

Combined with "The New York Communist"

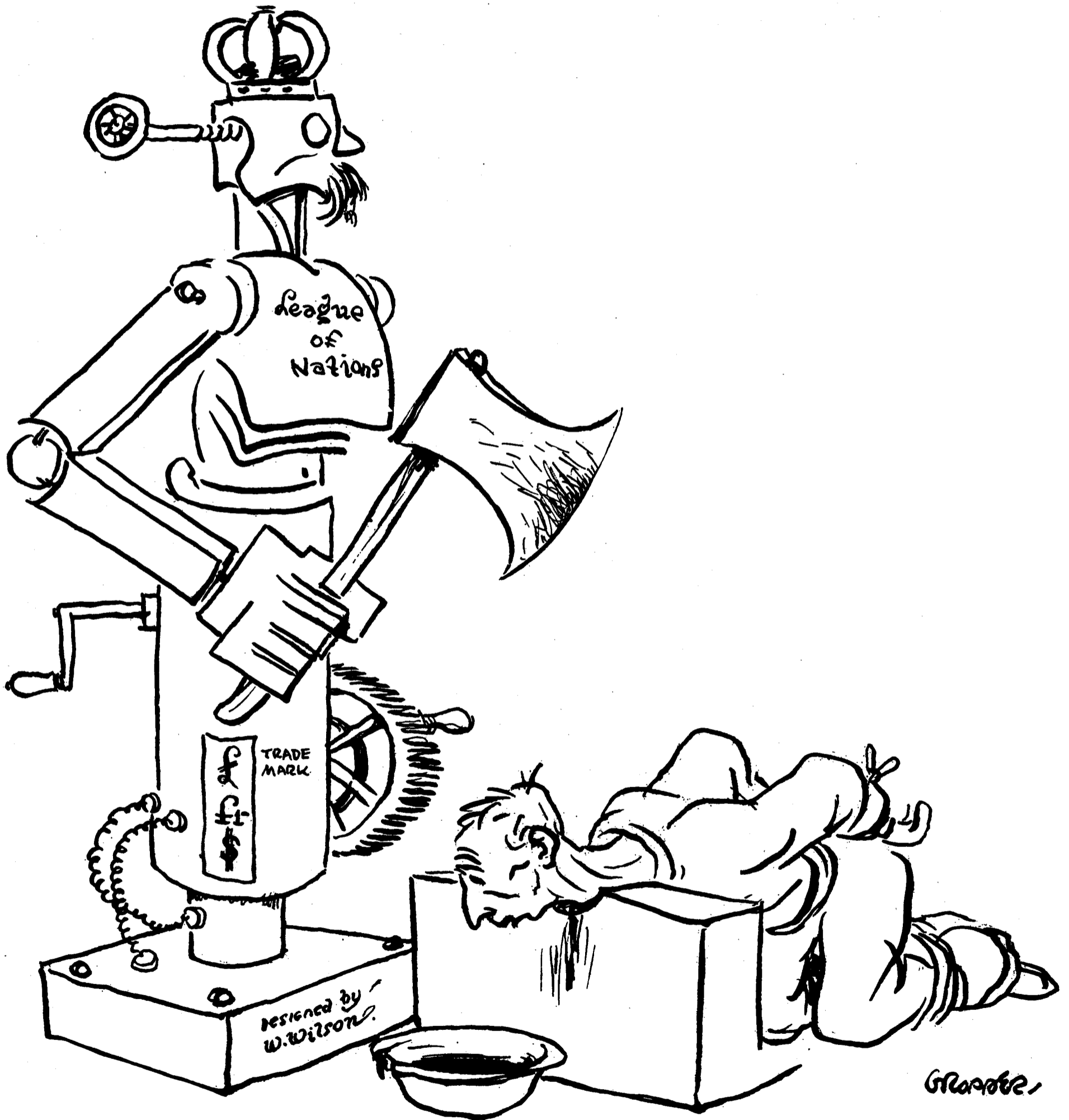
The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

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The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

National Organ of the Left Wing Section
Socialist Party

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Union Bureaucracy

WHEREVER militant labor gets in action, it meets the antagonism of the bureaucracy of the old unions. The American labor movement is familiar with the contemptible intrigues of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy against I. W. W. strikes, and particularly during the great Lawrence strike of 1912, when the A. F. of L. officials did all in their power to break the workers' struggle. This tendency also characterized the recent general strike in Seattle.

The union bureaucrats are particularly against industrial unionism, since industrial unionism ends craft divisions and craft disputes, which constitute the power of the union bureaucracy. In Canada, the One Big Union—industrial unionism—has captured the imagination of the organized workers. The One Big Union directed the great general strike in Canada; but, says an observer, "the *International Brotherhoods have come out against the strikers, shrewdly foreseeing in the One Big Union the destruction of their organization.*" This is a damning indictment of the old unionism.

One of the chief functions of the Communist Party now in process of formation will be to wage unrelenting war upon the old union bureaucracy, to encourage and rally the militant mass movements in these unions, to construct a revolutionary union movement.

July 14—November 7

JULY 14, symbol of the conquest of the Bastille by the masses of Paris, was this year in France officially a celebration of the victory over Germany. The July 14 of 1879 symbolizes revolution and progress; but the official "Victory" celebration of July 14, 1919, symbolizes reaction. Yet among the masses there was a revolutionary threat! . . .

The bourgeois press offers its tribute to July 14, and the French Revolution, greeting these events as real contributions to the progress of the world. Simultaneously, the press heaps slander and abuse upon the Russian Revolution.

One hundred years ago, the French Revolution was slandered as an orgy of assassins and beasts. The whole of privileged Europe intrigued against the Revolution, precisely as it now intrigues against the Russian Revolution. But the ideas of the French Revolution

conquered; and now, the world greets the French Revolution as a great event.

November 7 symbolizes the proletarian revolution; for it was on that day in 1917 that the Russian proletariat conquered power. Abuse and slanders are the portion of the men and women of this Revolution; the whole world of bourgeois privilege is arrayed against the Soviet Republic, the Bolsheviki being stigmatized as beasts and assassins,—precisely as during the French Revolution.

When the world accepted democracy, it reversed the original opinion of the French Revolution; when the world accepts the Communist Commonwealth—as it will—the world will reverse the prevailing opinion of the Russian Revolution, and greet it as the greatest event in all history, since it initiated the final struggle against class privilege and class domination.

The Small Nations

BEFORE the Allies secured the services of Woodrow Wilson in creating an ideology for the war, they conceived the war as a war to "protect the small nations." But these nations were not "protected" at the Peace Conference, being used by the great powers in making the world safe for *their* Imperialism.

Under the conditions of Imperialism, there can be no real independence for the small nations; they may have their own governments, but these must act in accord with the Imperialism of the great powers. The small nations, moreover, become means for the great powers directly to promote their own predatory purposes.

New nations are being created in Central Europe,—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia; and others are in prospect. No carving out these nations, the Allies have one general purpose: to erect a barrier against Bolshevik Russia. It works this way: the Allies decided that Soviet Russia should be crushed: accordingly, they bargained with the Czechs that, in return for national independence, they should fight against Soviet Russia. This bargain has been agreed upon also with Finland. Now comes the news that the Allies have decided that Soviet Russia must be crushed, but they dare not send their own troops to do the dirty work; accordingly, an agreement is concluded with Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia to fight the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Allies control the world's trade and finance and use this control to coerce the small nations.

Imperialistic France is developing a grandiose scheme for the domination of the continent of Europe. In fulfillment of this scheme France is erecting a group of small nations in Central Europe which are under the diplomatic and financial control of France, and which cannot act unless allowed to by the imperialistic clique that governs France. Imperialistic France conceives this scheme so important that it antagonizes Italy in order to construct a Jugo-Slav nation under French control.

The small nations, moreover, are satisfied to be used by the great powers. The capitalists of the small nations possess large appetites and small power—hence they adopt means of intrigue and become vassals of the big imperialistic nations. They are utterly reactionary and terrible oppressors of labor.

Time was when the struggle for national independence was revolutionary and progressive. Now these aspirations for national independence are simply an opportunity for Imperialism to aggrandize itself. The struggle of our epoch is the international proletarian struggle against Imperialism.

Now to Work

CAPITALISM plunged the world into war. It made work for death instead of life the normal occupation of peoples. It disorganized industry, encouraged destruction and idealized death. Capitalism did all these things in order to promote the supremacy of Capitalism.

The terrible tragedy of the war was a product of the terrible tragedy of peace. Capitalism is latent war and destruction, becoming actual and all-consuming at a particular moment. The necessity of war and destruction creates its own ideology: Capitalism makes a litany to war and destruction necessary to Capitalism but against life and peace.

Capitalism, during the war, made its litany to war and destruction familiar to the masses. War was a symbol of all the virtues, of self-sacrifice, of honor and courage, of the finest in man. Work, in itself, was beautiful in the measure that it promoted war. It was necessary to *fight and destroy*, argued Capitalism, in order to realize one's ideals.

But the workers did not realize any of *their* ideals during the war—they simply realized death, agony and oppression. War was to the workers a tragic teacher; it taught them that it is necessary to fight and destroy to realize ideals, but in a particular way. The masses of Europe, accordingly, are restive; they have accepted the ideology of power; they propose to fight and destroy in the struggle *against Capitalism* in order to realize their proletarian ideals.

But now Capitalism, realizing the menace of its own teaching, is speaking piously against war and destruction. It now sings a litany to peace and work.

The statesmen of the world, until recently idealizing war and destruction, are now idealizing work. In Italy, France, and England, in the "Socialist" Republic of Germany and in the United States, the chorus now is: "Cease your struggles, workers. We must have social peace. An end to destruction! In work alone is our redemption."

Work is now necessary to Capitalism, as war was necessary for almost five years. The proletariat is always urged to do the thing necessary for Capitalism.

But this means work under the old conditions of peace,—with the oppression of the worker by the employer. There is not much redemption in *that* for the workers.

Struggle is necessary. It is necessary to struggle against oppression, against injustice, against the dominant class and its old order. It is necessary to destroy this order of Capitalism. Social peace is realizable only *after* the struggle against Capitalism ends in the destruction of Capitalism. Life must destroy in order to realize life.

Work is necessary. But work under Capitalism means drudgery and oppression. It means that man lives to work, instead of working to live.

"In work alone is redemption," says that Capitalism which just a year ago urged that redemption was in war. There is redemption in work,—under new conditions. If the workers return meekly to work under the old conditions, it will mean redemption *for Capitalism*. It is necessary that the workers should struggle to end Capitalism, after which alone work will mean redemption for the workers.

To work? Yes! To work in the struggle against Capitalism, to destroy the old order. Then will work mean redemption—a new life and a new world.

Political Mass Strikes

THE proposed general strike to compel the release of Tom Mooney and other class war prisoners has not, as yet, materialized. Sabotaged by the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and its necessity blurred by the liberal-"Socialist" campaign for amnesty, the proposed mass strike is now a thing of regrets. The bourgeois press is jubilant since a strike to compel the release of class war prisoners would constitute a *political* strike, the first use by American labor of this aggressive and potentially revolutionary form of action.

But as economic pressure and revolutionary agitation proceed, the political strike will become familiar to the American proletariat, since class antagonisms and class struggles are being emphasized, necessitating emphatic action.

In Europe, where the political strike is a familiar form of proletarian action, the workers are preparing for the mightiest of all political strikes—a political strike simultaneously in France, Italy and England on July 21 to compel the end of intervention in Russia. The proletariat of Italy is using the political strike to act on the food crisis; while the Seamen's Federation at Naples prevented the steamer *Cablons*, bound from London to Vladivostok, from leaving the port because it carried munitions for the counter-revolutionary forces in Siberia fighting the Soviet Republic.

British labor is being agitated by the issue of the political strike. The moderates oppose this aggressive form of proletarian action. James Sexton, Labor Party member of Parliament, "favors" a revolution social in character, but opposes using the strike for political purposes as it would be "letting mad dogs loose." But the more radical representatives of British labor urge the use of the mass political strike to end conscription, to compel the return of all troops from Russia and to stop the shipment of munitions to the troops of Kolchak and other counter-revolutionary elements.

The bourgeois (aped by the "Socialist" moderates) are against the political strike. An editorial in *Collier's* of July 19 says: "Always up to the present (strikes) have attempted claims only in regard to the workman's own needs: his wages, hours, and right to organize. Now the strike has been brought from the field of economics into that of politics. Instead of defending the pay of a group, it is to dictate the policy of a state."

Precisely: it is militant labor's purpose to use its economic might by means of political strikes to impose its will upon the state. In the intensity of the class struggle, with the machinery of government deliberately calculated to baffle the will of the masses, labor can conquer only by the assertion of its economic might in political mass strikes.

It is just because strikes have been localized to wages and hours that labor has not secured power and control over its own life. As political problems are at basis economic problems, just so the economic problems of the workers are political problems in the sense that these problems are products of exploitation and exploitation is defended by the political power of the capitalists. But these problems of the workers are political in the larger sense, not simply in the parliamentary sense; they imply the necessity of coercing the state, of imposing labor's will upon the state, and the initial form of accomplishing this purpose is a mass stoppage of work in order to compel the state to come to terms.

The political strike, according to *Collier's*, "is hostile to democracy. . . . Their legitimate instrument is the citizen's vote, not economic civil war." Democracy is hostile to the political strike, since the function of democracy is to reconcile the workers to their oppression and assure the supremacy of Capitalism. Economic civil war is a repudiation of democracy: but capital uses this civil war to impose its will equally upon the workers and the state. Capital threatens the workers with unemployment and starvation unless its supremacy is assured; and capital threatens the state should the state act contrary to its will. Capital imposes its will upon the state since it controls the financial and economic power; labor must impose its will upon the state by means of its assertion of economic power in political mass strikes.

