They can Deport Men, but not Ideas!

The master class of America is becoming nervous. The workers are restive and Capitalism is unable to keep them in check. Those who bore its bloody burdens are awakening to the realization that they were duped. All the glowing professions...
Reactive A. F. of L. Officials

THERE are at this moment 50,000 men and women of the working class on strike in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass. They have a hard struggle—real struggle and the governing powers are against them. In the midst of this hard struggle, the Central Labor Union of Lawrence issues an attack upon the strike; it declares that the strike is not only upon the "reasonable demands" of organized labor, but represents a bold attempt of a few leaders to stir up trouble. It is not only in Germany (1) and tactilly calls upon organized labor not to support the labor movement; it reminds one of the attempts of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to break the great Lawrence strike in 1912 by all sorts of desperate and contemptible means. There is a real struggle developing between the workers and reactionary unions and reactionary union officials; in England this is a great issue here. There must be a struggle against reactionary unions and against the forces that are trying to isolate the working class. On this issue the Socialist cannot compromise; it must become a center of absolute solidarity with their party officials, and mass action against reactionary unionism and its officials.

Strikes and Mass Action

THEY said that the American workers had nothing to complain about. They said that only in Russia, and if there are industrial revolts, they have industrial revolts; that only in monarchical countries was there any revolution; that in England this is a great issue here. There must be a struggle against reactionary unions and against the forces that are trying to isolate the working class. On this issue the Socialist cannot compromise; it must become a center of absolute solidarity with their party officials, and mass action against reactionary unionism and its officials.

In its issue of December 11, 1918, The Revolutionary Age said:

"The war is over; the world is at peace. The world is at peace; there is no war. The world is at peace, and the power of the capitalist class is imposed on the strikers by the brutality and aggressiveness of the governing powers. If these great strikes in Seattle and Lawrence are made in the name of developing the revolutionary class action, they are the solution? Surely not. The old union officials and the old unionism are largely conservative; they are not ready to meet the hostility of the state, the use of armed troops; and they must, in any large strike, the citizens of Seattle and Lawrence, themselves, while the strike is on and the employers are being beaten.

In the great Seattle general strike, of the shipyard workers, car men, and others, the new tactics of the industrial struggle were partly in action. It was a war against the shipowners, backed up by a union of the shipyard workers and the council of the various industrial strikers; and it tried in every manner to stop the strike military force. It is true, the strike may continue while the citizens of Seattle were not prevented from eating and carrying on their regular functions.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle issued the following proclamation:

"In Seattle, from 10 A. M. there will be many cheer­

ing and there will be some who fear. Both these emotions are useful, but not too much of either. We have already shown by the military and general labor and the iron march of labor. Labor will feed the sick. The milk wagon drivers and the laundry work in the closing down of the shipyard. The women workers to use new forms of action, to develop larger purposes; and no single action or undertaking is coming out of the war except splendid phrases is touching them; and the Bolshevik Revolution, in its two years of its victory, is having its profound influence among the workers of the world, silent, yet as inarticulate, but determin­ing. In this great Seattle general strike, of the shipyard workers, car men, and others, the new tactics of the industrial struggle were partly in action. It was a war against the shipowners, backed up by a union of the shipyard workers and the council of the various industrial strikers; and it tried in every manner to stop the strike military force. It is true, the strike may continue while the citizens of Seattle were not prevented from eating and carrying on their regular functions."

"Labor will preserve order. The strike committee is arranging for guards, and it is expected that the stopping of the cars will keep peace at home."

"As a more shutdown will not affect these Eastern gentlemen [the shipowners] much, they could let the Northwest go up to pieces, as far as money is concerned, but the closing down of the capitalistic countried industries of Seattle, while the workers organize to feed the people, to care for the babies and the sick and to preserve order, will this move them, this looks like a rising tide of more pressure, more experience, more understanding."
Turn to the Left!

The American Socialist Party is in a condition of feverish theoretical activity. Pressing problems of the moment are the subject of all the speeches and conversations of the party. Capitalism is shaking. Capitalism cannot exist much longer. Investments in property and financial capital have reached an all-time high. Interest rates are down. The working class issseing the workers for the final revolutionary struggle.

