (expelled for being Left Wing) on international delegates is:

John Reed, 307; Louis C. Fraina, 285; C. E. Ruthenberg, 271; I. E. Ferguson, 67; Victor Berger, 61; Kate O'Hare gets 145 votes and Morris Hillquit 80.

For National Executive Committee in District One—three states, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, the vote is: Louis C. Fraina, 3,130; N. L. Hourwich, 2,544; E. Lindgren, 1,472; L. Lore, 940; Morris Hillquit, 838; James O'Neal, 688; A. Shiplacoff, 319. Local Buffalo for N. E. C. votes: L. C. Fraina, 259; N. L. Hourwich, 205; E. Lindgren, 150; Morris Hillquit, 83.

These are partial results, indicating a Left Wing sweep, that a reactionary N. E. C. is trying to sabotage for the moderate.

WHEREAS, the National Executive Committee at its last regular meeting arbitrarily, and without a fair trial, as provided by our constitution, suspended from the Party the Language Federations who endorsed the program of the Left Wing; and

WHEREAS, the State Committee of the Socialist Party of the State of New York, at its last meeting voted to submit to a referendum of the membership the question whether or not the Party should permit within its ranks an organization known as the Left Wing; and

WHEREAS, the State Office has arbitrarily denied the membership of the Party a free expression, by referendum, of their opinion on this question, and has arbitrarily and contrary to the National and State Constitutions of the Party rescinded the action of the State Committee by failing to submit such referendum to the membership; and

WHEREAS, at a secret caucus of the Right Wing membership of the Executive Committee of Local Bronx, to which ALL members of said committee expressing adherence to a policy contrary to the pleasure and wishes of this self-constituted group, were excluded, voted to expel from membership in the Party any Branch of Local Bronx, which indicated by its vote on the "Left Wing and Alternate Program Referendum" a tendency to favor the Left Wing program; and

WHEREAS, the Executive Secretary of Local Bronx, has privately and publicly expressed her intention of prostituting Party machinery to further the ends of this designing group, despite the fact that she is the servant of the Party and the further fact, that at a general Party meeting and by and with the endorsement of the Central Committee, it was voted that this referendum be held; and

WHEREAS, it is apparent from the foregoing that the membership of the Socialist Party of Local Bronx, will be denied the right, as provided by the National and State constitutions and the by-laws of Local Bronx, to a free expression of opinion; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of Branch 5th Assembly District, Local Bronx, to exert its influence and best endeavors to maintain as long as possible harmony in the ranks of the Party in the hope of formulating a program acceptable to a majority of the membership and in that way prevent a split, be it

RESOLVED, that we of Branch 5th Assembly District, at a regular meeting held June 10th, 1919, at our headquarters, 1304 Southern Boulevard, at which were present members representing all shades of opinion, express our indignation and contempt for the course pursued by the aforementioned designing individuals, branding their conduct as a prostitution of the Party machinery and as high-handed, dishonest and corrupt; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this resolution be sent to the Local Secretary with a request that it be read to the Executive and Central Committees at their next meeting, and that the delegates of this branch to the Central Committee should present a copy of same to the said Committee at its next meeting.

coal companies, and no one allowed to vote who did not vote right. If anyone voted the wrong ticket, or was found by the company spies to be talking organization or any other heresy, he lost his job, was ousted from his house (company property) and run out of the town (which was also built on company property). And when at last the miners struck, the State Government sent the militia to break the strike, and this militia, the official police of the State, set fire to the strikers' tent colony and burned women and children to death. The strikers' leaders were tried for murder; the gunmen and militiamen went free.

In San Francisco, the Chamber of Commerce determined to crush Organized Labor on the Pacific Coast. Someone planted a bomb which exploded in the Preparedness Parade, killing and wounding many people. Tom Mooney, his wife, Israel Weinberg and a few other men active in the labor movement were arrested, and on perjured evidence Tom Mooney was sentenced to death. Before he could be hanged it was discovered that the whole business was a frame-up, that the evidence had been manufactured by the District Attorney in collusion with the Chamber of Commerce. The President's Investigating Commission recommended freedom or a new trial for Mooney. But the Governor of California, at the instigation of the Chamber of Commerce, simply commuted Mooney's sentence to life imprisonment. And there he lies, a life prisoner though innocent; while such is the power of the California capitalists, that Hiram Johnson, Senator from California, does not dare raise his voice to free Tom Mooney.

So with the Dissee deportations of 1917, when the Phelps-Dodge Copper Company of Arizona, by

means of armed thugs, drove out of town into the desert several hundred striking workmen, and the Government dared not punish them. And so with the persecutions and prosecutions of the I. W. W.—the open, bare-faced, shameless crushing of a great labor organization by the capitalist class. . . .

As the class-conscious workers develop political strength, the capitalist parties sink their differences and combine against them; they falsify the ballot; they use the police and the engines of the State to prevent the workers' voting; they gerrymander political districts, so that the majority of the voters get the minority of representatives. The conditions of labor in the United States cause hundreds of thousands of workers to drift from place to place in order to find work—and these workers cannot vote, because of residential qualifications. Poll taxes bar others. The disabilities of aliens, and the difficulties of naturalization—especially at present—disenfranchise thousands more. The anti-syndicalist laws for natives, and the deportation laws for aliens, still further compel silence from all who hold anti-capitalist political and economic opinions.

But after all, the most effective way in which the workers' vote is influenced is by making use of the economic relation between the worker and the employer. The worker is dependent upon the capitalist for his very life—his job. If he does not do as he is told, the worker is deprived of his job, and forced to join the floating army of the unemployed upon which capitalism rests. Now the worker, however high his wages, is squeezed by rent and the cost of living until he is upon the verge of starvation anyway. The shortest illness, the least stoppage of work, force him over the edge into

abject poverty. Burdened with a family, the worker cannot afford to quit work; he cannot afford to hold opinions contrary to the boss; he cannot even afford to exercise a vote against his boss's politics.

In Lima, Ohio, a few years ago, there was a municipal election pending. The population of Lima is largely supported by two factories, and the workers were about to elect a Socialist administration. The owners of the two factories thereupon issued a statement to the effect that if the Socialists won, the factories would move away. This would have brought disaster upon the workers, many of whom owned their own homes and had families to support. The Socialist administration was not elected. . . .

In 1916, a Preparedness Parade was held in New York City, which had a great effect upon Congress, because of its size. When the reasons for this mass-demonstration came to be analyzed, however, it was found that most of the workers who marched were forced to do so or lose their jobs. The same phenomenon was more clearly shown throughout the country in the subscriptions to Liberty Loans and the contribution to the Red Cross and other semi-private efforts.

The workers had to pay or be fired, and in some states these financial campaigns were accompanied by terrorization and intimidation at the point of a gun. Thus the workers were forced to support the political measures of the ruling class by their very dependence upon this ruling class. In an earlier article I have described how the political power was taken away from the elected officials of the working class Party by the State Councils of National Defense, and how the legislators elected by the Socialist

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