The Revolutionary Age
A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe
Vol. I, No. 13
Saturday, January 11, 1919
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The New Stage Opens

The Executive Committee (Central Council) of the Councils of Workmen and Soldiers is solidly united with the Government, with the "Socialist" counter-revolution, providing Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. with the authority to use any and all means against the proletarian revolution.

4.—But this Central Council is not representative of the revolutionary masses; it was not at the time of its election, it is still less to-day. The action of local Councils and the mansions in cities after city are an impalpable, if not direct repudiation, of the policy of the Central Council—local councils are usurping government functions, regulating industry, developing out of life itself activity and measures that the dictatorship of the proletariat would organize, unify, and "legislate."

5.—The Ebert-Scheidemann Government is now openly allied with the bourgeoisie, and tacitly allied with the Imperialism of the Allies it depends upon the counter-revolutionary generals, whom it retains in power, upon the old diplomats whom it refuses to dismiss, upon the Allies to whom it pledges: depends upon any and all things except Socialism and the revolution of the proletarian struggle. But the Government is shaking.

6.—The withdrawal of the Independents from the Government is not a victory for the Independents; while it is a victory for the "majority" Socialists, it is equally a victory for the Spartacists, since the conscious and vital elements among the Independents must accept now the counter-revolutionary generals, whom it retains in power, upon the old diplomats whom it refuses to dismiss, upon the Allies to whom it pledges: depends upon any and all things except Socialism and the revolution of the proletarian struggle. But the Government is shaking.

7.—The international aspects of the Revolution are being more clearly recognized by the German proletariat as one National phase of the Social Revolution. An alliance with proletarians Russia is becoming a fact—Haecke's miserable juggling with the Bolshevik issue has discredited Haase, and not the Bolshieviki. The Spartacist Group has organized nationally as the Communist Labor Party, in conformity with the (Bolsheviki) Communist Party of Russia.

8.—The Government of Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. must resort to the use of the most reactionary elements and most reactionary means to preserve itself and prevent the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat.

9.—The Executive Committee (Central Council) of the Councils of Workmen and Soldiers is solidly united with the Government, with the "Socialist" counter-revolution, providing Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. with the authority to use any and all means against the proletarian revolution.
The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe.

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Saturday, January 11, 1919

Louis C. Fraina, editor of The Revolutionary Age, is in New York, N. Y., during a thirty day sentence which was imposed for a speech made at a meeting of Conscionables Objectors in New York during the first months of the war. Fraina appealed the case and on the decision going against him he presented himself for sentence on last Tuesday, E. Ralph Cheyne, who was chairman of the meeting, was also sentenced to thirty days and is at present undergoing sentence.

They Are Still There!

SENATOR La Follette reopened the matter of the American troops at present in Russia operating against the Bolsheviki, in a speech in the Senate on January 8th, in which he asked the Administration how many of the hundreds of letters he receives daily from the people of Wisconsin asking why their sons are kept in Russia. In his reply to this, the Administration stated they know that the Soviet government of which we have so little is the sort of government that 150,000,000 or 150,000,000 Russians desire, that is their business and not our business.

In response to the question raised by the speech Senator Swanson, speaking for the Foreign Relations Committee, explained that it was expected that Senator Hinchcock would make a statement on the Russian situation at an early date and then proceeded to belabor the Bolsheviki government by its sympathy toward Imperial Germany. All the old tales of reiterating and apparently Senator Swanson has not heard that Imperial Germany is no more. But even if Senator Swanson intimates that it is true it would be interesting to know why press dispatches of the same date from London announce that Great Britain does not intend to withdraw her troops from any part of Asia and is endeavoring to withdraw those she has there as quickly as possible. Surely England is interested in preventing Imperial Germany from being aided by Russia.

A matter of fact it is clear that none of the governments who have foreign troops in Russia are willing to make their statements to the peoples as to what exactly their intentions are with respect to Russia. Now that pressure is being exerted to force an announcement of the American troops at present in Russia operating against Russia: "That all those who contribute to provoke and prolong the war are alarmed at the awakening of the nations . . . and that the centres of the people's revolution should be promptly suppresses. Their anxiety is no longer to conquer the enemy, but to prevent this universal crisis paralyzing the capitalist bourgeoisie of all countries. They know that the Russian Bolsheviks have destroyed monarchic and capitalist privileges, have placed their hands upon the property of social parasites. Anything sooner than that. Their hatred of the enemy is giving place to the desire to protect the Czecho-Slovaks, to withdraw their troops, and will not be representative of the National Executive.