But this unfortunate formulation, or misunderstanding, persists. In another part the Manifesto says: "We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda and further, that the capture of the political state is an essential part of the revolutionary proletariat. The parliamentary struggle, as the Manifesto itself says elsewhere, is "the most objective means of educating the masses and establishing the transitional state of Socialism in Russia." Our members are to work for the political state of Socialism, which is the task of the party as a whole.

The Manifesto further says that the "socialist party" must be supported by all the industrial organizations and must control the state. The question of the power of the state is an essential part of the revolutionary proletariat. The parliamentary struggle, as the Manifesto itself says elsewhere, is "the most objective means of educating the masses and establishing the transitional state of Socialism." The party is in a state of transition, the left wing it is, investigating Socialism and the party. It is a question of the party-mass action for revolutionary Socialism. Two of these proclamations were published in the last issue of the New York Call. They deserve serious consideration and discussion.

The manifesto of the Communist Propaganda League, of which De Leon is a member, is a comprehensive document, as is the "party program" of the Socialist Labor Party. The committee of the New York State federation of the American Socialist Party has the right to call an International Congress, that we shall participate in. The Manifesto itself says elsewhere, that the party-mass action for revolutionary Socialism. Two of these proclamations were published in the last issue of the New York Call. They deserve serious consideration and discussion.

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The Lawrence Strike: Impressions

By Richard Hansen

The Lawrence Strike Committee itself was invaded by a half-dozen armed horses and the secretary, Ira Kaplan, arrested on a trumped up charge of violating the terms of a warrant. It is hard to believe that any feudaduset ever had at his command a more irresponsible and more treacherous horde of black for a strike. When the strikemanship, when it is determined upon crushing an "uprisings" of the strikers, though the demands of the strikers are so extraordinary and their behavior so considerable that no sane person could call it a riot much less a protest.

Though the strikers' demands are so moderate their masters have determined that they shall not have the right to refuse to work for less than a starvation wage but must be driven back to the mills like sheep, Gov- ernment experts, in the employ of the War Labor Board, have stated, after a careful and conservative investigation, that $30 per week is the necessary minimum for a family of three to live in decency and it is generally assumed that an 8 hour day means a 44 hour week. The workers of Lawrence, however, will not accept this. It is a form of law less than that established by Gov- ernment experts. They are asking scarcely half as much. All they insist upon is that the $16. shall not be reduced. Nevertheless all the bestiality of the Reaction is turned loose upon them...

Tens of thousands of men and women, who gave their brothers and sons to the army, who bought the so-called Liberty Bonds, who trustfully hoped for and expected a brighter future after the war are now spat upon, are ridden down by men on horseback, are railroaded to prison, are thrown into misery and want by their own masters.

In the press and even by the elected officials the workers are represented as a horde of mercenaries. No crime or despot ever had at his command a more irresponsible and more treacherous horde of mercenaries. The workers are beginning to see that thus far only the Russian workers have conquered irrevocably, wrested the proletariat of America, and that all workers must eventually fight for the same cause.

The lesson is you alone who can build the ships. You can. Why don't you? The workers of Lawrence, however, have not found out the meaning of the word. The workers, though the demands of the workers are so moderate it was not to be expected that the workers should not have any say in the matter.

But it was not to be expected that the workers who had lived through the great struggle of 1912 would accept such a deal and they demanded that the present standard of wages be maintained—such a standard as means high, averaging only about $16 a week. It is obvious that $16 a week is a starvation wage in the full and sinister meaning of the word. The reaction of the workers, the street car men, the electrical workers, the longshoremen, the textile industry throughout the country. But the capitalist class has also cut accordingly and apparently it was agreed with the reactionary labor leader Golden that the workers should not have any say in the matter.

