We Must Have a National Emergency Convention

The decision of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to hold an Emergency Convention in Chicago on May 1, in conjunction with non-Socialist organizations is a deliberate attempt to head off the demand of the rank and file for a National Convention of the party. From all over the country the demand for a National Emergency Convention is heard though all reference to its desirability is carefully omitted from the majority of the official organs of the party.

Several branches and locals have passed resolutions favoring the holding of such a convention but with the exception of Local Queen's County, New York, none of these resolutions were properly drawn and were consequently ruled out on various technicalities, though there was no doubt whatever as to the intention of the framers of the resolution or to the right to be considered responsible members and bodies of the party. For example the City Central Committee of Local Boston forward such a resolution to the National Executive Committee early in January but it was ruled out on the ground that a delegate body had no right to frame such a resolution. This resolution was published in *The Revolutionary Age*, accompanied by an article calling for endorsement of the resolution by locals and branches. Such endorsement was given by a considerable number of party bodies, clearly showing that the voices of such bodies as at least a considerable minority of the national membership—be they the wishes of the membership apparently do not count with the N. E. C.

It is admitted officially that there is considerable sentiment for the calling of a National Emergency Convention, a motioin that effect proposed by Comrade Katterfield, a member of the N. E. C. is voted down only receiving the vote of Comrade Waggoner, while the suggestion for an Emergency Convention, made up of various non-Socialists elements together with the Socialist Party, given by Comrade Wilson was carried by a number of the N. E. C., even Comrade Katterfield subsequently changing his vote to favor the motion. It is not claimed that a majority of the party have demanded the holding of such a convention but it is carried without in spite of the sentiment for an emergency party convention. The resolution of the delegates of Local Boston backed by several locals and branches of the party, is rejected even when its sentiment is perfectly laid before the N. E. C. by a member of that body, while the suggestion made by Comrade Wilson, speaking for nobody but himself, is carried in formal motion.

The resolution offered by Local Queen's, has however now received the requisite number of seconds and must be put to reference of the membership. But, once over the advocate of strict parliamentary procedure and constitutional law, except in such minor matters as the election of delegates to an International Conference or the decision to align our party with a gang of international assassins, Comrade Goebel rules that the motion will first have to be published in the official *Bulletin*, thereby causing a delay of 15 days or more. In other words everything is to be done to aid the holding of an Emergency Convention, which apparently nothing, outside a few officials, desire, while everything is to be done to delay the referendum for a National Emergency Convention which is backed by the requisite number of Party branches and locals.

The decision to hold an Emergency Convention is an attempt to use the comrades whose adherence to party principles has landed them in jail as a means of defeating the wishes of the revolutionary section of the movement. It is the duty of the membership to boycott this bourgeois convention, a duty to themselves and to the majority of the comrades in whose name this body is called into being.

The necessity of action to obtain the release of all those imprisoned for the expression of their economic, political or religious opinions is great, but the necessity of keeping our movement in line with the march of our comrades in other lands is greater. Besides there is absolutely no reason to suppose that a National Emergency Convention would not take the matter of our imprisoned comrades under consideration, and furthermore, there is no reason why, if the delegates so decide, ways and means of co-operating with other organizations interested in the amnesty demand could not be devised by the National Emergency Convention.

A National Emergency Convention does not preclude the consideration of a general amnesty demand, while the holding of an Amnesty Convention was clearly intended to be considered by the membership as a substitute for the party convention. The National Executive Secretary has had the following comment to the members of the N. E. C.:

"There is but one proposed national referendum properly initiated calling for a convention. It was submitted by Local Queen's County, New York, and published in the January issue of the *Bulletin*. Today we received the first second to the motion to the proposition of conducting a national referendum on the proposition of a convention it is practically without support. The "Boston Resolution" was adopted by the City Central Committee of Local Boston and submitted for the consideration of your committee only. Delegate bodies cannot initiate referenda. We have received letters endorsing the action taken by the Boston Central Committee. In reply we have explained that we could not accept seconds to the resolution. We called the attention of those opposing the Boston resolution to the motion adopted by Local Queen's County, and explained the action taken by your committee is calling for an Amnesty Conference. So far we have not received a complaint against your action, from the comrades thus written to. (Our italics—the first two for comparison, and the last to draw attention to the obvious injustice.)"