The chief reason advanced by the United States Government for its participation in intervention in Russia is to protect the Czecho-Slovaks. According to a dispatch from Vladivostok the Czecho-Slovaks refused on November 24 to take part in an offensive against the Soviet Republic, feeling that "the Allies had betrayed them." Imperial Germany is destroyed, destroyed by the influence of the Bolsheviki ideas, the Czecho-Slovaks refuse to fight against the Soviet Republic. The two chief reasons advanced for intervention have disappeared but alien troops are still at Archangel and Vladivostok.

International Socialist Delegates

IN answer to the call of Camille Huysmans for an International Socialist Congress to be convened at Lausanne, Switzerland, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America announced that it has approached President Lee, James Craig, and John M. Work as delegates. The statement published in the New York Call goes on to say that one of the referendum votes taken over a year ago, when the Stockholm Conference was to be held, Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger and Algrenon Lee were elected to attend that body and that the appointment of the three men named as the Lausanne delegates was governed by the vote cast on the former occasion. Hillquit being unable to go to Europe owing to ill health which has held him confined for some months past and Berger being at the present moment standing trial under the Espionage Act. As a matter of fact the three who were elected to attend the Stockholm Conference were Hillquit, Kirpatrick and Berger. None of the present appointees were elected, nor did any of them even run fourth, that position was taken by a Socialist.

From all the Allied countries protests are arising against intervention in Russia. None of the common people want to wage war against the Russians. Every day protest meetings are being held in England, France, Italy and throughout America. The central organ of the French Socialists, L'Humanite, writes in their 13th number on the threatened military campaign against Russia: "All those who contribute to provoke and prolong the war are alarmed at the awakening of the nations . . . and that the centres of the people's revolution should be promptly suppresses. Their anxiety is no longer to conquer the enemy, but to prevent this universal crisis paralyzing the capitalist bourgeoisie of all countries. They know that the Russian Bolsheviks have destroyed monarchic and capitalist privileges, have placed their hands upon the property of social parasites. Anything sooner than that. Their hatred of the enemy is giving place to the desire to protect the Czecho-Slovaks, to withdraw their troops, and will not be representative of the National Executive.

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Stockholm Conference and the present day much the vitally affects the Socialist movement of the world has happened, and it is a preposterous supposition that because under one set of circumstances a man is elected he is the choice of the electorate for all time. The National Executive Committee advances the argument in defense of its action that the time set for the opening of the Congress is so short that it has no time to appoint a delegate or to choose a delegate at all, merely paralyzing. The National Executive Committee has been approached by various branches and locals of the party to call an Emergency National Convention in order to give the membership an opportunity of expressing their will on all the matters arising out of the present crisis through which the world is passing, and particularly to deal with the convening of an International Socialist Congress. However, the National Executive Committee has not been able to meet since the armistice was signed. They have put off meeting time and again on various paltry excuses and when the call came for an International Socialist Convention they selected delegates by telegram.

The constitution of the Socialist Party provides for the election of delegates to International Socialist Conventions. It has been several ways in which they may be elected, but it definitely states that the National Executive Committee shall appoint delegates. The appointment of the present men is contrary to the constitution, it is a movement to break the United Socialist. It makes no difference whether the choice is a wise one or not, the action is illegal. The Socialist Party has insisted that the appointment of delegates to the Peace Conference should be appointed by referendum of the people but in the appoint- ment of Socialist delegates to the National Executive Committee ignores the membership of the party.

Algrenon Lee, one of the appointees, is the leader of the Socialist group in the New York City Board of Aldermen and his actions and those of his colleagues in that body have not found favor with a considerable section of the membership of the party in New York. On one occasion 27 branches of New York Local voted to cessate their actions, 2 advocated the withdrawal of the group from the Board of Aldermen and only 2 or 3 voted to uphold the actions of the Socialist Aldermen. At the present moment there is a movement to withdraw them from the Board. In view of these facts Lee's chances of election as one of the delegates to represent the Socialist Party of America in Europe are at least debatable and his appointment is directly contrary to Socialist practices.