Democracy prevails in France, Italy and England. But this democracy does not prevent conscription, it did not prevent the war, it does not prevent the starvation of the Russian people and supplying Kolchak & Co. with munitions to murder the Russian people. Realizing these fruits of democracy, the workers are concluding: To hell with democracy!

Capital controls the state and the press, it controls all the available means of social expression and can sabotage the will of the masses expressed in "the citizen's vote." The one real social expression capable of being used by labor is the mass political strike, which may, at the right moment, impose its own government forms upon society. Democracy as it prevails is not the rule of the majority, but rule *over* the majority, it is the particular form of expression of bourgeois requirements and supremacy. If the mass political strike annihilates this fraudulent democracy, so much the better for the political strike! Votes can be disregarded, but not the political mass strike of the proletariat.

In the economic civil war which is a natural characteristic of Capitalism, an expression of the irreconcilability of interests between labor and capital, democracy is always repudiated. Government, national and municipal, suspends all civil rights; the courts, the police and often the army are used against the workers on strike; the issue becomes an issue of *power*. There is no democracy during a strike; and should militant labor, when it develops the power, recognize democracy, it stultifies itself and defeats its own purposes. Power is the final answer to Capitalism.

In the general strike in Canada, particularly in Winnipeg, the municipal government practically disappeared as a force. This mass strike was not a political strike; it was a strike for direct economic objects; but it necessarily clashed with the state power and assumed a political character. Instinctively, necessarily, the strikers usurped municipal functions of government; while the petty bourgeois and bourgeois citizens organized their own forces and equally usurped government functions;—the strike developing into a contest between the "government" of the strikers and the "government" of the bourgeois citizenry.

The political strike develops out of the usual economic strike—the usual strike necessarily developing political characteristics when it becomes general and clashes with the state. The political strike is conscious of its purposes and, moreover, it develops out of the impulse of the mass struggle itself the tendency toward proletarian dictatorship—all power to the workers by means of their own government organs, as against all non-proletarian social groups.

The Party Fight

THE Michigan-Federation call "to organize a Communist Party" of their own, considered elsewhere in this issue, contains this utterly misleading statement:

"Their policy (that of the National Left Wing) is one of endeavor to capture the old party machinery and the stagnant elements who have been struggling for a false unity and who are only ready to abandon the ship when it sinks beneath the waves of reaction."

The amount of misrepresentation in this short paragraph is truly astonishing:

1) The policy of the National Council of the Left Wing is *not* "to capture the old machinery." The Left Wing struggle is to get *the revolutionary masses* in the Socialist Party.

2) The Left Wing is not after "the stagnant elements who have been struggling for a false unity" in the Socialist Party. The revolutionary masses in the party are not stagnant; the intensity of their struggle against the Right Wing is a proof that they are not concerned with a "false unity." It is not the state of Michigan nor the Central Committee of the Russian Federation which has made a national issue of revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party, but precisely these revolutionary masses in the Left Wing who are now stigmatized as "stagnant elements."

3) To maintain a contact with the masses in the Socialist Party for some time longer, in order to agitate and rally the revolutionary elements for a Party of Communist Socialism, is not a policy of "false unity," but of actually carrying on the struggle for revolutionary Socialism.

4) To accuse the Left Wing of being composed of elements which "have been struggling for a false unity" in the Socialist Party, is not in accord with the facts, and disgraceful. It is the Michigan-Federation clique which is acting on the basis of false unity, since the Michigan delegates repudiate the Left Wing Manifesto and Program while the Federation delegates are in favor. To hell with consistency and revolutionary integrity!

The character of the Left Wing struggle within the Socialist Party is determined equally by means and by purposes. The purpose is to construct a Party of Communist Socialism: the means, at the immediate moment, must consist of a struggle to secure the masses in the Socialist Party.

In other words, a Party of Communist Socialism must issue either out of the conquest of the Socialist Party, or out of a mass secession to organize a completely new Party. This policy has characterized the struggle of the Left Wing within the Socialist Party.

The Left Wing made an issue out of an Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party: it forced the issue. Our policy, determined by objective facts, was that the Party struggle would come to a climax at this Convention. But now that the struggle is on the verge of final crisis, a small clique insists that we abandon the struggle at the crucial moment!

The utterly slanderous character of the Michigan-Federation policy is indicated in another mis-statement: "The majority of the delegates to the Left Wing Conference neglected to sever their connections with the reactionary N. E. C.!" The N. E. C. was not recognized; it was repudiated; it was made clear that the Conference proposed a Party of Communist Socialism.

Here and There

IN an editorial under the caption "The American Offense Society", *The New York Call* emits a whine about the way in which the American Defense Society quotes Hillquit. "One item listed is a small pamphlet, entitled 'The Immediate Issue', by Morris Hillquit, which is a reprint from *The Call*," says the editorial. "From this pamphlet these patrioters quote the following:

"Shall the socialization of industries and national life be attempted by one master stroke, or shall it be carried out gradually and slowly?"

"This article appeared a few weeks ago in the columns of this paper, and the extract quoted above is taken from it. It deals with a controversy within the Socialist Party and answered this question by affirming that no great social change is possible in this country by 'one master stroke.' (*Call's italics*). It is an answer to some heated individuals who think that a social revolution is imminent in this country."

The Call then becomes indignant at what it terms the "mendacity" of the American Defense Society. It waxes virtuous, denounces the methods pursued by such organizations and assures the world that Hillquit is very much against "master strokes."

The correct title for this editorial would be: "Please, Mr., it wasn't me, it was the other fellow." *The Call* denounces the American Defense Society's methods in one line, and in the next it commits an offense a thousand times worse—trying to save its own skin by blaming some one else. It objects to the American Defense Society tearing Hillquit's sentence from the context in order to make it appear to mean something other than Hillquit intended, and then it deliberately lies about the Left Wing, which it camouflages under the term "heated individuals." Hillquit's article was directed against the Left Wing specifically and so the "heated individuals" can mean nothing else than the Left Wing.

It happens to suit *The Call* to assume that the Left Wing is composed of a collection of hot-headed individuals who think that the social revolution in America is just round the corner, and so it points to the Left Wing in the hope that it will divert attention from itself.

As a matter of fact if the American Defense Society and kindred organizations were intelligent enough to learn from what is happening in the world today, they would leave *The Call* and its friends alone. The Berlin *Vorwärts* came in very useful to the German prototypes of the American Defense Society.

The hypocrisy of the righteous wrath of this editorial is so much propaganda for our position. We do not claim to have all the virtues in the Left Wing, but at least we have got rid of the most obnoxious vices. We may have a few hot-headed individuals in our ranks, but, at least, they are preferable to the cold-footed variety of which this *Call* editorial furnishes such an excellent example.

* * *

Peace has been signed at least two weeks. The Peace which is supposed to conclude a war which took nearly five years of fighting to bring an armistice, the Peace, the formation of whose actual provisions took over seven months. And already the liberal bourgeoisie of all the victorious nations are discovering that the treaty is literally bristling with the bayonets of the shock troops of future wars.

The New Republic is in a terrible state. She feels that she has been betrayed, that her character is gone. She feels that her very name is in itself a jeer at her proud announcements of yesterday; the building of a new world, the safeguarding of democracy, the war to end war and the beautiful vision of a Capitalism wherein the soldier, the machine gun, the bombing plane, the battleship and the submarine would be as rare as a prohibitionist on Broadway. She is gradually awakening to the fact that there ain't no New Republic, but only the old republics, up to their old tricks, under new names. That is excluding Russia and Hungary, and our once proud contemporary could not, of course, have anything to do with them. Why, she has not even been introduced. Besides their language is coarse and plain. They talk of dictatorship, iron discipline, and proletarian might, when everybody who is anybody is at least mentioning democracy, rule of majorities, and plebiscites even in the drawing-rooms.

In the last issue *The New Republic*, in a burst of indignation, announces to the world the enormity of her betrayal. The alliance with France, blows the League of Nations to atoms, proves that Mr. Wilson did not always mean what he said, or say what he meant, lays the foundations for new wars, and shows that France and England are scheming for what got Germany into trouble—the domination of the world.

We are inclined to think that all the things *The New Republic* attributes to the alliance with France are exactly what those who framed the pact intended. France is dreaming of the rebirth of the First Empire and undoubtedly England never had any idea of forswearing her taste for salt water.

But what did *The New Republic* expect? Surely she knew that statesmen never did wage wars for slogans—that has always been the special privilege of the hoi-polloi. One would think she really believed in Santa Claus!

These are hard days for the liberal bourgeoisie. All the returning soldiers tell us that No-man's-land was the worst place in the whole war—one got it from both trenches.

Special Convention Stamps

The National Executive Committee provided for payment of the expenses of the National Emergency Convention by issuing voluntary assessment stamps to be sold at 50 cents. The Left Wing members and locals still within the regular party organization will neither want to evade responsibility for their portion of the Convention expenses, nor will they want to finance the old N. E. C. in their deliberate attempt to wreck the party.

In this situation the National Left Wing Council has adopted the following motion: That we advise all party members who support the Left Wing to pay this Convention assessment in trust to the State Secretary of Ohio, at 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, the Convention fund thus accumulated to be finally disposed of by the National Left Wing Council on September 1st, 1919.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, LEFT WING

I. E. FERGUSON, National Sec'y

Bolshevikjabs

THE Right Wing in Local Kings, N. Y. at a meeting the other night decided to form an *English Branch* in one of the districts—"Comrades Oshinsky, Shiplakoff, Weil, Pavlov and Sheinblum were elected."

We understand that the formation of a *foreign speaking Branch* is contemplated and would suggest the election of Comrades Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Hancock.

* * *

A delegation of merchants, teachers and students visited Peking palace the other day and attempted to commit suicide in the presence of President Hsu Shih-chang as a protest against the transfer of Shantung to Japan by the Peace Treaty. This method of protest is said to have the unqualified approval of Japan.

* * *

Judging from the speeches which the President has delivered since his return from abroad the chief purpose of his visit to Europe was, not to make peace, but to find out just to what length the Europeans were going in their admiration of America.

* * *

The chief advantage of this interpretation of his mission lies in the fact that even the most carping senator cannot very well find fault with being told that the Europeans are prostrating themselves in adoration before America.

* * *

It is said that President Wilson has a *penchant* for the number "13," and that he considers it his lucky number. Perhaps this is one way of telling us that he does not consider "14" particularly fortunate.

* * *

Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemal Pasha, Turkish leaders during the war, have been sentenced to death by a Turkish court-martial. We hope that the Allies will frown on the establishment of any such dangerous precedent.

* * *

Physicians plan to make New York the medical capital of the world—and the New York City administration will do its best to keep the physicians well supplied with material.

* * *

We notice that Senator Moses is among those who oppose the League. Apparently he is not satisfied that it leads to the promised land.

* * *

Samuel Gompers has left for Europe—going back for more, but we understand that he does not contemplate visiting Italy this time.

* * *

"Wilson cited as the only friend Chinese had at Paris Parley" says a headline. Now the Chinese will understand the import of the Caucasian saying: "Save us from our friends."

* * *

"France is curbing big labor strike" say the papers—which merely goes to show how important it was that democracy should emerge triumphant in the world war.

* * *

If autocracy had been victorious, it is practically certain that labor strikes would be suppressed.

The One Big Union in Canada

By Ben Legere

THE capitalist press of Canada for months past has been crying out frantically against the growth of Bolshevism in the Dominion. The Winnipeg strike and the strikes that grew out of it were labeled a Revolution. Every move made by Labor has been denounced as an effort to set up a government of Soviets. From the line of attack pursued by the editors and spokesmen of the Canadian plutocracy one would expect to find Canadian labor in a white heat of emotional turmoil preparing to march against the machine guns of the capitalist government. Yet one may search the literature and propaganda of Canadian labor in vain for emotional revolutionary appeals. There is no mention of Bolshevism or Soviets except to repudiate the raving of the capitalist press.

I have recently returned from Western Canada after having been hastened across the border to the freedom of my native land by the agents of the Canadian government. They have the traditional British freedom of speech in Canada and I took advantage of it to encourage the Calgary workers in the construction of their One Big Union organization, but the Northwest Mounted Police made it quite clear that freedom of speech could not be accorded to aliens. They tried hard to impress that upon me by giving me a taste of their provincial prison accommodations, but the One Big Union convinced the Canadian government that would be decidedly unwise, so they deported me instead.

During the past year I have been in every part of the United States and Canada and nowhere have I found anything so inspiring as the manifestation of Labor's awakening that is making itself felt particularly from Winnipeg to the Coast. I came away convinced that Canadian Labor is leading the workers of the Western World toward industrial freedom and the new society that is already functioning from Russia across a considerable area of Europe almost to the Adriatic, and is even now setting up its preliminary structure in Italian cities. Yet the thing that impressed me most was the calmness with which the Canadian workers are setting about their task.

In Canada they are proceeding with a full consciousness that their movement is a part of the same historical revolution that had placed the Russian working class in power and dethroned Capitalism in those countries. They recognize their mission very simply by stating in the constitution of their One Big Union that they are preparing themselves for the day when production for profit shall be replaced by production for use. They have expended little energy in verbal attacks upon the capitalist government, but they quietly organized every branch of governmental employees from postal clerks to policemen; and for several days in Winnipeg utterly prevented the capitalist government of that city from functioning by simply suspending the service of its man-power.