The *Local Queen's County motion subsequently received the requisite endorsement which of course sup-

ports the supposition that the proposition of conducting a national referendum on the proposition of a convention is practically without support.

We have been informed that Comrade Goebel has now made an objection to the Local Queen's County motion on the ground that it was carried by a delegate body, thus after time has been wasted in informing the locals and branches of the objection to the Boston motion and drawing attention to the Queen's County motion as one that could be seconded, the latter is to be ruled out of order and further time wasted. It is peculiar, to say the least, that Comrade Goebel could find further motion by Katterfield: "That properly formulated but that his parliamentary vision was blurred in regard to the Queen's County motion until it had received enough support to warrant its being placed before the party membership. If, as is stated in Comrade Goebel's quotation above, he called attention to the motion as one that could be properly seconded it would seem that his objection is out of order at this late date. But perhaps points of order are only used against the membership!

However, in order to avoid misunderstanding, we ask that the first two resolutions of the Central Branch of Local Boston, together with two resolutions of Local Boston printed on the box on this page be seconded by branches and locals throughout the county and such seconded immediately forwarded to the National Office and that copies of the same be sent to this paper or to the secretary of the Central Branch of Local Boston, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts, in view of the statement by Comrade Goebel: "So far we have not received a complaint against your action, from the comrades thus written to."

It would be well for these branches to register an emphatic protest against this whole proceeding which is nothing other than an attempt to avoid calling a National Emergency Convention by those who are afraid of the stand such a convention will take.

The motion for a National Emergency Convention by Katterfield: "That in the event that the motion to hold a special Socialist Party Convention is submitted for membership referendum, the Executive Secretary shall notify the immediate considering of the motion of delegates" received a tie vote of 5 for and against with 5 members not voting and consequently no action was taken. Comrade Kahl explained his vote negatively as follows: "I vote against this bill according to the Convention as an adroit attempt to influence the vote on the proposition for a National Convention, inasmuch as calling for election of delegates to the convention at the same time as vote whether we shall have it, will make many think it an assumed thing, and therefore useless to oppose, even though their judgment be that this is not yet the time for such a Convention."

The calling of a Emergency Convention is a vital necessity to the welfare of the Socialist Party. The National Executive Committee has shown by its favoring attitude, by its inaction, and most of all its decision to line up with the Scheidemanns, Huysmans and Hendersons in the reactionary Berne Conference, that it is unable to handle the present situation. Its reactionary attitude is in a large measure responsible for the omission of the party as a whole from the Bolshevik call for an International Communist Congress and consequently the clasping of our movement by the revolutionary Socialists of Europe with the social-traitors. It remains for the membership of the party, which has stood true to our historic purpose in the times of stress to take the immediate management of the party into its own hands. A National Emergency Conference is the best instrument for such action. It is for the rank and file to assert themselves now and insist that such a body be called into being without further delay.
The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

Louis C. Francis, Editor
Eadmond MacKaye, Associate Editor

Issued Every Saturday
By Local Boston, Socialist Party

H. G. Steiner, Business Manager
85 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Bundle Orders 20 cts. Subscriptions $1.00 for 6 months (6 issues)

We need to have the clear party note sound amended. This is still
noting of Parliament, you hear all about
the Voice.'

We would add, however, for the benefit of those who
are opposed to political action
by conjectures concerning the suitabilty of
the workers must learn to use.

"Bear these figures in mind when, on the reassessing
of Parliament, you hear all about the 'People's Vote.' There are over two million in the United
Kingdom. At the General Election only 9,660,107 votes—47.5 per cent. of the electorate—
were cast against it. And the Coalition has a majority of
over 25 in the House of Commons!

We should add 72,000 votes to a candidate on the Labor Party ticket and 13,000
votes to a Conservative candidate and 10,000
voters in the United Kingdom will decide whether or not their ability to hold us in check.