But before electing delegates the American Socialist Party has first to decide whether or not it will participate in a conference called by Socialist-patriots of the type of Huysmans. According to the press the Bolsheviki have refused to participate in the congress on the grounds that it is called by reactionary Socialists and will not be representative of the revolutionary socialism that is sweeping triumphantly over Europe. This is a movement of the majority of the Socialists in America and the National Executive Committee repudiate this conference then the membership of the American Socialist Party must also refuse to participate or else align itself with the reactionaries who accepted and condoned the war.

The only way in which American Socialism can arrive at a decision that will reflect the wishes of the membership is through an Emergency National Convention. The National Executive Committee has not been empowered to call such a convention and the membership of the party should insist that it act without a moment's delay.

Labor and the New Era

IN periods of transition, such as the world is now passing through, old conceptions of old things are swept aside and old conceptions of new movements must be also swept away. Any change in the world's affair must necessarily affect all the peoples and all the working classes of society. More, the society affected which is the instrument of the partic- ular change in question. In succeeding era the aversaric, the upper middle classes and the lower
middle classes or petty bourgeoisie, have played the dominant role. Now it is the proletariat, the property-less workers, who are the instrument of the change which is going on in society. It therefore behooves the propertyless workers to prepare themselves that they may fulfill their function.

The rise of labor is a new movement. The trade union movement was an old weapon, though it is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like every-thing else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor.

When some news about the workers of Russia gets through the capitalist press pervades it. One of the best evidences of this pervasion is supplied in the pamphlet entitled 'The So-cieties of Work', which the next movement of the proletariat. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor.

Thus it seems like a good idea to make Paderewski president of the Polish Republic. "Music hath charms to soothe the savage beast," and perhaps he will be able to charm away the pangs of hunger which gnaw at the vitals of the working class by getting out on the balcony of the state house and playing nocturnes and sonatas.

The idea has at least novelty to commend it and, as we are living in the era of democracy, once the idea is put up, be able to for sake the refined atmosphere of the concert platform for the more democratic boards of the vaude-ville stage when we look for rogers. In the near future we may expect to see Frank Tinney, Harry Lauder, Bert Williams, Goby Deslys, Mary Pickford, or even the inimitable Charlie, put on diplomatic roles.

Personally we are of the opinion that any govern­ment that will allow a millionaires to start a war on the republic of which Charlie Chaplin was president. The entire youth of the world would be certain to be pro whatever country it happened to be.

The latest sensation from Russia is that Lenin has been killed by Trotsky. The Hearst papers carry the news in a headlong appropriately colored red. We await with interest the thrilling details of Lenin's escape and his victorious march upon Moscow where he will jail Trotsky.

Owing to some oversight Trotsky is not credited with jailing Lenin with the object of satisfying his personal ambitions and occupying Lenin's position in the Soviet government. It appears his thirst for blood got the better of him and when Lenin refused to quaff anymore at the expense of the bourgeoisie, be able to for sake the refined atmosphere of the concert platform for the more democratic boards of the vaude-ville stage when we look for rogers. In the near future we may expect to see Frank Tinney, Harry Lauder, Bert Williams, Goby Deslys, Mary Pickford, or even the inimitable Charlie, put on diplomatic roles.

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However, that's a detail; what really annoys us is this talk about $50,000. According to the papers there are 500,000 agents, so it only works out at a dollar apiece, and when we think of all the wives that Trotsky has been in the habit of giving the peasants 500,000 dollars in gold tucked away in their stockings it makes one mad to be put off with a miser­ able dollar.

When the Kaiser was giving away money he was at least supposed to be liberal. But these Bolsheviks are a lot of pikers.

But while we are on the subject, we would ask these papers who have been good enough to give this paper a publicty in connection with the affair that the next time they wish to credit us with anything they would also mention our address, so that those wishing to subscribe may know where to apply.