It is perfectly true that during the first few days of the Winnipeg strike the General Strike Committee functioned practically as a worker's Soviet and supplanted the power of the municipal authorities. But the condition was not a part of the immediate program of the strikers and only existed incidental to the calling of a general strike of Winnipeg Labor for the purpose of securing for one section of the workers, in the building and metal trades, two definite demands for which they

had been striking for two weeks previous.

The subsequent extension of the general strike to practically every industrial community in Western Canada and to many of the important eastern cities as well was carried out as a normal tactic of a new kind of labor movement, and I did not find that the workers anywhere regarded the general strike as a prelude to revolution nor as a serious crisis in the constant conflict which they recognize as existing between them and the employing class.

In calling off the strike and returning to

From a Soldier

Dear Friend:-

I noticed in the daily press that you are held over for trial

I heard you speak in Calgary and I cannot understand why it should be so, since we are living in a free and democratic country.

I am the ex-soldier that spoke to you outside the Allen Theatre in Calgary, after the meeting.

As a soldier and ex-sergeant I fought for three years that Battle of Freedom and democracy on the battle fields of Flanders and France. I fought the monster of militarism, faced the screaming shells, the rattle of machine guns and inhaled the poison gas.

The remainder of my life I will devote to fight the spirit of Prussianism in our own country.

Great was my zeal when I marched into battle to the sound of drums.

Greater today is my zeal and spirit fighting the battle of the working class.

Take heart, friend, your friends are today numbered by the millions; thirty-five thousand are today protesting in Winnipeg against the forces that oppress us.

Ten times that number is this day ready to aid them.

The clarion call is sounded; eager thousands are anxiously waiting to down tools if it be necessary. At last the workers are beginning to realize that an injury to one is an injury to all.

So we see the dawn of better days.

Liberty will not for ever remain but a fair vision on the distant sky. It will come and take up its abode among the children of men.

On with the fight, upwards and onwards for ever humanity is striving.

All our petty prosecutors will some day be forgotten, buried in the cemetery of oblivion. And the names of the champions of freedom, of a better day, will be inscribed in the loving memory in the great red heart of humanity.

work without fully achieving the definite immediate demands they were fighting for, they were also following a simple rule of procedure of the new unionism which they have embraced. Anyone who conceives the idea that the Canadian general strike was a failure will have to learn that Labor organized as is the One Big Union in Canada is little concerned with the nominal success or failure of its strikes. It is simply part of the business of the day and will be repeated as a matter of fact part of the program whenever the occasion seems to require it. And from the point of view of these workers the only success or failure possible is measured by the growth of the union organization and the extent to which the working class of Canada advances in ability to conduct and administer the industries of the country when an under-

mined and crippled Capitalism may be finally swept aside and supplanted by a worker's democracy.

The Canadian general strike was unquestionably the most important demonstration of the spreading proletarian revolution that has yet been made on this continent. It was possible because a single simple idea has been sown and firmly taken root in the mind of organized labor in Canada. The idea of One Big Union. The Canadian Minister of Labor denounced the One Big Union as being the I. W. W. under another name. It is something much more than that. The I. W. W. has never been anything more than an insurgent section of Labor in America, breaking away from the main body and with revolutionary ideals and program striving to reorganize the working class upon the one big union plan.

To find a proper parallel for the One Big Union movement in the United States one would have to imagine 88 per cent of the three and a half million members of the American Federation of Labor, voting in their local unions and central labor bodies to abandon the entire theory of the A. F. of L., adopt the fundamental theory of industrial unionism as held by the I. W. W. and electing delegates to meet in convention and reorganize themselves in One Big Union. That is just what happened in Canada. Its significance can be readily understood by anyone who studies the evolution of labor organization and realizes that it is the skilled workers of Canada who have made this move, who have repudiated the theory of labor organization, which Capitalism counts upon the skilled workers clinging to, and are going out with the developed and unimpaired machinery of their organization to line up with their unskilled brothers in a solid phalanx of class organization against the employing class.

Thus the capitalists of Canada, who have seen European Capitalism go tumbling to ruin as a result of the war and stand facing the threat of their own Capitalism being carried down with the wreck, do not wait for the workers to rise for revolution by force of arms before they raise the cry of Bolshevism to frighten benighted citizens who do not know what is going on in the world. They see the handwriting on the wall and they realize that in the One Big Union, in spite of its calm demeanor, its restrained emotion and its concentration upon the work of organizing the working class, the power has been organized in Canada that will inevitably supplant their system.

So they have launched a campaign of violent suppression which they had hitherto hesitated to do for fear of arousing an unawakened section of the workers. Their arrest upon conspiracy charges of 48 of the leaders of the One Big Union, with more to come, is the beginning of a desperate attempt to smash Canada's contribution to the spreading movement of proletarian revolution before its full effectiveness may be applied.

In this situation a duty devolves upon every propagandist of revolutionary working class ideals in America that is just as plain as that which determines our attitude toward the struggling Communist government in Russia and Hungary. The Canadian One Big Union must be supported in every possible way and every possible kind of assistance that can be given it in resisting the attack upon its leaders must be rendered.

"Criminal Syndicalism"

THE onward sweep of world revolution has not left this country unmoved. In spite of the A. F. of L. Convention, the failure of the Mooney events and the oft repeated warning that "this country is not Russia," the events that have been remoulding the old world have made a deep and lasting impression in America. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the attitude of the powers that be towards all forms of radicalism. The forces of "law and order" are suffering from a bad case of nerves. In the fury of fear they are rushing headlong towards that which they desire to avoid. "This country is not Russia" they cry, and set about making it as like the old Russia as possible, with the result that the tendency to make it like new Russia grows by leaps and bounds, among the working masses.

All over the country the legislatures are framing new laws, which are modelled on those of the Czar's regime. The "rulers" of America see the handwriting on the wall but they have "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing". They desire to avoid the fate of the European autocracies, and so they scan the statute books of the old autocracies and model new laws on those that contributed to the downfall of these autocrats, in the belief that they will save the new autocracy from the same fate.

One such measure which is enjoying great popularity with budding czars is the so-called Criminal Syndicalism Law. No one seems to know exactly what criminal syndicalism is, none of the laws attempt to define it, but it sounds pretty bad and so it is hoped it will pass unchallenged. The average worker in America knows little of syndicalism, as such. It is not practiced by his union, he does not expect that in the course of his struggles with the boss he will ever be called upon to invoke its aid, and when he hears about a law to punish it he is not interested. When he hears that the law is designed not against syndicalism but *criminal syndicalism* he begins to be somewhat in favor of it. That is what laws are for; to punish criminal acts, and criminal syndicalism is probably one of those European im-

portations, in which bombs, stilletos, Black Hand work, secret cellar conspiracies and deadly poisons play an important part.

In Massachusetts, Indiana, California and several other states the criminal syndicalism law is already in effect, while a Criminal Syndicalism Bill is pending in Congress. At the present time several arrests have been made under these state criminal syndicalism laws, and their true nature is being brought to light. From the facts in the case which is before the courts of California it is clear that anything that the industrial barons of this country do not like can be construed as criminal syndicalism. The absence of a definition of what criminal syndicalism really is, gives the law practically a universal scope. No overt act is necessary in order to bring one within the scope of this law and the written or spoken word becomes criminal syndicalism through the District Attorney's interpretation of what some unknown person or persons might think as a result of reading an article or listening to a speech.

The various state laws dealing with the subject differ somewhat in the wording but in effect they are practically the same. Under these laws anyone is guilty who advocates the changing of existing conditions by a general cessation of industry, by force, or by any method that stands a reasonable chance of success. It is not necessary that the guilty person should actually suggest the overthrow of the government or even desire its downfall, all that is required is that someone should think, as a result of hearing a speaker or reading an article, that it wouldn't be a bad thing if the government was overthrown. In effect the criminal syndicalism laws are a revival of all the old laws of suppression. To differ from the king is crime.

In the California case which is at present before the courts, Emanuel Levin is charged that he did "*wilfully and unlawfully and feloniously circulate and publicly display books, papers, pamphlets, documents and other printed matter... containing and carrying written and printed advocacy, teaching and advising*

crimina syndicalism." The criminal citation was a copy of *The One Big Union* but later in the case other papers and pamphlets were introduced. Along with Socialist, and I. W. W. papers—*The Revolutionary Age* and *The Rebel Worker*,—such revolutionary papers as *The Dial* and *The Nation* are cited while among the pamphlets are a reprint of a speech delivered in the English parliament by Philip Snowden. *Justice and Labor in the Mooney Case. The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia*, by M. Phillips Price.

When the court was informed that the public libraries circulate books of even more radical tendency the police judge said that "all such books should be burned, these books were written before these times, and since the times are now changed, we must adapt ourselves to the new conditions."

This gives some idea of what is meant by criminal syndicalism and the case has aroused wide-spread interest among labor organizations. The workers are beginning to understand that criminal syndicalism, as interpreted by the courts, is aimed against them. That the idea of protecting the country from "bomb plotters" is simply a subterfuge and that the purpose of such laws is to prevent workers from learning anything that might be of disadvantage to their masters. And that any worker who takes an intelligent interest in the affairs of the world or of his own relation to society is guilty of criminal syndicalism and is liable to suffer a long term of imprisonment.

Labor is beginning to examine these laws and to wonder just when a strike is criminal syndicalism and when it is not. Faintly it is dawning on the worker that anything that tends to make life worth living for those who labor is against the law. The workers of Russia were well aware that the laws of the czar were designed against them, they knew that they had no part in their making and that the czar's will alone was law. So they rose up and swept the czar out of existence.

But "this country is not Russia". Here the workers make the laws and elect the government!

The N. E. C. Mobilizing Slanders

THE press service in behalf of the rump N. E. C. is a shameless fabric of outright lies, half-truths which are worse than lies, and degraded personal slander. The Oneal statement of June 30th is of this calibre.

Left Wing criticism of party actions and politics have been insistent and unrelenting, *but they have been criticisms of party actions.* Cheap personalities cannot answer these criticisms.

For instance there is much emphasis put on the fact that John Reed favored Woodrow Wilson in 1916 and now receives the high vote in the Socialist Party elections for International Delegates. When Comrade Reed came back from Russia and was but a few weeks in the party those who are most insistent about his former admiration for Woodrow Wilson were very anxious to run Comrade Reed as candidate for Congress. It was only after he showed by his public utterances and party activities that he was of the Left Wing that the New York politicians reminded themselves of Reed's former support of Wilson, which was known to them all the time. The point is that John Reed has learned a great

deal during the past three stirring years, with most exceptional opportunities for observation and intensive study. Where is the evidence that his critics of the Right Wing have learned anything out of the cataclysmic developments of these years?

What did Comrade Reed do to *entice* the party members to give him ten votes for each vote given to James Oneal? Perhaps the party membership is not quite so stupid as Oneal imagines; perhaps there was a large element of discriminating judgment as between these two individuals as representative of present-day Socialism in the United States. From every part of the country the results are very much the same, so the camouflage about election frauds does not help solve the riddle of the enormous vote for Reed and the meagre vote for Oneal. One might think this vote was at least a *hint* to Oneal, but there are some persons whose vanity cannot be punctured by the membership of the Socialist Party. They measure the intelligence of the party by its appreciation of themselves. If the members give Reed ten times as many votes as they give Oneal, it is a clear case of emo-

tional insanity (the Oneal explanation for everything which differs from his own absolute wisdom).

Again, Oneal refers to "that queer combination of phrases known as the Left Wing program." This is curious, indeed. At Chicago, during the recent N. E. C. deliberations, I heard Oneal carefully review the New York Left Wing program *in order to demonstrate how near he came to accepting it in its entirety.* He asked only for a few modifications, but his main point was that there was no legality or reason in such a program being adopted until Oneal and his associates were ready to dictate it to the membership. For a "queer combination of phrases" as an evasion of all principles, we need only refer to the N. E. C. "statement of principles" of May 29th, heretofore reviewed in *The Revolutionary Age*.

The Left Wing program seems to mean much to most of the members of the Socialist Party. But this is more evidence of brain storms, according to the Oneal analysis. Is there anybody in the United States who is

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All Power to the Left Wing!

By Louis C. Fraina

*An Answer to the Michigan-Federation
Call for a New Party*

THERE is a call issued for the "organization of a Communist Party" at Chicago on September 1. The Convention is called by a "National Organization Committee" consisting of Dennis E. Batt, D. Elbaum, O. C. Johnson, John Keracher, S. Kopnagel, J. S. Stilson and A. Stoklitsky. The committee represents a small group which, emphasizing its own plans and purposes as against the considered opinion of the Left Wing Conference, is actually sabotaging the Left Wing.

This development was initiated at the Conference. A group of comrades, of which the most consisted of the delegates of the Central Committee of the Russian Federation and four delegates from Michigan, together with three utterly unrepresentative delegates from New York City, appeared at the Conference determined upon one thing: to force the immediate organization of a Communist Party. All their actions were colored by this determination. The Conference itself did not interest them. The task of laying the theoretical and tactical basis for our movement did not interest them. All was secondary to their preparations for a *coup d'etat*; and when their *coup* met miserable disaster, they practically abandoned the Conference.

The Left Wing Conference laid down the theoretical and tactical basis for a party of Communist Socialism. That is indisputable. It equally laid down the organization basis, since it unified the forces of revolutionary Socialism. A party does not consist simply of a name. It must have a theory, tactics and an organization,—all of which were developed at the Conference.