It would seem that the much heralded Prinkpiko
conference was to be delegated to the realm of forgotten things.

As a matter of fact the Allies are not anxious to
confederate with the Bolsheviks. The offer of such a con-
ference, it would appear, was merely a trick and was
made on the supposition that the Bolsheviks would re-
fuse to attend. Then a new and more powerful offensive
might be started against the Russian workers under
cover of the argument that the Bolsheviks were un-
willing to debate the matter. The shoe is on the
other foot now. Soviet Russia is quite willing to state
her case in the open, she is willing to meet the Allies
and discuss her

workers, to make a declaration of the class struggle.

The就會 is still

 ISA and Germany there is no place for the middle-of-
the-road parties; and, as the working class sees Internationally,
there can be no straddling the fence.

During the last four years Socialism has become a
movement in the United States, which men and women are fighting and dying,
and the movement to

International is steadily turning for the solution of its
problem. Those who are fighting in open
against the combined capitalist forces of
Russia. While the Western Socialists are wag-
ning a desperate fight with their backs to the wall, the
day of compromise is gone, those who are not with us are
against us. Where the struggle is in action the relentless
loosest of events have forced the wavering to
lines with strong state, and invariably the
"moderates" have lined up with the capitalists. These
have had their effect on the Socialist movement
leagues without the world, the Second International Conference, that last desperate attempt to reassert the Second
International, has clearly shown where the "moderates"
stand, even in those cases where the class struggle
is in a comparatively passive stage. The Berne Con-
ference may affect the dictatorship of the
proletariat, the Communist Congress is called to perfect
this instrument of the revolution.

The Socialist leaders of the workers
during the long years of the war, have chosen to
join the ranks of the capitalists. They still mutch the language of Socialism, but are at one at their
masters. The Communist Congress, called by the
Bolshewiki, is a declaration of the Bolsheviki against
the Congress but against it. There can be not unity be-
tween these two bodies, but on the contrary relentless
war.

They Are Still There!

The war against Russia continues. The most con-
temporary and brutal phase of this war is the block-
ade of Russia, a blockade the purpose of which is to
starve Russia into submission. Allied warships
and troops at Archangel, Vladivostok and Odessa "plug up" Russia's outlets to the world. Capitalism
cries expensively about "industrial disorganization and
starvation" in Russia; and refuses to allow So-
viets, representatives of the working man, to
manufacture and to food in the markets of the world. This blockade of Russia is proceeding under the auspices of the Peace
Conference in France that is framing a
"League of Nations." The attitude toward Rus-

sia indicates the character of this League—a com-
stitutional league of capitalist nations, against Socialism, against the proletarian revolution wherever
it may appear.

Recently, it was stated that Allied troops were to
be withdrawn from Russia. But the fiction is still
on. Moreover, reports come from the Peace Con-
ference propose to reconsider its plans about Russia:
and we can see that large armed intervention has acquired larger and larger scale. The Russian troops,
involved by the revolutionary spirit, are proving victor-
ious; while the triumph of the "moderates" is being held in
reserve for action. If necessary, with the revolutionary
army of Germany when the Spartacists conquer

The allies mean in their power, the Allies are act-
and if it is a world war. The

The Christian
Social-Democrats published the following the

The sessions of the Parliament indicated that the
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in each for "industrial peace," each in a dread of
its own revolutionary, of a nature of a
which they were very moderate. John Robert Clancy warning labor not
to "demand too much in too brief a space of time.

G. Steiner, Business Manager
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confidence in the British Parliament. But for how much
the war is war waged for the class war. But for how much
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The Industrial Parliament

The intensity of the internal unrest in England
results from the combined action of the English Parlia-
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Soviet Germany

IT IS coming—the new revolution in Germany, the proletarian revolution for the definite conquest of power and proletarian dictatorship. That the peace must end is already evidenced by a call for a national general strike as preparatory to the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly and its bourgeois government. A state of siege has been declared in Berlin and its suburbs. The Berlin proletariat is apprehensive, declaring that the workers will respond to the strike call. The Spartacan calls declare that the purposes of the strike are:

1. The overthrow of the Constituent Assembly and the Government; establishment of a Soviet Republic and proletarian dictatorship.