According to The New York Tribune the Bolshe­viks have been in the habit of giving the poor 10 to cents for every military officer killed. It, however, omits to tell how the peasant can collect the money, but we suppose a Bureau of Scaps has been appointed to attend to this matter.
The Struggle of the Ages
By Maurice Malone

sands of slavery, the gleaming city of Athens was one of the greatest slave markets of the ancient world. Monmonier says that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro sufferings is but a drop.

Capitolian of that day propitiated slaves, as many as 10,000 being sold in a day. Modern slavery and this record of ancient history finds its modified parallel through medieval serfdom. Down to the French Revolution we find the horrible parallel in the slavish toils of the mill workman, theagonal toil, the relentless waste of human lives, the noble patricians.

Rather than die, they have chosen to live a living death under the domination and at the mercy of those who controlled the only sources by which men can live. Ancient slavery, this economic and social injustice, is the supreme unrighteousness of the ages of history.

Ancient slavery, this economic and social injustice, is the supreme unrighteousness of the ages of history. The Athenian kings, back in the dim past, built up the horde of human beings that they captured and forced into exhausting labor. The empires of Babylonia, Persia and Egypt, the Republic of Greece and Rome were all built upon the bleeding backs of millions and millions of baffled, degraded and terror-stricken children of men.

Alexander the Great on one occasion sold into slavery 30,000 inhabitants of the city of Thebes at $16.00 per head. The Roman General, Aemilius Paulus, put up for auction a battle of several thousand human beings. Even Great Caesar took thousands of Gauls to Rome and sold them like beasts of burden to the noble patrons.

A paragraph from the pages of a recent archaeologist gives as an account of the almost universal industrial oppression of the working classes:

"...when a king or a Pharaoh, a stupa of kings, stupendous monuments, not alone of monarchical glory and pride, but of the reckless waste of human lives, deep in hands dug a mighty slavish ignorance, to make manifest the power of kings, the whole picture of that useless grinding toll testifies to an ugly, wicked contempt for human life, that is the picture of slavery in every age."

Spartacus? The aims and objects of the Spartacus Group will be explained at a Mass Meeting

Grand Opera House
Washington and Dover Sts.
2 p.m.

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ADMISSION FREE

American Socialist Party

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THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

The Truth About Bethlehem Steel
By Scott Nearing

BETHLEHEM was made by the war.
The net manufacturing profit of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation was eight million dollars and a half in 1914, and a little more than nine million dollars in 1915. In 1916 it was twenty million dollars, and in 1919 sixty million.

Even more striking is the "surplus" in the pre-war as contrasted with the war years. In 1912 there was only a little over one million dollars; in 1913 it was nearly five million dollars; in 1915 it was sixteen million; in 1916 it was thirty-eight million; and in 1917 it was nineteen million.
The total amount of money paid in dividends reflects the same condition. The Company paid dividends of seven million dollars in 1912; less than five million in 1913; forty millions in 1914; sixty-three millions in 1915, and seventy-five millions in 1917.

Bethlehem has been made by the war! Its prosperity is as distinctly a war prosperity as that of any other company in the United States. Until the time of the war the Corporation was doing badly, but since the war it has been a "gold mine" to its stockholders.
The average net income of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation for the years 1912, 1913 and 1914 was $8,047,108; in 1915 it was $17,762,813; in 1916 it was $36,940,531. These figures are startling, but they are merely surface indications of Bethlehem's prosperity. They are the figures that go to the public. Behind them in the reports of the Corporation are figures of far greater significance.

A Corporation like the Bethlehem Steel Corporation appropriates money out of its income for "additions" and for "working capital." That is, it takes a part of its earnings and turns them back into the business without ever giving the stockholders a lock at them. In 1912 and 1913, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation appropriated seven and a half million dollars for this purpose; in 1914 it appropriated twelve and a half million; in 1915, twenty-five million; in 1916 sixty millions; and in 1917 forty-seven millions, five hundred thousand dollars. In other words, in the three years, 1914-1916, the Corporation put back into the business out of its earnings $125,900,000—or thirty million more than its entire capital stock.
The same facts are brought out very clearly in the figures for "prepaid charges of depreciation," "repairs" and "maintenance.