The Conference was not against a Communist Party. The majority favored a Communist Party in principle, but decided that the fight within the Socialist Party should be waged for two months more, to completely rout the moderates and to rally the revolutionary masses in the party, and that the final decision should be in Chicago at the Emergency Party Convention.

The issue in dispute was not one of principle. It was one of judgment whether to organize the party immediately, or wait two months.

This is not a fundamental issue.

But the minority deserted, at the moment when a concentration of our forces was absolutely necessary.

They are comrades who, at the moment when revolutionary unity is indispensable, place their own ambitions and their own petty politics above the fundamental interests of the movement. Secession on principle is justifiable; but secession where there is agreement on fundamental principles is desertion.

Consider the facts:

The problem of whether a Communist Party should be organized immediately at the Conference was discussed at several sessions. The proposal was decisively defeated.

The proposal being decisively defeated, the minority delegates who favored a Communist Party immediately should have withdrawn and organized their party. That alone would have constituted sincere, consistent and uncompromising procedure. But they stayed.

At a subsequent session, the "Communist" minority united in favor of a Convention called by the State of Michigan for Chicago on September 1 to "organize a new party."

The call for a new party issued by Michigan was *not* a Left Wing or Bolshevik call—that is admitted by the delegates of the Cen-

tral Committees of the Russian and Lettish Federations, who are the heart of the secession group. Yet they rallied around this call at the Conference—a miserable compromise. This manœuvre was decisively beaten.

But still the "Communist" minority stayed in the Conference. At another session, Delegate Hourwich (who was elected by Local New York of the Left Wing, but actually represented the Central Committee of the Russian Federation at the Conference) proposed that, in addition to nine or eleven members of the National Council of the Left Wing to be elected at the Conference, each Central

Call For Delegates

Pursuant to the actions of the National Left Wing Conference, the following call is made to Left Wing Socialists and Locals throughout the country:

Act at once to win the allotment of delegates to your State for the Emergency Convention of August 30th for the Left Wing.

Proceed at once, in a regular official way, to instruct these delegates to join themselves with the National Left Wing Organization in its plans to transform the Socialist Party into a Communist Party, or to establish a new Communist Party.

Where the Left Wing has failed to make nominations on the regular ballots for election of delegates, or where the Left Wing elements cannot carry the regular party elections, to organize the Left Wing membership provisionally for the purpose of electing delegates to go to Chicago on August 30th to work with the National Left Wing.

The election of delegates by the Left Wing acting outside the regular party machinery should however, be on same ration of delegates to members as in regular election, although the requirement of three years party membership would not apply in this case.

In the formation of a new party these Left Wing delegates will constitute the only representation of their respective States, so it is all-important that such delegates be sent to Chicago on August 30th.

Notify the Left Wing Council early and fully concerning your actions.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, LEFT WING
I. E. Ferguson, Nat'l Sec'y

Committee of the Russian Federations should elect one member each in addition—which would have meant *Central Committee, not federation membership* control of the Council.

This proposal was decisively defeated. And then, at another session, 31 delegates, representing mostly the Federation delegates, read a declaration "withholding further activity in the Conference" because the Conference rejected the proposal for a Convention to organize a Communist Party.

But these delegates stayed in the Conference and participated in its acts *after* the defeat of the "immediate Communist Party" issue. *They did not withdraw until the proposal to control the National Council was defeated.* In other words, the "Communist" minority did not secede until its proposal to allow each Federation Central Committee separate representation on the Council, thereby securing control, was rejected by the Conference.

Re-consider the facts:

1) The Left Wing Conference decided in favor of a Communist Party, to issue either out of the capture of the Socialist Party or

out of a secession at the Emergency National Convention.

2) The Conference developed the theoretical, tactical and organization basis for the Party.

3) The Conference decided that, in the event the Socialist Party National Convention is postponed by the old N. E. C., the Council of the Left Wing shall proceed with the Convention.

4) The Conference, moreover, issued a call for a Convention in Chicago, September 1, of all revolutionary elements that would unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with a new Communist Party.

These decisions provide an ample basis for the unity of all uncompromising Left Wing forces. Yet a small clique of deserters issue their own call, as against the Left Wing.

What is this call issued "to organize a Communist Party"? In the first place, it says: "Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the 'right' and the 'centre' to sink together with their 'revolutionary' leaders. . . . Rendered impotent by the conflicting emotions and lack of understanding present (the Left Wing Conference) continued to mark time as centrists in the wake of the right."

In other words, the Conference and its National Council represent the "centre," while the small clique of deserters represents the Left Wing.

But now consider: The Call to "organize a Communist Party" says: "This party will be founded upon the following principles," and then comes the program of the proposed new party, *every single word of which*, except one short sentence and the excision of certain unimportant passages *is the program adopted by the Left Wing Conference, and appropriated by these deserters.*

Either—

—the Left Wing Conference adopted a revolutionary program worthy of being used as the basis of a Communist Party, in which event the crime of the small clique of deserters in bolting the Conference is monstrous;

Or—

—the Left Wing Conference was a "centre" Conference adopting a "centre" program, in which event the proposed Communist Party is to be built upon the basis of a "centre" or non-Bolshevik program.

Either contingency is a terrible commentary on the acts of the seceding comrades.

The small clique of deserters stigmatizes the Left Wing Conference as reactionary. *But they adopt its program.* By this adoption, they admit that it is a revolutionary program representative of fundamental Left Wing principles and tactics. They admit, moreover, that the Conference, in its formulation of theory and policy, was in accord with Communist Socialism.

It comes down to this, apparently, in the judgment of the small clique of deserters: if you favor the immediate organization of a Communist Party, you are Left Wing; if you favor a Communist Party being organized two months later, you are a "centrist." It makes the test of revolutionary integrity, not one of fundamental principles and tactics, but one of time and judgment—which is nonsense.

Not *all* who favor an immediate organization of the Communist Party are Bolsheviks. Three of the names signed to the Call are *not*

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The Bolshevik Sweep

REPEATEDLY items have appeared in the press to the effect that the Entente troops in Russia have in great measure been "infected" with Bolshevik ideas. The following appeal from French soldiers at Odessa to their Russian comrades, which was published on April 1st in the Communist newspaper *Nasha Pravda* appearing at Riga, leaves nothing to be desired in the way of clearness. The very title is significant enough: *The truth about our so-called "voluntary" sojourn at Odessa,*

"In spite of the promises," the appeal begins, "which were given by him who is rightly called the dictator, namely, Clemenceau, who, fearing a weakening both of the military front and of the rear, declared in the Chamber several months ago, when it was not yet known to which side victory would swing: 'We shall wage war to a victorious conclusion, but when we have reached our goal, we shall not prolong the war a single unnecessary hour,'—in spite of these promises, we are still waging war.

"The armistice signed November 11th was regarded by us with a feeling of relief, as it was the end of the bloody slaughter. But the yoke of military discipline did not become lighter for us. In fact, we began to feel its pressure more than ever. Before we knew what was happening to us we found ourselves in Russia to carry out in that country—we now recognize this to be the case—the most extensive and the most shameful attack on the lives and the liberty of the working class of which we are ourselves members.

"After landing at Odessa, unacquainted with the intentions of the government, we were absolutely at a loss concerning the political situation in the city.

"On December 18th, blindly obedient to the servants of capital, the officers, we insolently offended those whom we then did not know, but who are really the representatives of the coming, true Socialist republic. Forgive us, comrades and brothers! For on December 18th, we did not yet understand what was the interest in which we were opening fire. We now have the right to ask why our government stood in a relation of friendship to Russia when a Czar was at the head of that country, a despot, while today the condition has entirely

Bolshevism in the French Army, and in the French and British Navy

changed! It is well known that there is now a Soviet Republic in Russia. Are not our two republics therefore sisters in their ideas, in their intensions? Can they not therefore unite in pursuing their common objects? Or is the Soviet Republic altogether too Socialistic? The reason actually is that our imperialistic rulers are mouth-pieces not for the will of the people, but for their own interests. They do

Bolshevik Agitation

A report from Helsingfors recently stated that the French battleship Curacao which was the flagship of the English Baltic fleet, with a base at Helsingfors, has returned home, after a minor explosion which produced some damage. Our correspondent, however, learns that there is a report in Finnish military circles to the effect that the cause for sending the Curacao home, was not an explosion but a mutiny among the crew on board, who refused to operate against the fleet of the Russian Workers' Republic at Kronstadt. As the mutiny threatened to spread to other ships the battleship was sent home.

Mutiny in the French Baltic Fleet.

Reports from Tilsit are that the crew of the French squadron at Libau recently raised the Red flag. The crews of the warships demanded of their officers to be returned to France immediately.

The French vessels were immediately sent home and an English squadron steamed in to occupy their positions at the port of Libau.

French Soldiers in Southern Russia.

According to a Soviet wireless message, mentioned in *Avanti* of May 4th, General d'Anselme admitted in a conversation with representatives of the Odessa Soviet that the Bolshevik propaganda had "demoralized" sixty per cent of his soldiers.

violence to our own liberties when they sent us out to check the liberating international Socialist movement, of which we are so badly in need.

"Our place is not here. We have our own people who are eagerly waiting our homecoming from the districts which have but recently been freed from invasion. While our government should be devoting itself to realiz-

ing its first and most important duty, namely, that of restoring these provinces to a normal course of life both in material and a moral sense, it is actually imposing chains upon the liberties of the Russian people. Now it is clear to us that we are dealing with representatives of two classes. One class flatters us in order to confuse our minds, the other calls upon us in the name of the purest human feelings. We hope that within the next few days we can render account precisely for all that has happened and thus open the eyes of all the French workers, whose senses have been misled by the uninterrupted lies of the government press. We hope to be able to hasten to the aid of the Soviet Republic which is the only true democratic and Socialistic republic.

"A group of French Soldiers."

The above appeal shows very conclusively that the Entente troops in Russia are experiencing a real, revolutionary and Socialist education. Such soldiers will return to their respective home countries as excellent proclaimers of the truth to the working masses.

The newspaper of Deputy Brisson, *La Vague*, publishes a letter from a French sailor at Sebastopol, dated April 30, 1919. According to the letter the French are to evacuate Russia because the revolution has broken out on the French armored cruisers "France," "Justice," "Vergnac," and "Mirabeau," as well as some other vessels lying off Sebastopol, and on April 31st, the crews of the ships sang the International and raised the Red Flag. Those on shore leave joined the Bolsheviks and marched through the streets of Sebastopol. There were a number of encounters in which several persons were killed and wounded. When the sailors demanded that Russia be evacuated the Admiral replied with a promise that the evacuation should take place within fourteen days.

The sailor added in his letter that if Russia should not be evacuated all the French sailors would revolt and no longer be answerable for actions.

L'Humanite reports that of the one hundred and thirty thousand copies of *La Vague*, one hundred and twenty thousand were confiscated because of the publication of the above letter.

All Power to the Left Wing!

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Bolsheviks at all—Dennis E. Batt, O. C. Johnson and John Keracher. The program adopted at the Left Wing Conference (which the Call for a Communist Party adopts as its program) was opposed in fundamentals by these three Michigan comrades.

At the Conference, I challenged the comrade delegates of the Central Committees of the Russian and Lettish Federations to deny that the call for a new party issued by Michigan (around which they rallied) was not Bolshevik—but there was no answer to the challenge.

The Michigan comrades (I mean the "leaders" and not the membership) are in fundamentals antagonistic to Left Wing principles and tactics; they never adopted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing; they are, in fundamentals, Menshevik.

In other words, Stoklitsky, Stilson, Hourwich & Co. are willing to unite forces with comrades whom they admit are in theory actually antagonistic to Bolshevism; but they

split away from the Left Wing Conference which is so thoroughly Bolshevik that they adopt its program as the basis for their proposed new party.

The most miserable compromise lurks in this whole procedure. At the Conference, the Russian comrades rallied around the Michigan Call, which they admit was not Bolshevik; now the Michigan comrades accept a program which they opposed at our Conference and which they repudiate in fundamentals. This is petty politics, unworthy of men in the revolutionary movement.

A Communist Party must adhere to fundamental revolutionary principles. It must be uncompromising.

But the proposed new Communist Party starts with the most miserable compromise imaginable. It starts with elements which do not agree. It compromises in caucus, and starts as a swamp. It is these compromising comrades who at this moment are playing the "centre" game.

The Left Wing Conference repudiated

compromise. It decided upon an uncompromising party policy and adopted an uncompromising program.

The compromisers of the proposed "Communist Party" must be disciplined. They must be repudiated. They must realize the necessity of revolutionary discipline in the Left Wing.

At the Conference the Michigan delegates (who had not adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program) issued an ultimatum, that the Conference must either adopt their call and proposal for a Convention in September, or they would withdraw and proceed with their own plans. They acted directly against the unity and discipline of the Left Wing.

There is danger ahead, comrades, and particularly comrades of the Russian Federation. The vanity and the lust for power of leaders must be crushed. We must have revolutionary discipline. We must have a mass movement. There is only one Left Wing, organized in the National Council. All power to the Left Wing!

Soviet Hungary and the Allies

By Bela Kun

*Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs--
Address Delivered to the Budapest
Workers' Council*

COMRADES: I will not utter a single beautiful word, and I beg that you will listen in deadly seriousness to what I say. The dictatorship of the proletariat is—I define it once more—the self government of the proletariat. The proletariat itself decides how it is to work and thereby really does work. Proletarian dictatorship means a break with all secret diplomacy, it means a break with every policy that requires being pursued behind the back of the proletariat. And I will here say, without exaggeration and in concrete form, all that one can and must say today about the military and foreign situation. When I use the word “can” I do not mean that I will conceal anything. When I say “can” I will tell you everything that we know, all the knowledge we can gather from the signs and symptoms.