2. The introduction of Councils in the factories as an instrument for workers' control of industry and the ultimate realization of the complete socialization of industry.

3. The displacement of Government troops and the disarmament of the bourgeoisie, withdrawal of all troops from Westminster, Bremen and other regions.

4. The formation of a Red Guard under control of the Soviets, which would take over all military and police power.

5. The liberation of all political prisoners and the establishment of a revolutionary tribunal to try the Hohenzollerns, Field Marshall von Hindenburg, Gen. Ludendorff and Admiral von Tirpitz, and the "traitors to the Revolution," President Ebert, Chancellor Scheidemann and Gustav Noske, the "ministers of defense" in the reaction.

6. Immediate peace and an alliance with revolutionary Socialist Russia.

The call of the Spartacists for a general strike in Berlin is to climax the political strikes which have been declared all over Germany. It was called for Wednesday, but depends upon the general strategic situation. The strike is a clear, uncompromising political position, an act of binding the Constituent Assembly to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new crisis and action developed out of the dechristianization of the Soviet authorities by the Allies. The Spartacans and the proclamation of proletarian dictatorship, the introduction of Councils in the factories, and a Soviet Government.

The most significant feature of recent events in Germany is the apparent revolutionizing of the Soviets. The earlier Spartacan revolts failed because the Soviets were not in action; but they contributed essentially to the success of the Soviets by creating the consciousness and concepts of revolutionary action. Revolutionary action is the supreme educator of the proletariat. Another significant handicap is the definite swing to the left among the Independent Socialists. In Bavaria, the Soviets are again plaging the counter-revolutionary game by trying to "explain to the Spartacists" with the utmost sacrifice of those who are in control. In Berlin, however, the Soviets seem to be working together with the Spartacist Commissars. Hugo Haack has declared that the second revolutionary unrest will result in two competing governments, one in Weimar and the other in Berlin, the latter a Soviet Government. Only by accepting the Commissar program can the Soviets become a real force in the German revolution.

Simultaneously with these great events, comes the report that a large Bolshevik army is at the German frontier prepared to co-operate with the Spartacist Revolutionaries in Bavaria. The Communists of Russia and Germany have prepared an offensive and defensive alliance, which will spring into action the moment the Spartacists and the Soviets secure control in Germany. This is what the Allies are afraid of. The petty bourgeois Socialists represented by Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. fear, a fear expressed in one form by their refusal to accept food from Soviet Russia to feed their people. Moscow has already informed the German Government that the Berlin Vorwarts recently, Friedrich Stamper said:

What is the situation in Germany? Here the Russian policy is working in the first place at the complete destruction of the German government. The Russian revolutionaries have prepared and are preparing an offensive and defensive alliance, which will spring into action the moment the Spartacists and the Soviets secure control in Germany. This is what the Allies are afraid of. The petty bourgeois Socialists represented by Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. fear, a fear expressed in one form by their refusal to accept food from Soviet Russia to feed their people.

Under the headline "Berlin Riots Renewed By Spartacists," an evening paper carries this paragraph: "A Belgian Commission has been sent in all countries, and a proclamation of the proletariat of Germany: "Russian Bolshevik propaganda simplifies the process. At this moment, the immediate fate of the international proletarian revolution is being decided in Germany. The Spartacists may conquer power: then will come, universally and implacably, the final struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism.

Bolshevikkjabs

T H E new York Call asks: "What became of the revolution that was to make 'bourgeois - what?'" We want to look at such a question in the news of the times. For, the revolution that is making its way through the world is not only a revolution of ideas, but a revolution of material forces.

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The Angelic Capitalists and the Atrocious Bolsheviki

By E. Friedberg

This article is written by a young man, yet in his teens, who has been completely blind since his early childhood.