In 1913, 1914 and 1915 the amount charged for repairs and maintenance was about the same each year; namely, a million and three-quarters; in 1915 three and a half million was so charged; in 1916 nine million, and in 1917 eighteen millions. The same thing is true of the charges for refining furnaces, etc. In the years from 1912 to 1915 these charges averaged about eight millions; in 1916 over twenty million; in 1917 they were three millions and in 1918 $10,860,000.

A great corporation like the Bethlehem Steel charges off large amounts against the losses due to the working out of mines, the running out of patents, and the general degradation of its capital. From 1912 to 1915 Bethlehem charged about three hundred thousand dollars a year for "amortization of patents and extinction of mining investments." Other depreciation charges were: In 1912, three-quarters of a million; in 1913, one million and a quarter; in 1914, a million and a half, and in 1915, $4,277,000. For 1916 and 1917 both accounts were lumped together as follows: 1916, $4,345,000; 1917, $17,912,000.

In other words the year 1917, Bethlehem paid approximately thirty-four millions in dividends. It made appropriations for "additions" and "working capital" of about forty-seven million, five hundred thousand dollars. It invested $8,330,000 in repairs and maintenance and $10,860,000 for refining furnaces, etc. It laid aside $7,912,000 as a depreciation fund and then had a surplus for the year of $149,417.

Every worker in the employ of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation should rejoice at these figures. They indicate a state of prosperity heretofore undreamed of, even by the most optimistic apologists for modern capitalism. Never in the history of the economic life of the United States has there been such stupendous surplus placed in the hands of a few individuals with no responsible accountability to the public save that of citizenship. The war has brought unprecedented prosperity to Bethlehem. Its stock holders have earned fabulous dividends. Its properties have been lined with "fat" that will run for a decade.

A great corporation like the Bethlehem Steel Corporation is no mere instrument of the Workers. Its members of industrial securities do not comment upon them at all. The Corporation has laid by its tens of millions. The workers are for the most part still laboring at the old subsistence wages.

British Workers Speak to President Wilson

John McLean, member of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, was sentenced to five years penal servitude for his part in the St. Andrew's Hall strikes this year. His sentence was for making speeches and in the World's Workers strike last year. He served nine months of his sentence and was then released owing to the demand of the Scottish and English workers. McLean was an appointed member of the Joint Board of the Miners' Federation and was a delegate to the St. Andrew's Halls and to the Auldhouse Road, Newlands, Glasgow. Scotland.

The following letter was sent to Miss Eleanor Fitegerald, secretary of the New York Council of the International Workers Defense League:

Dear Madam:

I am directed by the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council to inform you that the undenominated resolution was unanimously passed by the Council on Wednesday, November 11.

"The Glasgow Trades and Labour Council joins in protest against the continued imprisonment of J. J. Pengelly and others, and demands that all new trials or immediate release. One hundred thousand Trades Unions in this protest against the unscrupulous methods of trumping up evidence, and ask you to convey to American President Wilson your demand for justice."

I was accordingly instructed to cable to you the foregoing resolution, which I hope you have received, and I shall be pleased to have an acknowledgment of the receipt from you.

I have in view, also, that a large demonstration in the interests of Labour was held in the St. Andrew's Halls on December 6, when the following resolution was unanimously passed by the audience in the Hall.

"The St. Andrew's Hall strike is one of the greatest industrial strikes of our time, and outside these Meetings represented rather more than ten thousand workers, and the resolution referred to, and which was unanimously carried, was moved by Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the British Miners' Federation, as follows:

"Resolved that this Meeting in the St. Andrew's Halls, numbering, with the overflow Meeting, ten thousand workers, protest against the life-sentence on Tom Mooney, and desire to associate ourselves with the American Federation of Labour in respect to a compromise of Penal Servitude, and further declare that Tom Mooney is either guilty, or he is innocent, and that he has therefore reached the workers of Scotland demand the release of Tom Mooney, as we shall judge the American Workers' Federation by the final outcome of the fate of Tom Mooney."