From Comrade Kunfi's speech it is clear—we all know it is—that two world forces are fighting over Hungary, over the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The coming together of imperialistic capital and Bolshevik Socialism is taking place before us, and we are participants in the clash. The comrades know of the exchange of notes with the representative of the Entente, Gen. Smuts, who was here. It was not as if we stood on the principle of territorial integrity, not as if we wished to establish the oppressive policies of the old Hungary against the deeds of the nationalists, but it is because the Hungarian Republic of the working masses wishes to live and exist that we do not favor the pushing back of the demarcation line towards us. We are not willing to leave our freed proletarian brothers in the neutral zone to bend anew under the yoke of Capitalism, to suffer again from the exploitation of Capitalism. For this reason we are not willing to submit, for submission would mean depriving the Hungarian proletariat of the possibility of physical life. We will not accept the new boundary line, for we do not wish to lessen the territory under the rule of the proletariat, the territory over which the dictatorship of the proletariat has full sway, and we are willing to make any sacrifices rather than submit.

The Rumanian Boyar Army Offensive.

What had happened in Paris in the meanwhile is not known to us in detail.

We know, however, that the offensive was started by the Rumanian Boyar Army. It started with the whole force that the Boyars can today muster against the Hungarian Soviet Government. (Cries, shame!) We can not expect any thing else from Imperialism. (That's it!) It is not a question of morals, of likes or dislikes, but of the international class war (stormy assents), the international revolution and the international counter-revolution.

Cool and deliberate thought told us that this would come. When we established the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary we did not put out of our reckoning not being able to cope, in a systematic war, with the military power of the Entente troops. We did not believe that we could arrest the offensive, directed against us from all sides, with the six divisions that the terms of the armistice permitted the Soviet Republic to retain. We have emphasized, and continue to emphasize, that the fate of the Hungarian Soviet Republic lies with the international revolution, with the international social revolution. (That's it!) The Rumanian offensive has set in. Our troops in service on the different fronts were exhausted,

and some did not participate. It was clear to us that an army could not be easily organized, that a new revolutionary discipline could not be easily created. Armies, revolutionary proletarian armies, class armies, can form revolutionary proletarian discipline only of themselves in the war against counter-revolution, and can maintain it only of its own accord. (Lively assent and applause.) To us this was clear, we have coolly and deliberately calculated, for the revolutionary proletariat has not only a warm heart, but also a cool, calm, deliberating head.

The Rumanian offensive at first was successful; Szatmarnemeti has fallen. Now Szatmarnemeti is under bourgeois rulership, the dictatorship of the bourgeois. The rulership of the proletariat has ended and the order of private property, rightly the *anarchy* of private property, restored. The Rumanian troops are now before Nagyvarad, and within a short time the exploiting capitalist order will be again established in that city. A part, a very small part, of our troops held their ground, sacrificed everything, fought to the last drop of blood; the rest like menials ran away so that the defense was lost. Debrecen is an important point, and there the workers have suppressed the counter-revolution (lively applause), there the armed proletariat has not only not given up its power, but today holds it stronger than ever.

To relate details about this Rumanian front, is, I think, unnecessary. Towards Bekoscsaba the war situation is bad. There the troops have in part lost ground, the other part is holding out. The Rumanians are attacking everywhere with more power and better arms, better equipment, than the army of the young proletarian state has at its command. So far the offensive on the other fronts has not materialized.

At first we thought that when the foreign armies came to the demarcation lines elected by General Smuts and Colonel Vix that they would not go any further. The situation today is such that we must presuppose, and certain very well established developments lead us to believe that the Entente will take up the offensive against us with full force, that the Entente is ready to bring on us the fate of the Paris Commune, that the Entente imperialists are determined to strangle the proletariat of this land. (Calls: that we will never permit.)

Comrades! The Czech front has not yet been set moving, nor is the Southern front yet in action. I do not know, however, whether at this moment the advance has not already begun. Possibly it has, but it is also probable that it has not. If not today then perhaps it will start tomorrow . . . (interruption: mobilize!) To cry “mobilize,” comrades, is an easy thing, I also can cry “mobilize,” still it is necessary to delay the decision until I point out the consequences, till every one has perceived the whole situation.

No one must doubt that on the question of armament and equipment we are badly placed. We took over an almost impossible task in the war situation and to develop any sort of great military action during the time when we were forced to build up the new state was impossible. That is why we must first think

the situation over before we determine what to do, what can best succeed in this land where today the proletariat assumed power. Before the determination that we establish a Proletarian Dictatorship was reached there were signs from certain circles that if we were to renounce our belief in Socialism, and place our faith in the coming of a Messiah, the offensive of the Entente would not materialize, if, in other words, the Hungarian proletariat would bend its head under the yoke of triumphant Imperialism. (Interruptions: never, never!)

International Proletarian Revolution

Comrades! I speak further and beg you to hear me out quietly and seriously, for this is not the hour for enthusiasm but for deeds. (That's it, that's it!) The case is this, comrades, if a government should be established here that would again set up the old order of private property, a government that would not only make exploitation by the Hungarian capitalists possible, but would allow a double exploitation of the Hungarian proletariat—exploitation by the Entente and by the Hungarian capitalists—it may call itself Socialist or coalition, if there should come such a government, I say, should such a government take over power, and, I will add, should there be a Proletariat that will surrender its power, then, comrades, the Entente offensive will not materialize.

The alternative, comrades, is quite clear. If we do not wish for private property, the return of Capitalism, if we wish, on the contrary, to uphold the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, then we must act. We must consider immediately which forces we can use as a defense against the hostile imperialistic powers. We must bear in mind that while the territory of Hungary is small, not so immeasurably big as Russia, and having no such unlimited possibilities for defense, still the forces of the International Proletarian Revolution are at our service. If we have considered that, then we have thrown in our lot with the International Proletarian Revolution. I say it now, and will always say so, comrades, even though the Entente succeeds in instituting massacres here, that we have not been conquered if we have united our freedom with the International Proletarian Revolution. (Great applause.)

But first of all, comrades, we must reckon on our own power. While the International Proletarian Revolution is on our side, is coming, is developing, still it is necessary that we hold out until we gain the active support of the International Revolutionary Proletariat.

Our first task in this case is that everyone here in Budapest, who is not necessary in the Central Administration, every proletarian and every representative of the proletariat who can be spared, under any circumstances, must go to the front. Unity is necessary now. At this moment all friction must disappear, we must establish an iron unity that nothing can destroy or dissolve. (That's it, that's it!) Who goes to the front, must go with the knowledge that the Central Dictatorship is in good hands; who remains at his post, must believe that the fate of the Revolution is in good hands at the front. If this is so, if the proletariat, Budapest's proletariat, whose representatives, whose deputies you are, will not be lethargic, but will advance, happy in the sacrifice, in ever increasing numbers, then

(Continued on Page 12)

The Communist Party

By N. Bucharin

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

BY what means is the Communist world order to be established? How are we to attain it?"

The answer of the Communist Party to these questions is: "Through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Dictatorship" means a power as strong as iron, a power which gives no quarter to its enemies. "The dictatorship of the proletariat" means the government of the working class which abolishes the landowners and capitalists.

A workers' government can only be produced by a social revolution of the working class; a revolution which will destroy the capitalist state and erect on its ruins a new power; the power of the working class and the poor peasants who support the workers' government.

We Communists, therefore, stand for a workers' government until the workers have gained complete control over their adversaries; until they have crushed the entire employing class and knocked out its pride, and until the employing class itself has given up all hopes of ever again coming into power.

Of course, it will be said: "Then you Communists are believers in force?"

We shall answer: Most certainly; but our belief is in revolutionary force. We are convinced that by soft words the working class will gain nothing from the capitalists. No good will come of conciliation. Nothing short of a revolution, which will overthrow Capitalism and destroy the bourgeois state, can liberate the working class.

Every revolution means using force against the former government. Force was used against the tyrannical landlords and Czar in the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, and in the Revolution of November, 1917, force was used against the capitalists by the workers, peasants, and soldiery. Such force—the use of force against those who are oppressing millions of workers—is not merely free from evil; it is sacred.

Moreover, the working class is obliged to use its power against the capitalists even after Capitalism has been openly overthrown, for even after the workers have destroyed the capitalist state, the capitalist class still exists. Its members by no means disappear all at once. On the contrary, they still hope for the return of the old regime and are prepared to make any kind of alliance against the victorious workers.

The experiences of the Russian Revolution furnish convincing proof of this. In November 1917, the workers eliminated the capitalist class from all share in the Government, but the capitalists did not throw up the sponge; they agitated against the workers, mustering all their forces, and using every means to overthrow the workers' government and recapture power. They organized sabotage, procured a counter-revolutionary strike of government officials, and employees; they mobilized the troops of Dutov, Kaledin, Kornilov, Semenov, and called for help to the armies of foreign Capitalism in Germany, Japan and elsewhere. Thus the Russian experiences have proved that even after what seems a decisive victory the workers' government is forced to resist attack by powerful enemies from abroad who stretch out helping hands to the fallen capitalists at home.

A thoughtful survey of the position reveals to us that Russia is the only country in which the proletariat has yet overthrown the bourgeois state. The rest of the world is still pos-

essed by the capitalist exploiters. Soviet Russia, with her workers' and peasants' government, is like a tiny island in the stormy ocean of Capitalism. Should the victory of the Russian workers be followed by the victory of the German and Austrian workers, there would still remain the other great robber states of Capitalism. Should the entire Capitalism of Europe give way under the hammer stroke of the working class, there would still remain the Capitalism of Asia, headed by Japan, and the Capitalism of America.

These capitalist states will not surrender their position without a struggle. They will fight desperately in order to prevent the proletariat from securing world power. The greater the onrush of the proletariat the more precarious becomes the position of Capitalism, the more must it strain every muscle in its fight against the workers.

When the proletariat has been victorious in one, two, or three countries it will come into unavoidable collision with the capitalist world still remaining, which will endeavor to crush, with blood and iron, the attempt of the workers to liberate themselves. Therefore, even after the Revolution we must understand, that there will be, in some countries a transition period between Capitalism and Communism, in which the workers will be faced by a hard struggle against their enemies both at home and abroad.

For this struggle it is necessary to have a rigid, widespread, and firmly-welded organization completely equipped for the struggle. The Proletarian State, the Workers' Government, provides this organization. Like every other state that of the working class is an organization of the ruling class. In this case the ruling class is the working class, and its organization is at once a defense against Capitalism and the means which will finally destroy it.

Those who shrink from the establishment of such a power are not really revolutionaries. The assumption that every kind of power must be vicious is arrant nonsense. The power used by the rich, the power used by the capitalists against the workers, has for its object the maintenance of the predatory capitalist system. The power used by the workers against the capitalists has the opposite aim of liberating millions of workers from the yoke of Capitalism, and the freeing of humanity from annexationist wars, which entail the savage pillage and destruction of works and collections on which the human race had been engaged for thousands of years. The rigid mechanism of the proletarian dictatorship is essential for the success of the Revolution and to secure the period of establishing the Communist social order.

It is clear that in this period of transition, the working class must strain every nerve in the struggle with its many adversaries, and that the only organization through which it can attain to victory is one in which the workers and the poor peasants are banded together. Could this organization resist the attack of foreign imperialists without having control of the home government and army? Certainly not.

How will it be possible to force the capitalists to submit to government by the workers and to all sorts of confiscations unless the working class is in possession of the means to force the rich to do their duty?

Members of the employing class have been for so long accustomed to live in idleness exploiting the workers, that even after Capitalism has been overthrown in every country, they will endeavor to evade work and to injure the working class. They will have to be forced to serve the people and force will not first be necessary.

The workers must establish a system for organizing the business concerns which have been taken over from the manufacturers; they must see to the transport of the crops produced by the peasantry; and secure a fair distribution of corn, manufactured goods, agricultural implements and machinery.

However, the small usurer and war profiteer may refuse to serve the community and may say: "I am my own master." The workers and poor peasants must force them to obey, and they must coerce in the same way the big capitalists and the former landowners, generals and officers.

The more perilous the position of the workers' revolution, the greater the number of its enemies; the more firm must be the revolutionary rule of the workers and of the poor peasants, the more energetic the dictatorship. The power in the hands of the workers is the axe which they must hold in readiness against the attacks of the capitalist class. In the communistic social order, when the capitalists will exist no more and all class distinctions will have disappeared, when there will be no more peril from within or from without—then there will be no more necessity for this axe. But we are in the period of transition now, when the enemies around us are showing their teeth, and are ready to drown in blood the whole working class movement. To prove this one need but recall the shooting of the workers in Finland and Kiev, and the wholesale shootings of workers and peasants in the Ukraine and in Lettland. In this period only those who are wholly ignorant of the situation can wish to act without the indispensable weapon of state power.

A hue and cry is raised against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat from two sides. On the one side from the Anarchists, for they are against any kind of government and, consequently, also against the Government of the Workers and Peasants. To them we can only say: "Go into a nunnery, if you are against putting into the hands of the workers the means to coerce the bourgeoisie!"

On the other side the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is attacked by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. Though formerly they used to advocate it, they are, so they say, against the interference with the privileges and the liberty of the bourgeoisie. They are of opinion that the workers are not yet "ripe" for a dictatorship. We can only say to them: "Why do you not join the capitalist class which you love so much and which you are trying to protect?" They do not wish to because they would have to own that they are in opposition to the workers and poor peasants.