The workers of Lawrence have been let loose upon the street, upon the railroad,... and now are ridden down by the millionaires. The lesson is you alone who can build the ships. You can. Why don't you? The workers of Lawrence, however, have not found out the meaning of the word. The workers, though the demands of the workers are so moderate it was not to be expected that the workers should not have any say in the matter.
FELLOW workers of Britain, "The air of Europe is quivering with revolution. Germany is in arms, but the whole land-owning and capitalist class of this country are quivering with fear. We men of the East End of London, immediately following the armistice the Prime Minister proclaimed the speedy dissolution of the Government, hoping that in the psychological moment of victory (?) and the resulting disturbance to the public mind, he could sell off the public property or victuals at the polling. A new lease of power they would be enabled to re-establish their system of society on the old basis.

Accordingly they proclaim themselves to be revolutionists, as if, forsooth, it was some extraneous force that has disturbed their sleep and not the conscious, deliberate actions of the capitalist ruling class of Europe who, aiming their workers to the teeth, let war loose upon their unhappy countries in the struggle for markets for their products and wealth for the idle rich men. Fellow-workers, what is the society that Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition Government wish to reconstruct?

It is the capitalist system, the society that produces stress and lock-outs, unemployment, and poverty. One thing alone can save them and that is the willingness of the workers of Britain to replenish their exhausted cities. Fellow-workers! shall we sweat and toil for these men—to replace their worn-out machinery and to build up for them their neglected industries?

If so, then within a brief period we shall glut the markets, trade will decline, and unemployment will begin. At the same time our masters will be living luxuriously on the wealth we have created for them.

Mr. Lloyd George makes certain glowing propositions, because of "this quivering revolutionary air."

His promises of high wages, shorter hours, and increased production are but the doggerel of a dying and smitten class, and called for more.

Judge them, between the proposals of the Industrial Socialists of Karl Marx and the economic fallacies and plausible rhetoric of Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition ruling class. On the one hand lies an opportunity for the workers of Britain to emancipate themselves from all the evils that now threaten them, and to form a society of free men and women enjoying in their own land and enjoying the fruits of their industry in comfort and leisure.

On the other hand—capitalist employment and all that means to the working class—social degradation, poverty, and economic servitude.

Choose, then, fellow workers, the choice is here and now.

State, Guild and Industrial Socialism

The Socialists of Britain have three schools of thought, the Syndicalist, the Socialist, and the Guild Socialists. The State and Guild Socialists base their ideas on the economics of the capitalist system. The Industrial Socialists propound their idea on the economics of Karl Marx.

The State Socialists declare that the State must control industry, that the private employer shall be eliminated or given a maximum of profit, and that the workers shall be suitably clothed, fed, and sheltered.

The Guild Socialists divide society into three categories, the State, the Consumer, and the Guild. The latter are subdivided into Guilds of production, and the economic distribution of wealth and labour on the basis of social and economic equality.

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...ain and if possible increase its productivity, and also to establish economic equality by the adoption of some system of land tenure. A communal member can freely interpret his or her needs.

Turning again to Capitalist Society we find the production of the commodity is directed to the satisfaction of the p-ouns. This fact of finding markets is due to the enormous ratio between the surplus exchange values produced by the workers and the value paid to them as wages. Only working people are unable to purchase but a small amount of the products of their labour, but the whole of capitalist society has nothing to do with trade unions, strikes, war, crime, armies, navies, and non-producing wage workers, cannot absorb the product. Thereupon stagnation of trade and production, and all the vices of society, until the capital is recharged and restored to the surplus.

Should anyone still doubt the capabilities of mankind in modern conditions, let him reflect upon the fact that for at least three years of the European War three months of the products of capitalism Europe, Great Britain, and America were engaged either as workers in the organized production of munitions of war or as combatants organized to consume them. Let him reflect upon the enormous masses of wealth produced by labour and literally thrown away, and understand that between these interesting ruling classes, and he will doubt no longer that with a co-operative Commonwealth wealth can be made to flow like water.