You may take it that the Labour movement in Britain is in sympathy with the Labour movement in America in their demand that Mooney and his fellow Trade Unions must not be allowed to rot in prison, and will continue to agitate and demonstrate until they are released.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM THAW

The National Security League is sending out thousands of pamphlets written by Dr. Moore to the Negroes to tell them about Mooney and save. Making the Negro safe for exploitation!
The Background of the German Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

The Russian Revolution

Soviet—coalition being accepted against the violent protests of the Bolsheviks.

At this stage, a larger revolution had been definitely accomplished, not by the bourgeoisie, but by the proletariat, who, momentarily, however, allowed the bourgeoisie to continue its political action. But with this change at the top, there was a movement away from an elemental support for the revolutionary activity of the people. This activity alone, destroying and reconstituting lands-

But this was not needed, and was the German Social-Democratic and the Social-Patriotic insurrection.

That the coming Russian Revolution was a proletariat revolution was evident. This was a revolution, not of the bourgeoisie, but of the bourgeoisie liberals; the subsequent counter-revolutionary period in which the bourgeoisie consolidated its position of social-imperialism and autocracy, and abandoning all revolutionary convictions—made it clear that the revolution in Russia was. This was emphasized by the bourgeois attitude during the Revolution. The Provisional Government, anxious to provide for the Russian bourgeoisie the same unique conditions that had assured the First World War. The bourgeoisie did not participate in this revolutionary action; their attitude was comprised in intrigues to depose Czar Nicholas in favor of a Grand Duke who would bring victory and resignation. The Provisional Government was provisionally to provide for the people; the Duma liberals were interested only in the war. The aim of the revolution—proletariat was necessary.

Then came the elemental action of the workers of every large and small town—mass strikes, demonstrations, food riots, revolutionary action against Czarism, that anti- imperialistic desire, and completely, and which was the signal for the revolt of the soldiers, a revolt against Czarism in a hopeless war. The bourgeoisie did not participate in this revolutionary action; their attitude was comprised in intrigues to depose Czar Nicholas in favor of a Grand Duke who would bring victory and resignation. The Provisional Government was provisionally to provide for the people; the Duma liberals were interested only in the war. The aim of the revolution—proletariat was necessary.

The Provisional Government was bourgeois, the government of the capitalists, and accordingly counter-revolutionary. Its personnel was part and parcel of the imperialistic forces and purposes instilled in the war. It established the usual bourgeois freedoms; and it prepared to wage a more aggressive imperialist war. The Provisional Government was bourgeois, the government of the capitalists, and accordingly counter-revolutionary. Its personnel was part and parcel of the imperialistic forces and purposes instilled in the war. It established the usual bourgeois freedoms; and it prepared to wage a more aggressive imperialist war.

The bourgeoisie was in power, and the bourgeoisie alone could not have that revolution. It was a revolution, not of the bourgeoisie, but of the bourgeoisie liberals; the subsequent counter-revolutionary period in which the bourgeoisie consolidated its position of social-imperialism and autocracy, and abandoning all revolutionary convictions—made it clear that the revolution in Russia was. This was emphasized by the bourgeois attitude during the Revolution. The Provisional Government, anxious to provide for the Russian bourgeoisie the same unique conditions that had assured the First World War. The bourgeoisie did not participate in this revolutionary action; their attitude was comprised in intrigues to depose Czar Nicholas in favor of a Grand Duke who would bring victory and resignation. The Provisional Government was provisionally to provide for the people; the Duma liberals were interested only in the war. The aim of the revolution—proletariat was necessary.

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The crisis had become acute. The Provisional Government, being imperialistic, had to dodge and bluster about an armistice in Paris which was presumably to discuss war aims and peace terms; but the Entente Governments, while recognizing that an armistice was not to be had, were bent on continuing the war, in the hope of crushing the revolution. The Provisional Government, being imperialistic, had to dodge and bluster about an armistice in Paris which was presumably to discuss war aims and peace terms; but the Entente Governments, while recognizing that an armistice was not to be had, were bent on continuing the war, in the hope of crushing the revolution. The Provisional Government, being imperialistic, had to dodge and bluster about an armistice in Paris which was presumably to discuss war aims and peace terms; but the Entente Governments, while recognizing that an armistice was not to be had, were bent on continuing the war, in the hope of crushing the revolution.