It is just because the Communist Party stands for the iron dictatorship for the workers over the capitalists, the usurers, the former landowners, and other lovely products of the old bourgeois regime, that it is the most radical, the most revolutionary of all the existing groups and parties. "Through the inexorably firm government of the Workers, to Communism" is the watchword of our party. And the program of our party is the program of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Conquest of Capitalism

THE Socialist who does not know Capitalism is a poor Socialist. He gives the working class, which is fighting against the forces of Capitalism, a wrong understanding of the enemy; at the same time persuading it to use methods of attack which lead only to disappointment and defeat—not to victory. He thus proves false to the workers, and betrays them to the enemy; during a decisive battle he will probably join the enemy's ranks and turn his weapons against the workers.

To know Capitalism means to have knowledge of its various phases. It is not an unchanging condition that can be sufficiently understood by an occasional random reading of the Erfurt Program, or by an acquaintance with a few maxims of the bourgeois rule of some countries. Capitalism is an evolutionary process, its development before the world war was rapid, and during the war increased with furious speed.

We in Finland, had the opportunity to observe some of the phenomena: the centralization of industry, the stock speculator, petty grafting, the rapidity with which the peasants became sympathizers with the bourgeoisie, and the greater rapidity with which the conditions of the workers deteriorated.

When the Russian revolution became a fact we saw the proverbial treachery of the most liberal bourgeoisie in action. The ravenous wolf emerged from its liberal lambskin. Eventually we were face to face with Imperialism itself, with its usurpation and looting, in the form of German militarism. That was a revelation! Nothing remained vague!

Those "social democrats" who are trying to heal the wounds of the working class with "democracy" do not understand that what has been tried in Finland during the past year is the culmination of Capitalism, and that the only way out is social revolution. They do not understand that Imperialism is nothing else than Capitalism and that the workers must struggle directly against it for Socialism. In order to fully understand the necessity of a revolution we must understand the theory of Imperialism.

What is the basic economic principle of Imperialism?

Briefly, it is the centralization of the means of production. We knew this to be the direction of the development of Capitalism, but we were unable to estimate its achievement or observe the rapidity with which it was reaching this end. At home we were familiar with industrial union circles. The match swindler and his accomplices were known by this term. We applied the terms *monopoly* and *trust* to sugar and paper products which could be obtained only through one agent, because these products were subject to the protection of duty and customs. There existed mining corporations and logging companies who owned half of several provinces.

But we learned that in other countries there were organizations more powerful than our's: the German syndicate and the American trust. We knew that the oil trust had a complete monopoly, that the capital of the steel trust is reckoned in billions, and that its yearly profits amount to hundreds of millions. The same is true of all industries. These trusts are not separate business concerns, but are united, as for example, the steel trust; it "sells" its products to itself, for it is made up of many companies having a capital of hundreds of millions each, which are trusts in

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Translated by O. W. OKSANEN

themselves. One of its branches, the agricultural trust, extends its tentacles far outside the boundry of the United States. They are wound around the farmer in Canada, Mexico and even in Finland. It not only controls the prices in America, but it has made agreements with the steel kings of Europe not to underbid them, and for this kindness they have divided the markets of the world.

The steel trust not only produces steel, and all that is manufactured from steel, from a needle to a giant battleship, but everything else imaginable. Over night it has constructed factories, costing millions, and next to these it has built cities, with dwellings, stores, churches, newspapers, saloons and brothels. All these it directs and uses as a means of exploitation. Above all things it produces paper, profitable stock, and other obligations with interest bearing coupons. Its directors are among the world's greatest bankers. At the outset of the war one of the systems of banks in the United States was under the control of Morgan Jr., who is indirectly connected with the steel trust, while the other banking system was under the control of the oil trust. These two systems were connected, except in large joint investments, by the government finance committee, which was the center of capitalistic business and which looked after its interests when the national loans were up for consideration.

Banks hold the reins of production of the entire business world. We have examples of this in Finland, where the National Bank is gathering up all the threads of business. Business establishments are unable to get credit, and so are swallowed up. Through its agents the tourist nobility, it bought Swedish real estate. Its branch offices in small cities and villages were devices for getting the money of the people for undertakings which turned out unsuccessful, i. e. went bankrupt, and then were turned over to the bankers at ridiculously low prices. The National Bank was the leader of the opposition to the uniting of the private banks, but these private banks were allowed to join in draining the money from the people for the purpose of "obtaining funds" for the community, or the state. The establishment of an *Emission Company* meant that the accumulating surplus money in the banks might be used in forming industrial enterprises and new companies, which would then remain in the control, and under the directorship of the banks. The stocks of these banks were circulating on the market as bait for the savings of the credulous people; at the exchanges they were sold at a high price and bought back at a very low figure. Watering stock became a favorite habit; capital was created upon paper without an equivalent investment in the plant or in goods. A company with a million dollars in property could very well pay dividends on five million dollars capital. The small bourgeoisie and the peasants were dragging the same net with the banking capital, the former got its plunder by being a faithful agent of large capital, and the latter had the good fortune to buy and to sell at prices which were controlled by the large capitalists.

As an illustration of the power of the banks let it be mentioned that the directors of banks

in every country are the directors of tens and possibly hundreds of corporations; at the same time their servants, bookkeepers, are on the lookout for the smaller undertakings. The supremacy of the bankers is not limited to the boundry of the state, nor even greater boundaries. This is international. "Foreign" capital flows wherever dividends are to be had, as the American dollar was invested in every corner of the "Old World." So had the Czar and the Kaiser invested tens of millions for the rainy day in American railroads and real estate. German capital had secretly and publicly undermined English capital by holding the largest amount of stock in John Bull's corporations and at the same time compelling the proud Englishman to buy the cheaper German goods.

Exportation of goods which was the chief aim of the nation, is now substituted by sending capital into foreign countries to net dividends. The developing industry and the greater exploitation, produce so much surplus Capital that its investment is one of the most serious problems of Capitalism. These "savings" mean something when we learn that in 1910 the approximate investments in the world amounted to 160 billion dollars. The share of the capitalists of England was 28 billion dollars; of the United States, 26 billion dollars; of France, 22 billion dollars; of Germany, 19 billion dollars. The annual interest, which amounts to billions, is invested in the same way as the principal.

What is the goal of capital? It is autocracy, *monopoly*. The beginning of capital was competition, but its later development destroys competition. As a haberdasher thanks God for the failure of his competitor, so Rockefeller rubbed his hands and smiled when he heard that his last competitor had committed suicide. He sent his millions of profit to seek other profit in Central and South America, in Europe, Africa, and Asia. That China was conquered by "enlightenment" of a kerosene lamp is a well known story. But in those countries American capital meets English, French, and German capital. There exists keen competition in the sale of their "goods"—credits, money, investment and public loans—in which each tries to crowd the other to the side. But as in our economic scheme of competition, the reduction of price and interest would be detrimental to the capitalists of the various countries, they must seek other means to accomplish their purposes. So long there is any part of the earth's surface unapportioned, it is possible for them to separate sections where each can exert its own influence, or consider it a colony where it is possible to have a monopoly on the exploitation. This, however, does not seem to satisfy for they are crowded upon the same areas, and finally they must resort to their political remedies.

What are the politics of financial capital?

It is just that phenomenon which is known by the term *Imperialism*. This term comes from the Latin word *imperium* which means empire (imperator, "commander," kaiser), an aspirant to world power. England is the leader in this field, she has "independent colonies" (Canada, Australia, South Africa), regular colonies (India, and various parts of Africa), proprietary colonies (Egypt), and vassal states (Portugal, Norway). Everywhere—in China, Persia, etc. England is struggling to exert her influence.

(Concluded in our next Issue)

The Allies in Siberia

ALMOST a year has passed since your governments have taken it upon themselves to control the destinies of Revolutionary Russia through armed meddling, diplomatically called intervention. At the outset the attitude of these rulers toward the Russian people was concealed by declarations of friendship and benevolence, by solemn promises not to interfere in our internal affairs, by the oft repeated assurances that the Allies had not the slightest intention of violating our national rights and independence, and by hypocritical statements to the effect that their sole aim was to "assist" Russia.

When, immediately after these declarations and assurances active forces of Japanese, English, French, Italian and Canadian troops were concentrated on our territory, with their several military staff members, military missions, and kindred agencies utilizing our railroads, requisitioning our buildings, and generally acting in the same manner as they would in their respective home countries; we were told that the Allies were preparing to transport troops and munitions to European Russia through Siberia in order to reconstruct the Russian western front against Germany. According to another version of the story we were told that the object of the Allied troops in Siberia was to protect the Czecho-Slovak army, which was at that time moving along the Siberian railroad, presumably on the way towards France, and whose security, we were informed, was menaced by armed hosts of Austro-Hungarian war prisoners.

Shortly afterward it was revealed that the contemplated battlefield was situated, not in Germany, but in the peaceful cities and villages of Siberia. The cannons of our "Allies" were directed against the Siberian workers and peasants and not against German, Austrian or Hungarian war prisoners, whose reported menacing of the Czecho-Slovaks was nothing but a convenient subterfuge.

In short, it was never brought to light that the Allied expedition in Siberia was directed not against militaristic Germany but against revolutionary Russia, that the combined armies of the Allies aimed to strike not Germany, but

An appeal to the liberal and radical citizens of the Allied countries by the Workers and Peasants of Siberia and the Russian Far East.

the self-ruling Workers' and Peasants' Councils or Soviets—the most democratic form of government the world has ever seen. The Allied forces were massed to destroy the Soviets, this real government of the people, by the people, for the people which sprang into being during the tempest of the great Russian revolution out of the genius of the Russian workers and peasants.

It has now been established beyond the shadow of doubt that the Czecho-Slovaks had not the slightest ground for hostility toward the Siberian Soviets, and that they betrayed the hospitality and confidence bestowed on them by these same Soviets, under pressure of the French General Staff and the urgent request of the French diplomats, who promised them the recognition of Czecho-Slovakia as the price of these treacherous and bloody deeds. It is also now well-known that Semenov and Kornilov, the two Cossack chiefs, who so zealously prosecuted war against their own countrymen, were financed, equipped and supported—the former by Great Britain, the latter by Japan.

Thus due to the united force of these powers and their abettors, and due also to the treachery of single individuals the Soviets were overthrown all through Siberia. Unprepared, poorly equipped, and surprised to such an extent that they had not sufficient time to mobilize the people or even communicate with each other, the various local Soviets were suddenly confronted with the might of the Allied armies joined by Cossack bands, adherents of the old order and all foes of the revolution and the common people.

The government power was thus snatched away by force from the people and placed in the bloody hands of Kalmikov, Semenov, Gamov and similar small tyrants, who divided Siberia among themselves. Under the protection of the Allied bayonets these rulers began a campaign of terror against the common people, to club, martyr, shoot and hang with-

out mercy. Subsequently Horvath and then Kolchak alternately declared themselves rulers of the Russian people.

During all this time the peasants and workers of Siberia groan under the yoke of this regime, which in brutality and cruelty excels the darkest days of Czardom. All trace of freedom is obliterated. The active factors of Siberian life today are the Cossacks, the nagaika (Cossack's whip), the prison cells and the bullets of the executioners. All the Siberian civil and military prisons are filled to such an extent that they have become pest-holes of epidemic diseases. The powers that be have taken upon themselves the vain and cruel task of exterminating Bolshevik ideas and sympathies by the annihilation of the population. The Japanese troops have introduced the terrible practice of bombarding villages without any warning or reducing them to ashes by fire in order to stamp out the "nests of Bolshevism." The villages of Sakharino and Ivanovka, near Blagoveschensk, were laid waste in this fashion a short time ago.

While these conditions prevail in Siberia; the common people are steadfastly convinced that all their misfortunes are but the direct sequel of this cursed foreign intervention, which demoralizes, brutalizes and tyrannizes the country. We are certain that all these Semenovs, Kalmikovs, Kolchaks could not exercise their criminal power a single day, if your troops did not protect them, and if they were not supported by your governments by supplies of gold, munitions and equipment.

We cannot presume that all this could occur with the knowledge and sanction of the liberal and radical citizens of the Allied countries. We are certain, that the treacherous and bloody role which your governments play in Russia today would outrage your sense of justice.

We, therefore, beseech you, we implore you, we demand of you in the name of justice and freedom, in the name of humanity, in the name of brotherly love, and in the name of the great Russian revolution, not to stand calmly by while your governments strangle revolutionary Russia.

Soviet Hungary and the Allies

(Continued from Page 9)

are we, comrades, and then is the Proletarian Revolution, saved. Then we will have time to await the International Proletarian Revolution, and if we should fall, then we will fall in such a manner that the International Proletarian Revolution will not be hurt by our misfortune.

I have never considered the matter from the point of view of the Hungarian proletariat. I do not consider the matter from the point of view of the proletariat of any land. There is only one point of view: the point of view of the International Proletarian Revolution. (That's so, that's so!)

We are only building a small part of this International Proletarian Revolution. If there should come a time when we must go down in defeat then the International Proletarian Revolution will still live, and will again awaken us to new life (great applause).

I have described the situation—coldly, carefully, just as it is. I will now add to that, what is happening to the proletariat of all lands. You are acquainted with the situ-

ation in Vienna, you know that there the proletariat is armed to fight for Dictatorship (applause). You know that the troops of the Russian Soviet Republic have crossed the border of East Galicia (continued applause). You know that a part of these troops is advancing on Czernovitz. That is help, which still lies in the distance. I emphasize again, that we must depend in the first place on our own strength — upon the revolutionary strength of the Hungarian proletariat till the time when the proletariat of the surrounding lands will hasten actively to our aid. To arouse this revolutionary force, the organization, utilization, and enlarging of this force, that is your task (that's so). Act, act and then again act!