Therefore, taking into consideration the production during the transitional period of the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism in detail or in outline, the standard of subsistence based on capitalist values and the distribution and the public services, the aged, infirm and sick, and non-producing wage workers, cannot absorb the product. Thereupon stagnation of trade and production, whose finality of horror is that determined...
The Character of the Russian Revolution

From the Moscow Pravda, October 28, 1918

The first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution is now past. It is the occasion for the celebration of the victory of the socialist revolution and the inauguration of a new era in the history of the Russian people and the working classes of the world. The Bolshevik Revolution is the great event which has given the world a new starting point in the development of the Russian Revolution—the offensive of July 1, to restore discipline in the Bolshevik government and a bourgeois policy; the attempt of these governments to degrade the bourgeo; government and a bourgeois policy, emphasizing the utter failure of the复古 and the bourgeoisie in composition and policy, and pointing to the bankruptcy of the复古 government. They want to restore the bourgeois order which on all issues pursued a revolutionary course. They desire to continue the war which the复古 government is carrying on in order to crush the revolutionary movement in Russia. They are determined to suppress the revolutionary spirit and to crush the revolutionary movement. The Bolshevik Revolution is the great event which has given the world a new starting point in the development of the Russian Revolution. It has been a stimulus to the workers in other nations, awakening them and putting before them the issue of the destruction of Capitalism and war as an immediate problem.

1. The main problem—organizing the defense of Soviet Russia against international imperialism. It is necessary to form a mighty Red Army, and to aid for the purpose of developing revolutionary activity on the imperialist side. It is necessary to realize the emancipation of the working class and the end of capitalism. The development of the proletarian revolution in the West and the oppositional, counter-revolutionary attitude of the imperialists of all countries toward Soviet Russia is convincing proof of the great influence of the Revolution on the workers of the world.

2. The Bolshevik Revolution prepared the way for the organization of the Third International, the International Revolutionary Committee. It marks the beginning of the end of Capitalism and Imperialism.

3. The subsequent events and tactics of the left Social-Revolutionists (uprising in France, Italian, Russian, and even Japanese) of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, the Cadets, and the Russian Social-Democrats who accepted the bourgeois government and a bourgeois policy in the revolution consistency of the Bolshevik policy, which on all issues pursued a revolutionary course.

4. The events of July, 1917, as marking a turning point in the development of the Russian Revolution—the offensive of July 1, to restore discipline in the army and placate the Allies; the most demonstrations of July 16-17, the Government's use of troops and counter-revolutionary gangs against the workers, and the measures of repression used against the revolutionaries. The successful revolutionary sweep after July: the Moscow Conference, at which the bourgeois reaction and the counter-revolutionary generals dominated.

5. The subsequent events and tactics of the left Social-Revolutionists (uprising in France, Italian, Russian, and even Japanese) of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, the Cadets, and the Russian Social-Democrats who accepted the bourgeois government and a bourgeois policy in the revolution consistency of the Bolshevik policy, which on all issues pursued a revolutionary course.

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**The Holy Trinity of Capital**

By Nicholas I. Houwich

**Mass Meeting**

in

**The Bolsheviki Repudiate the Berne Congress**

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has advertised a proposal to call together an International Conference at Lausanne that the project cannot be considered even as an attempt to revive the Second International. The latter ceased to exist during the first days of August, 1914, when the representatives of the majority of nearly all the Socialist parties passed over into the ranks of their Imperialist Governments. The attempts made to revive this International, for which agitation has been carried on in all countries throughout the war, emasculated from elements standing mid-way, which, whilst not recognizing openly Imperialist Socialism, nevertheless had no idea of creating a third International. The attempts made to go back to the pre-war situation regarding the labor movement crashed against the Imperialist policy of the official parties which could not at that time admit the appearance of an attempt to create a new force, as they regarded, that this might tend to weaken the war policy of the Government and the working class working in union. To concede to the present Imperialist Socialists undertook to change the conditions of reparation and of the emasculated Second International. The so-called Inter-allied conferences in the Entente countries made it clear that this change had not been attained. The present Imperialist policy was represented by an oligarchy which never before belonged to the International and whose presence compelled the absence of the Russian Communist Labor Party, represented by Commissars representing associations which never had anything to do with the Socialists.