On June 18, the Petrograd workers, under the inspiration of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Committee, announced the establishment of a workers and soldiers' soviets, and the organization of a "coalition government" which included representatives of moderate Socialism, of the...
The New Stage Opens

Continued from page 1

cils. Ebert and Scheidemann assumed full responsibility for the orders to fire upon the sailors, and in doing so they disregarded all uncomprising measures must be taken to prevent riots and further lawbreaking by civilians as well as by the military." Unions and socialists strongly approved of this power, Ebert and Landsberg Co. threatened to resign. Scheidemann, Ebert and Landsberg made one of the conditions of their remaining in the Government the organization of the popular army of reliable troops. They issued this appeal through the Vorwärts' tr:

"Comrades, you will have to decide, because the title of People's Commissaries rests on your confidence. If you should absolve us, you must do something more. You must create power for us. There is no Government without power. We cannot act as effective warriors without power. Without power we become the prey of anyone sufficiently unscrupulous to use his comrades and their arms for vainglorious purposes. And if you really desire a German Social Democratic Republic? Do you desire a Government by men who are your partisans? Do you want us to make peace as soon as possible and secure food for the starving? If so, then the Government creates a people's army that they may protect its dignity and freedom of decision and action against base assumptions of military rank and prohibiting officers in the Council approve the intimation of the old regime. They might have 'redeemed' themselves by withdrawing when the Congress of Councils approved of Ebert and Scheidemann and declared for an early convocation of the Constituent Assembly: but they stayed, and that is their stigma. The decisions of the Congress of Councils and the wavering attitude of the majority Independents caused a split within the party. Ludendorf and other Independents of the left openly accepting the Spartacus program and working with Liebknecht. The withdrawal of Haase, Dittmann and Ebert from the Government will enormously strengthen the Independents of the left, and thereby strengthen the Spartacists. In demonstrations after December 23-24, large numbers of Independent workers and Spartacists; Independents are now calling for "All power to the Soviets!"

The power of revolutionary Socialism is being suggested by great industrial strikes, among the miners in Siberia and Westphalia, and by the pressing problem of reconstruction. Under the pressure of life itself, local Councils are usurping government functions, establishing control over industry, adopting measures that, precisely as in Russia, prepares the way for a revolutionary mass strike. The Ebert Government being an instrument of Capitalism, with all that that implies,—then the masses will act, swiftly, aggressively. The withdrawal of the Independents, characteristically on minor issues and not on the fundamental problem.

What is a Strike? (Continued from page 8)

Electric has four or more plants in various cities. If one plant is struck the management can simply transfer its orders to another plant. The workers learned that to be successful they must strike not only the whole plant, but all the plants of the company. When the workers were making demands, the Schenectady workers came forward and threatened to strike to support them. When the Schenectady workers had demands they were supported by Pittsfield. As I write, a general strike in all the plants seems likely. The workers throughout America must learn to organize so as to be able to strike not one by one, each for the good of himself, but all at once for the good of everybody.

Does this mean that the workers must abandon their craft unions and form a new general organization? I hope we will all know this. I do not think so. I think there will always be a need for organization along craft lines. But what is immediately necessary is the organization of the workers on a general national scale, establishing local and officers of the unions in each plant work as one central committee. Let them agree to act only when all act together. Then let them send delegates to a general national committee representing all the plants in that industry. And let these delegates agree to act only when all act together.

When your delegates do this, your employers will rage and call you Bolsheviks. And by this you will know that you have the kind of industrial weapon that will carry and that you need.

When all the workers in the plant strike together, then, and only then, will the workers in the industry get their demands.

To take this type of industrial action you need not change the form of your organizations. You need only adopt a different way of using them. What is needed for successful action by the workers in the next few years is two things:

(a) A clear understanding by all the workers that a strike is only a strike when all strike for the good of all; and
(b) a determination to make their elected officials and delegates carry out the orders of the membership.

The best of organization will then take care of itself.

"The Revolutionary Age Red Week Conference"

meets every Friday evening at 8 P.M., Room 1, Dudley Street Opera House, 113 Dudley St., Roxbury, Mass. All S. P. Organiza-

tions of Boston and vicinity are invited to join the Conference by sending two delegates to the earliest meeting.