Do you want the Proletarian Dictatorship, do you want the working masses to govern themselves? Do you wish the possibility of action? We want all these things. The time is here, the moment is deadly serious, we

must act, act and again act (continued applause and assents).

I repeat: I do not desire to indulge in oratory or fine phrases. Let the proletariat of Budapest, whose representatives you are, speak now, let them say what they want; new bourgeois Capitalism (cries: never), exploitation by the bourgeoisie, or Socialism, Communism? (Stormy applause.) Penetrating all hells, enduring all sacrifices! (That's so, that's so!) And after they have spoken, may the proletariat of Budapest also act (thunderous hurrahs and continued applause).

(At the close of the meeting, after Joseph Pogany had spoken (we shall publish his address in our next issue) the following resolution was adopted amid tremendous applause: "The Budapest Revolutionary Workers' Council resolves, at its meeting held April 19, 1919, that half the members of the Soviet Government and of the Workers' Council, as well as half of the general workers, shall go to the front. The Soviet Government is entrusted with the carrying out of this resolution.")

The Prison that is Society

By Martha H. Foley

CRAMPED within a tiny cell a man sits staring through iron bars at a wall surmounted by spikes—a gaunt blank wall which bounds the horizon of his life. Beyond lie plains rioting with color, rivers and seas alive with ships, mountains that flame in the dawn, and cities seething with activity. Years ago there was hope of breaking those bars and escaping over the wall, but that was long ago. Now he would not know what to do with his freedom if he did attain it. So he sits staring, staring—a prisoner.

* * *

Bent over a roaring machine in a dust-filled room a man turns out metal disc after metal disc. His body quivers with the motions of the machine and perspiration blinds his eyes and runs down his naked breast. Somewhere a violinist is pouring out his soul in an ecstasy of music, pleading for a listening ear, somewhere hangs a painting in whose glowing colors is blended the life-blood of an artist, waiting for an appreciative eye, somewhere is shelved unread a book whose author starved that he might give forth its message. The hours come and go, eight, nine, ten, still the man stays fettered to his task of grinding out the shining bits of metal and the grinding into dust of his dreams.

* * *

A prisoner—one of the millions imprisoned by capitalist society, robbed of justice, robbed of beauty, robbed of life that the few may be glutted. Incarcerated in the shops, mines and factories, doomed to life-long toil whose fruits he may not taste. And woe unto him who ventures to tear asunder the irksome shackles or thrust even his hand beyond the bars that confine him! Society knows well how to punish, society can brand and crucify today as it has branded and crucified through the centuries.

Far back in the dim past, when primitive man first forced to slave for him the captive he had taken in tribal warfare, was laid the cornerstone of the prison that is society. Stone upon stone it was reared as serfdom followed chattel slavery until was erected the stronghold with many ramifications in the wage-slavery of today. Empires and the prisoners who under the lash sweat and bled for them

have passed away, but still the prison stands and sweating and bleeding prisoners fill it.

* * *

Laws should free, not restrict. Capitalism employs the law only to oppress the worker, for it itself knows no law. Let the inventor invent, if his product prove aught of value to his master, let the artist create if his creation may be exploited to the further gain of those that rule, let the student study if his knowledge can be subsidized; but let none advance beyond the wall. And society has supplied itself with guards to see that none transgress the prescribed bounds. There are many guards, great and small, but chief among them are the school, the church, the press, patriotism, the settlement, and the "employees' association." These and things which were once good in themselves, society seizes upon to serve its own terrible purpose and to thwart any budding desires toward the free life.

In the school all spontaneous instincts of originality in teacher or student are quickly suppressed. Perverted is the history and economics that are taught. There are the first chains forged that bind the future worker in his jail. Childhood with its fairies and hobgoblins, youth with its dreams and aspirations, society sees only as a fertile soil wherein to sow that which may be reaped as profits.

Religion, in one of its phases, is the outcome of man's groping toward the spiritual. The religious impulse—not superstitious faith in some ruling deity—is the indefinite expression of the finest in man. Society fears that finest and takes care that the church be one of its staunchest supporters. And the church doing its bidding, inculcates the supreme virtues of obedience, humility and and patience—prizes of a reward after death. Deafened by its mouthings, the workers hear not the call of freedom.

One of the most vigilant of monitors is the press. Lie after lie it feeds to the workers until they cannot discern the true from the false. It converts the rattle of their chains into music and their liberation into destruction, so that from its pages they learn to clamor for the perpetuation of their slavery.

Another guard that society finds indispens-

able to the maintenance of the inviolability of its prison is patriotism. To disrupt and separate worker from worker, to drain them of their energy, it pits nation against nation. The blood shed in these conflicts it laps up greedily, at the same time spurring the workers by words of praise to noble sacrifice. But they, blindly slaying each other, do not realize that they are also slaying the workers of the future and strengthening the walls that confine them.

* * *

At times there are disturbing signs of unrest among the inmates which must be quelled. Baits are thrown to them in the form of social welfare enterprises and employees associations. Misled by these "uplift" and "welfare" movements, overwhelmed by the "kindness" of their keepers, they become duly grateful and sheeplike. The chains seem to drag less heavily upon them. In truth they are fettered more firmly.

As to all that lies outside the prison, as to the birthright of freedom that is denied them, those inside know nothing and after long incarceration come to despise. Nature flaunting her ruby and gold sunsets, sweeping wild winds across seas silver with foam, or pouring night's jewels into silent pools, is but a source to derive material for toil; science which carries man among the uttermost stars and chains the lightning, that which increases and expedites their labor; and art echoing the soul's response to the beautiful, folly. Life is to slave, slave, slave or die.

Under the system of class rule society cannot possibly be anything but a vast prison. When it imprisons one worker it imprisons all, and not until all make a determined effort to free themselves can one be free. When the workers erect a new structure and in its erection demolish for all time their prison, when a world-wide Soviet replaces bourgeois democracy then will they breathe the fresh air into their lungs, live and be free men.

Sections of the prison are already crashing in ruins. In Russia and Hungary the workers have done away with their walls and their keepers and for the first time know freedom. And the gaps in the wall made by them render unsteady the whole. Soon will it fall and crumble, never to hold man prisoner again.

The N. E. C. Mobilizing Slanders

(Continued from Page 6)

willing to defend the N. E. C. "statement of principles" on the public platform? Where and when?

Says Oneal: "As there was an Ebert-Scheidemann gang in Germany, naturally they accepted the statement that we had one here too." Quite naturally.

The deliberate lies about the Left Wing votes continue. All of these votes are on file in the National office but are carefully withheld by order of the N. E. C. It is clear already that this is the biggest party referendum ever taken. The votes run high in the metropolitan centres and low in the smaller towns: that is the entire mystery of the fact that 25 per cent or 30 per cent of the members voted, while perhaps as many as 75 per cent did not vote. There are hundreds of locals in the United States which have been allowed virtually to die out by the old party regime, and from these half-dead locals there were no votes at all. This is the ordinary experience with referendums, except that there

was never a time before when the new national party executives were elected by such large votes.

Now the question arises, why didn't the supporters of Oneal make it their business to get ballots and vote? Or is it really possible that they were as few as the votes indicate? Of course it is no very great effort for party members to find the opportunity to vote, and at least it is not charged that anybody who wanted to vote for Oneal was denied the full and free chance to do so. But there were ever so few who sought the opportunity. Strange, indeed. But what can you expect of a party that is all in the whirl of the Left Wing brainstorm? One might suggest the alternative of unfitness of Oneal to represent the militant proletariat of America, but that would be crediting the members of the Socialist Party with discriminating intelligence.

The Left Wing has never conducted "a campaign against the Socialist Party." Nor have the Federations ever conducted such a campaign. But a successful campaign was

conducted against opportunistic reformism as the essence of our party activities. The Left Wing criticisms which had their legitimate basis in intelligent participation in the party functioning, were barred from the party press and the Left Wing adherents were fired out of the party by the reactionaries who happened to control the executive committees. Thus arose the necessity for a separate Left Wing press and finally for Left Wing organization taking on a national scope.

Not to have carried on this campaign within the party would have constituted a betrayal of the world proletariat in the great struggle now going on, under the banner of the Communist International, against the united Imperialisms. To have waged this campaign and to have won it is an achievement of tremendous significance for a Socialist movement in the United States of revolutionary proletarian consciousness.

There remains now the great task of the reorganization of the party according to the Left Wing program.

Correspondence

To The Revolutionary Age:—

I RECEIVED a letter from a comrade who expresses great concern, lest the mention of the possibility of a new party may work mischief with the Left Wing conquest of the party. This comrade stands today in the foremost ranks of the Socialist movement in the United States and undoubtedly expresses the sentiments of many thousands of the most earnest members of the party. For this reason I am asking you to publish this letter as my personal expression on the vital question involved. I may add, however, that I did not send this letter without asking several of the members of the National Left Wing Council to read it, and I am assured that my letter expresses the point of view which dominated the National Left Wing Conference.

The letter follows (July 9, 1919):

I have just read your letter of July 4th to Comrade Cohen. I hasten to make answer in addition to such answer as may be made by Comrade Cohen, in the first place to greet you from this office and to urge you to send me all the suggestions you have for immediate action, and in the second place to make somewhat clearer to you the party situation as it stands after the Left Wing Conference. I think I would have written just what you wrote if I had not been to the Conference, using almost the same language, as I recall my point of view of twenty days ago. On the other hand, I am quite positive that if you had undergone the experience of the Left Wing Conference there are certain statements you make which you would consider inappropriate to the actual situation.

It is very important that we understand one another fully and exactly under the circumstances of this party crisis. . . . By this time you have received the delayed number of *The Revolutionary Age* telling about the Conference. . . . But I will deal with the single item of "new party" just as it came to my personal attention and just as I reacted to the whole idea.

From the opening of the Conference it became evident that there was some sort of a move on foot to start a new Communist Party right then and there. I did not know who was behind this move. The whole idea seemed preposterous to me, not that I was averse to the idea of a new party, if that was the best way for us, but that I could not see how a Conference called as this one was called could presume to make this sort of a decision for the fifty or sixty thousand members definitely within the Left Wing.

On the sensible basis that we had better see first what we agreed about and what we disagreed about, the majority waived aside discussion of a new party several times. Finally, it became evident that we had to discuss this question or nothing. An entire session was taken up directly on this subject, with unlimited discussion, most of the delegates taking the floor. The vote was against the immediate formation of a new party.

Meanwhile the forces for the new party plan made themselves known. First, a small group from New York and Philadelphia, with Comrade Zucker as indefatigable spokesman. Second, the four Michigan delegates, with Comrade O'Brien and another comrade from Rochester, and with Miss Gordon of the Left Wing of Minnesota. Third, the Federation delegates, with only a few exceptions. The poll was 38 votes for and 55 against.

Next came the Michigan proposal. The

Concerning a New Party

Michigan Convention had decided upon a call for a new party to be formed September first, and this call was made absolute. The Left Wing could take or leave it; Michigan would go ahead anyhow.

By this time I had become convinced of one thing: that there must be an exact date when this party fuss shall stop, and this date could not be left to the choosing of the old N. E. C. There is no use quoting the Constitution as against the proposition that *the old N. E. C. will control so long as there is no Convention*. And there is no use driving a good argument to the point of absurdity by insisting that there is no way for the old N. E. C. to frame up a Right Wing Convention for August 30th or later. Things can be done in the physical sense which are ethically outrageous. They have been done; they are being done from day to day by Germer and his bosses. The gang that has gone as far as these men have gone will hardly stop at any extremity. The point is that by forcing them to these extremities we make clearer than ever the real state of affairs within the party, showing beyond dispute that the Left Wing is the party. This it is mighty important to do. But it is another matter to keep on insisting against everything and anything that the Left Wing is bound to control a party convention chosen by a few thousand voters still outside the Left Wing movement. And even worse would it be to let the mass of the membership remain adrift at the pleasure of the gangsters, telling them that some day it will all come out all right.

The Michigan proposal had the advantage of coming from the outside, from an ousted State, as a mandate of the Michigan membership, expressed by a Convention. It had the disadvantage of being pinned on to a declaration of principles upon which the new party was to be organized. Also, it did not include the alternative of Left Wing control of the August 30th Convention. It was amended to meet the latter objection and it was made clear that the program attached to the Michigan call was of a tentative character. But I think the majority was fully justified in repudiating the State "patriotism" of my very good friends and comrades from Michigan.

The action of the Conference itself was not different in principles. Comrade Wagefknicht reported for the Organization Committee in favor of: 1) a thorough campaign to control the August 30th Convention for the Left Wing; and 2) the alternative, failing the fulfillment of certain conditions, of organizing a new party September 1st in Convention of Left Wing delegates. Afterwards the further alternative was added; 3) an August 30th Convention to organize a new party if the old N. E. C. does away with the Emergency Convention. The conditions for the August 30th regular party Convention are the seating of Left Wing delegates, the undoing of expulsions and suspension, the fulfillment of referendums.

By this time the minority had rallied around the Michigan plan, though the Federation delegates made it obvious that they were uneasy about the Michigan theorizing. As result, 31 delegates withdrew from active participation in the Conference. Now they have joined in the call for a September 1st Communist Party Convention, but on the basis of *the Left Wing Program*.