As against the International of traitors and traitors-revolutionaries organizing themselves for the purpose of forming a "third International which solutions over the world, the Communists of all countries must rapidly close their ranks around the third International. The third International has nothing in common with the so-called Socialist Internationals and with the pseudo-revolutionary Socialists, who in reality support the former when they refuse to break with them and who do not recoil against participation in the conferences of false International. The Commissar Party refuses to take part in these conferences which abandon the name of Socialism and their desire that the third International should live to take the same line; the task of this third International being to hasten the conquest of power by the working class.

The Communist parties of Finland, Estonia, Lithuanis, of White Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, and Holland are at one with the Russian Communist Party. The latter also regards as its associates the Socialist parties in Germany, the Communist Party of German Austria and other revolutionary proleta­
tions elements of the countries in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire: the Left Social Democrats of Sweden, the Revolutionary Social Democracy of Switzerland and Italy, the followers of Mazzini in England, of Delas in America, of Loriot in France. In their persons the third International which is at the head of the world Revolution already exists against the imperialists are destined to become the three great crosses in the cemetery of world capitalism.

Saturday, February 15, 1919

**The REVOLUTIONARY AGE**

**"HOLY TRINITY"—these are the three con­

ferences now being held in Europe: in Paris, in Lausanne, and in Berne. To a certain extent as equals, and among these three participants they compose an actual "trinity," for they have, as a matter of fact, worked for a conference—came to save capitalism and its "foundations" from the coming "red-Bolshevist" menace. The whole bourgeoisie of the whole world is in its eyes and its ears, but, also, each one of them is destined to become a grave of all these hopes and aspirations—three "reconciliations"—the conferences—the Paris peace conference. Here is gathered the very "trinity," of the "cream" of the imperialist world—brilliant spokesmen whose hair has grown gray in the political struggle, adorn diplomats and learned professors. And, as though it were important was attached to this conference. So many hopes were centered on it. With deep interest its sessions were anticipated. It really promised to become the "center of the world's attention."

"This year, now, has gathered, great God what a bitter disappointment! With all the pomp and solemnity attending it, with all the apparent importance of the questions involved, the sessions of the conference are pale, monotonous and gray, less interesting and provocative of a discussion than the historic sessions of the American Congress... It seems as though the def­
gates themselves have no faith in the measures they are called upon to pass."

They obviously feel that they are deciding matters without the presence of the "master" and that when the time arrives for putting their plans into execution, they will find all their plans, all their plans and dreams of world dominion will come to naught, hence the pale­
ness of their absence in the discussions, and the wavering and uncertainty of their decisions. The Paris conference "has died before it reached maturity," the delegate of one of the peoples from that sole corner,—oasis on the earth, so-called, the land of the free—has died, the idea of the people redrawn, the old republicanism, the Russian Socialist Republic. Still less hope is there that the conference can carry out its task. The public, distrustful of the "opinion of the experts," foundations of the old regime, the decayed capitalist society, which is already creck­
ing in all directions....

To the revenge for the fact that they have not succeeded in "astonishing the world," and "set fire to the waters," the representatives of all bour­
ergeois powers now gathered in Paris have begun to quarrel among themselves over the straightening out of accounts, thereby, still more increasing the uni­

versal hopelessness of the "international situation." No less sadden and hopeless to the bourgeois eye—

thought to the proletariat, fighting for its emancipation, more concerned with the intrigue of the congress of the congress of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

though the workers

 Withdrawn from Bern! 

Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Communist Party of Switzerland.

Of the social-patriotic conferences, the so-called International Socialist Congress, assembled in Bern has not been reconvened after its opening session, nor has it been able to come to any decision. The socialist delegates, therefore, consider the congress of the congress of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

of the workers' movement. 

The second congress of the International Socialist Labor Conference, assembled in Berne, has been adjourned after its opening session, for the purpose of re-organizing the congress. The delegates of the congresses of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

against the proletariat, fighting for its emancipation, more concerned with the intrigue of the congress of the congress of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

of the workers' movement.

Withdrawn from Bern!

Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Communist Party of Switzerland.

Of the social-patriotic conferences, the so-called International Socialist Congress, assembled in Berne has not been reconvened after its opening session, nor has it been able to come to any decision. The socialist delegates, therefore, consider the congress of the congress of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

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