ROBERT ZELMS,
Secretary of the Conference.
What is a Strike?

By Facts

The writer of this article touches on a point upon which the American workers have long been divided—the ability of the freezing craft form of unions as opposed to the broader methods. Yet, that the present craft unions are necessary and can be used to suit the needs of the workers, is one side of this important question. We invite discussion by our readers on the matter.—Editor.

The boss has all the skilled crafts tied up with signed "contracts," the unskilled workers can strike all they like. There are strikers to take their places.

The boss may buy out the strike. This is often done, for there are always some union leaders who are more anxious about money than about the working class. The workers can never be sure that there isn’t some employer or leader who will sell out.

These are only some of the ways in which the employer can break the strike of a small craft union, or turn it to the disadvantage of the other workers. Of course, the workers are familiar with these methods. But they forget.

The employers are clever. They have studied strike problems for years. They know all the ways of breaking little strikes or using them for their own advantage. They have made a science of it. The working man cannot compete with all the ways of beating the boss at his own games. If the working class fights with pop-guns it is sure in the end to be beaten.

The strength of the working class does not lie in the accuracy with which it can aim a pop-gun. It lies in the strength of its heavy artillery and the mass attack on the economic field. The strength of the employer is his cleverness. The strength of the workers is their numbers. The working class should conduct its struggles with its own best weapons. It should fight where it is strongest; not where it is weak.

It used to be said that the employer does not like unions. This is no longer true. The employer likes unions, and the more there are the better he likes them. He would like twenty or thirty or fifty unions in his shop. For he knows how to manage them.

The worker will readily understand why this is so. When a general is fighting in the field, the first thing he tries to do is to divide the forces of the enemy. The world knows how badly the Allies fared when their armies were commanded by three generals, fighting against a unified command. Think what it would have been like if the Allied army had been split up into three hundred independent regiments, each with a general at its head.

The "progressive" American employer does not try to crush the union. He tries to divide them. "Divide and conquer" is the first maxim of the general in the field and the general in industry. Whenever the employer succeeds in getting a rivalry between two unions, or in persuading them to act separately and for their own separate interests, he wins a victory. The workers must understand this modern strategy on the part of the boss. They must realize what kind of a fight they are up against. It is not the old fight of local skirmishes. It has become a general fight, scientific and highly organized. The employers, backing the war, have learned to act together. They hold regular conferences at which all the employers, of the same industry, or of a like industry, get political and mutual aid in carrying them out. The employers are fast coming to adopt a Unified Command and a Unified Strategy. And their Unified Strategy is this:

To welcome men from one union, to organize them, and then to make them weak, jealous and tame.

The union leader who urges merely the old-line of attack, simply does not know what is happening in industrial warfare.

There are many leaders who will tell you that the unskilled workers may have to form one general union or that the skilled are adequately protected through their craft organizations. They will tell you that the skilled workers are limited in number and have a monopoly value on their skill, that when they work they are "scab." If this ever was wholly true, it is rapidly becoming untrue. The skilled craftsman no longer has a monopoly of his skill. "Scientific methods" and the war have changed that fact.

Four years ago the machinists were among the most highly skilled workers in the country. Their work was absolutely essential to their employers. They were well organized in many places. They spent four years of apprenticeship learning their trade. They limited the number of apprentices. If they went on strike their co-workers could not be replaced. They were getting good wages. They were a part of the "aristocracy of labor." The war came. With it came an enormous increase in the product to the making of which they alone had the necessary skill. Profits became enormous. The cost of living almost doubled. One would think that the machinists could get anything they asked for under those circumstances. That their skill would absolutely protect them.

But just the contrary happened. The demand for increased production brought thousands of unskilled workers, including women, into the trade. The unions were obliged to cancel their apprenticeship systems. Efficiency methods were invented. The unskilled were able to do parts of the machinists' work. Then they put the unskilled workers on piece rates to replace those that they could not be replaced. They were getting good wages. They were a part of the "aristocracy of labor." The war came. With it came an enormous increase in the product to the making of which they alone had the necessary skill. Profits became enormous. The cost of living almost doubled. One would think that the machinists could get anything they asked for under those circumstances. That their skill would absolutely protect them.

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