Comrade, we must talk new party. This

thing has moved faster that you and I reckoned. Those ousted from the party made a response which you and I, still within the party, did not feel. Arguments were made about the party fight which had the merit at least of discounting the idea of too long a fight for its physical apparatus, though these arguments have yet failed to budge me as to the worth whileness of our two months campaign within the party. The subsequent expulsion of Massachusetts, the threatened expulsion of Pennsylvania (and probably of Ohio)—all of these show at the same time the lengths to which the old bunch will go and the clearness of the Left Wing triumph. When we come together August 30th in Chicago, there will be no question but that the party is ready for Communism, or that the new party is only the same party turning into a new avenue of aggressive attack against American and world Capitalism.

Not to mention "new party" in connection with our fight within the party is to play the old game of fooling our own people in the vain hope of allaying the timid ones. We cannot yield ourselves to the Michigan-Federation politicianneering, nor can we ignore the realities of party sentiment which this call for a Communist Party represents. Those who will not frankly face a crucial situation, recognize its definite alternatives, and accept the dictation of facts, cannot be truly helpful in this situation. There must be a showdown, and it had better be August 30th, let the old gang do as they will. I have argued that "new party" is just what they played for, and I refused to help them get what they wanted. But I cannot see the merit of carrying this argument to the extreme of forgetting that we have something far more important to do than to attenuate a party factional fight beyond the time needed to show up the situation clearly to the active membership. I do not know just what we shall be called upon to do with regard to the physical apparatus of the party, but I mainly would think it petty folly to let such a consideration make us forget the big world fight in which we are engaged. Part of this fight is to be made within the Socialist Party; the higher part of it is a tremendous work of agitation among the 30,000,000 wage workers of the United States.

If this letter still leaves you in doubt as to the sound sense of the Conference decision to compel a showdown on August 30, after making the fight to control the Emergency Convention, I want the chance to write to you again. As to talking and writing "new party" I must certainly disagree with you. What you and I can discuss every member can consider. It is all-important that the membership understand clearly the situation as it will be on August 30th, and all of its possible alternatives.

In re-reading what I have already written, it occurs to me to add the New York delegation was against the new party proposition and in favor of working for the election of Left Wing delegates to the regular party convention, and that the minority New York delegates acted against instructions. It is probable that the Federations will not help us in this campaign so far as some of their Central Executive Committees are concerned, but we must do our best against this internal opposition. If the old gang decides to call off the Emergency Convention, the membership will accept this as the final proof of their defeat, and will be ready to deal with the Left Wing Convention as the real party convention.

I. E. FERGUSON

Official Left Wing News

THE Cleveland referendum proposal to rescind the acts of the old N. E. C. expelling Michigan, suspending the seven Federations, holding up the election referendums, and putting the national headquarters into the absolute control of trustees, has been seconded by 172 locals, representing 17,800 members. These seconds come from 29 states and 10 Federations. Over 12,000 of the members represented are from the regular English-speaking branches, 2,130 from Russian-speaking branches, and 3,631 from 48 branches of the Finnish, German, Jewish and Scandinavian Federations.

This "straw vote" is all the more striking by reason of its scattered, spontaneous character. It is apparent that the same proposition put to the vote of the entire membership through the regular party machinery would result in a repudiation of these acts of the N. E. C. by practically 100 per cent of the active party membership. As an example of the limited reach of this expression of party sentiment, New York City is not represented at all, nor Detroit, and only a few of the smaller branches from Chicago, while these three cities have over 20,000 party members.

Now it appears that this referendum will never be submitted. It is "unconstitutional" because it contains "comment." Sherlock Holmes, and all the other great detectives, real or fictitious, never exhibited ingenuity equal to this. It was suspected that some way would be found to sidetrack this referendum until too late for the Emergency Convention, but the particular method chosen to get rid of a disastrous rebuke from the party membership was beyond forecast. Except for the extreme seriousness of the party situation and the nasty temper of the rump officialdom, one might find in this latest performance of the hold-over N. E. C. an inspired outburst of the comic spirit.

* * *

THE MICHIGAN-FEDERATION CALL FOR A NEW PARTY

The call for a new party to be formed at Chicago on September 1st, regardless of the Left Wing organization and procedure, is without national significance except as it may work injury to the already difficult task of the Left Wing in drawing together the revolutionary elements of the American proletariat. The call comes from a little committee, most of whom represent none but themselves, and all of whom are desperately bent on playing out a petty game of controlling the future of Socialism in America regardless of the will and understanding of the mass of party members.

This call was formulated in the East with none instructed to that effect except the delegates to the National Left Wing Conference from Michigan, and this was a Convention not a membership instruction. The others who join in this call act under the direct inspiration of three or four would-be

"bosses" of the Russian Federation. There is no question but that these Federation schemes will be sharply rebuked by their own membership at the moment the true situation becomes known. Of course it will be their policy to keep their members properly misinformed, but that sort of policy cannot carry them along very far.

There is a small group of pretentious "leaders" in Michigan who, while they have done some splendid critical and educational work within the Socialist Party, are making a sorry mess of their attempts to take the whole national movement into their hands. The national movement will dispose of itself at Chicago, on August 30th, with representation from every part of the country. A self-constituted "national organization committee" will never create a "Communist Party of America" when its first act is a repudiation of the initial national effort to draw together the Left Wing elements for common action.

The National Left Wing Council is the immediate embodiment of the National Left Wing. The question of the process of revolutionizing the Socialist Party was most carefully considered at New York by representatives from many States, and it is this decision which must govern the Left Wing Council. The insurgents who could not force the Conference to accept their dictation now presume to marshal their forces against both the official party and the Left Wing. They expect to sweep everything before them by the magic of the name "Communist Party of America." That is a name which deserves far greater respect than to be used as bait in this sort of game. When it becomes the name of the revolutionary Socialists movement in this country, it will not be by mandate of two little groups of petty intriguers. It will be under auspices which held the name of Communism in too profound respect to make of it a football as in this game for a Michigan-Russian Executive Committee private political party.

There is need to make reservation for the intense sincerity of some of the comrades involved in this call for a new party. But there can be no reservation as to their temporary loss of mental balance with respect to the general proletarian movement in the United States upon which all that they long for depends.

* * *

PLAN FOR MEETING OF NEW N. E. C.

The National Left Wing Council and several of the members of the newly elected N. E. C. are trying to work out a plan for a meeting of the new N. E. C. as early a date as can be arranged. The election of Comrades Fraina, Hourwich, Harwood, Prevey, Ruthenberg, Lloyd, Keracher, Batt, Hogan, Millis, Nagle, Katterfeld, Wicks and Herman appears now to be certain, while there is still a question about the third choice in the First District, Comrade Lindgren leading without the New York vote.

There is no question but that the final tally of the party elections is available at the National office, but according to the action of the N. E. C. this tally will not be made known until August 30th. Meanwhile the State Secretaries have published enough of the votes to leave no question of the outcome except as above indicated. There may be some variation also in the Fourth District, where the votes are few and scattered. But as to 12 or 13 of the new executive body there can no longer be any question, and according to the party law the new N. E. C. is entitled to control beginning July 1st.

There can be no "legality" by which a defunct Executive Committee can keep the newly elected committee from taking office. By such "constitutionality" the old body could perpetuate itself indefinitely, let the members vote as they like. Stopping referendums is the method chosen to make sure that the members consent.

A motion for a meeting of the new N. E. C. has been made by Comrade Katterfeld, who happens to be a member of both the old and new Executive Committee. In case National Secretary Germer refuses to put this motion, as is most likely, Comrade Katterfeld will himself take the vote of the newly elected committeemen.

This meeting is of the highest importance. It is up to the new N. E. C. to keep up the continuity of the party. The only valid party authority today, officially speaking, is the newly chosen N. E. C. Fundamentally, the final party authority is the party membership, and in obedience to this authority it becomes the duty of the new committeemen to meet and take up the executive work of the party. If there is any question about the elections it can only be raised by contests coming from any district where defeated candidates may claim seats on the N. E. C. The uncontested committeemen must decide these contests.

* * *

THE FINNISH FEDERATION LINES UP.

It was evident at Chicago that the main reliance of the Opportunists was on the Finnish Federation, which has long been first in the list of Federations. Now the news comes to hand that the Finnish Federation denounces the actions of the N. E. C. and demands that the August 30th Convention shall take no account of the expulsion and suspensions. The proclamation coming from the Executive Committee of the Finnish Federation characterizes the majority of the N. E. C. as petit bourgeois opportunistic Socialists. Finally, comes this significant statement: "If the internal crisis created in the party unavoidably leads to a division of forces, we join without hesitation those that follow unalterably in the wake of the uncompromising class struggle. There shall be our place."

I. E. FERGUSON,
National Sec'y.

Greater New York News

PENDING the consolidation of the locals of Greater New York the City Committee of the Left Wing has called for the immediate formation of a central committee of New York. The New York Left Wing branches have had no centralized unifying governing body up to the present with the result that there has been little work accomplished along those lines. We must engage in the primary fight among other activities and that also requires some centralized body to carry on the work.

The New York Left Wing branches are therefore called upon to elect delegates for the N. Y. Central Committee at its next meeting where they have not done so already. The first meeting of the delegates of the Central Committee will be held on Tuesday, July 22 at our headquarters 43 W. 29th Street at 8 o'clock. Minutes of that meeting will be published in the next issue of *The Revolutionary Age*.

Branch organizers or secretaries will please notify this office when and where their meetings are held. Also their other activities of interest to the comrades of the Left Wing.

* * *

Dear Comrade:-

As another instance of the already over-accumulated examples of the Democratic actions of the Right Wing, let me describe the one perpetrated upon the 18-20 A. D.

This branch of the S. P. did not participate in the actions and reactions between the Left Wing and the Right Wing—but it was definitely decisively

revolutionary in spirit. Local New York felt that it had to do something, surely, in order to get rid of the revolutionary elements. Not having any real ground, a fictitious one would do just as well, in the opinion of the Right Wing.

Letters were sent out saying: inasmuch as there was a disorderly element in the branch (no meeting had ever been taken off in disorder); inasmuch as the branch officers had been recalled (this also a lie); the branch was to be reorganized. The Black Committee came around and took our names. All activities of the branch were suspended. Some four weeks later another letter was sent out. This time Gerber was there and explained that the other reorganization meeting was not supposed to have taken place, was uncalled for

and so on. Comrade Alcinikoff asked for the floor of the members, who granted it with acclaim, in order to answer Gerber. But not having asked it of his august self, Gerber, the party hired secretary kept on beating with his hammer. This continued until Gerber and the rest of the Black Committee were ejected from the hall by the members. Some six of his kind left the branch with him. On going out Gerber shouted out, "You'll pay for this, you are no longer members of the party."

One month later, a masked gang of three, easily recognizable by their smell, according to the man who described them, as being Spritzer, Shub and Extract, broke into the branch during the morning hours by way of the fire-escape window. All the furniture was taken out, the fixtures of the lights were torn from the walls and ceilings, even a bookcase belonging to the Y. P. S. L. did not escape their rapacity, but was jimmied open. Some of the books were stolen. We only hope that they will read them and perhaps learn some Socialism.

Jacob Hillquit, the brother of Morris Hillquit, was the treasurer of the branch and had some \$250 of the branch's money—so that besides the furniture, upon which they will be able to realize quite a little sum, these few have the \$250.

How much lower must such as these fall in order to be on the same plane with the Eberts-Scheidemanns-Noskes of Germany?

Fraternally,

Wm. BOURSTEIN

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 head-
quarters or from Branch secretaries.

Is Your Answer In Yet?

The National Left Wing Council Needs \$15,000 Now

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America has organized itself as a national unified expression of Revolutionary Socialism. In every industrial centre, the Left Wing is a power.

Its immediate tasks are enormous.

The struggle within the Party must be waged—to conquer the Party for the revolutionary Socialism of the Communist International, or organize a new Communist Party.

There is the struggle among the masses—the winning of the broad masses of the workers for

Communist Socialism

Leaflets must be issued, speakers routed, papers published. All this requires money—*At Once*.

The Socialist Party Convention meets August 30. We must carry on an enormous agitation without a moment's delay. Time is pressing and money is an urgent necessity.

Then money is needed immediately for

The Revolutionary Age

—which has become the national organ of the Left Wing. It must treble its circulation within the next two months in order to reach the rank and file of the Party and the masses of the workers with our message. Financially it is in a sound position, but it is not yet covering fully its own expenses. Every addition to its circulation means a reduction of the organization's expenses.

The Left Wing Convention authorized the National Council to issue special emergency stamps to help raise money. This is being done. But the process is slow. *We need the money now.*

We ask all comrades to contribute individually according to their means.

We ask all locals to *immediately donate* money on the basis of the following quotas:

New York (greater city)	\$1,500	Boston, Mass.	200
Chicago, Ill.	1,000	Portland, Ore.	200
Cleveland, Ohio.	1,000	Rochester, N. Y.	200
Detroit, Mich.	500	Toledo, Ohio.	200
Denver, Colo.	300	Los Angeles, Cal.	200
Buffalo, N. Y.	300	St. Paul, Minn.	200
Philadelphia, Pa.	400	Duluth, Minn.	100
Pittsburg, Pa.	300	Minneapolis, Minn.	100
Seattle, Wash.	300	Hartford, Conn.	100
San Francisco, Cal.	300	Providence, R. I.	100

Comrades of the Left Wing—history calls to YOU! Upon *you*—the Left Wing—depends the future of Communist Socialism. Act! Individuals and locals of the Left Wing—*act now.*

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