F OR the past year or so we have been incessantly hearing of the horrible and unheard of atrocities committed by the Bolsheviki of Russia. The people who go under this name are known in America as the capitalists, and there are no dangers with the Russian names; they are the capitalists of all countries, whether capitalists, are the capitalists of all countries, whether Asiatic, European, or American.

Let me ask, who started the European war? Most Americans will answer, the Germans started it. It is true that the Kaiser and his gang meant to gain by plunging Europe into the bloodiest conflict history had ever seen; but were there not some on the opposite side who meant at the same time to destroy the very countries they had wanted to make more dangerous? It was a general and territorial gain and acquisition for Germany.

I shall endeavor, through a comparison, to show how really "atrocious" the Bolsheviki are and how wonderfully "angelic" their bitterest opponents, the capitalists, are—the capitalists of all countries, whether Asiatic, European, or American.

These sinister stories and erroneous rumors have clouded the minds of the American people as to the real tendencies and aims of the Bolsheviki. They have the reputation of wanting to replace the rule of justice with the English for the markets of the East.

Did the majority of the German people want to commit suicide? Let us examine the matter more closely. Let us find if the people of any of the belligerent countries, instead of being allowed a period of four long years, the wholesale slaughter of men and the wholesale starvation of women and children.

Was it the German people who wanted to exchange German trade at the cost of others? No; it was the German manufacturers and merchants, who desired to enlarge their trade and thus fill their pockets, and

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE Saturday, March 8, 1919
The Humanity of Lawrence in Action

By Richard Hansen

The working masses in the United States are awakening. In rapid succession events are passing before our eyes which make the working class of the world and the world at large tremble. While the general strike in Seattle is commanding the attention of the country big strikes broke out simultaneously in Tacoma and Patterson. And yesterday, yesterday, sad to relate, a strike broke out in New York, where the working class people are in jail, while thousands of lesser stars are in jail, while thousands of lesser stars are in jail, administrative battalion is characterized as a Bolshevik outbreak.

Each and everyone of these events are parts of the greater movement for the改造 of society. Not only of the proletariat, but the world over. They appear as separate and distinct events to many, but to the millions of organized workers, and especially to the reality they are closely related, they are symptomatic of the whole situation and this is the reason they are receiving such wide attention in spite of the newspaper conspiracy of silence, this is the reason Secretary Baker dispatches telegrams to the whole country that the conditions in Seattle is critical.

New England has mobilized the police force of all the cities of Massachusetts to put down the rebellion in Lawrence.

The situation is pregnant with tremendous possibilities. It commands the interest of the entire country, it is, it is difficult to understand. It is interesting to those who witnessed or took an active part in the great Russian upheaval of 1905, who have not only this "disconnected" Bolshevik outburst. As soon as the situation gets "connected" one can see how the picture will change. The greatest labor union in the history of the world is being born.

The strike commands the interest of the entire country, it is interesting to those who witnessed or took an active part in the great Russian upheaval of 1905, who have seen beetles and mice fly, who have seen the masses of the world rise against their exploiters for the first time in history. It is interesting to those who were at the seashore when the tides were rising as one man to the defense of themselves and the defense of their children. The greatest labor union in the history of the world is being born.

The storm of revolution is sweeping over the country, the world has not experienced anything like it. The working masses are issuing forth in millions, in tens of millions, and they are pointing in one direction only. The storm of revolution is sweeping over the country, the world has not experienced anything like it.

The situation is pregnant with tremendous possibilities. It commands the interest of the entire country, it is difficult to understand. It is interesting to those who witnessed or took an active part in the great Russian upheaval of 1905, who have seen beetles and mice fly, who have seen the masses of the world rise against their exploiters for the first time in history. It is interesting to those who were at the seashore when the tides were rising as one man to the defense of themselves and the defense of their children. The greatest labor union in the history of the world is being born.

The Textile strike in Lawrence, Mass. is a typical example.

Here is a human mass of 30,000 workers—unorganized—living in the same diffused, semi-native environment, speaking the same tongues, split into a number of antagonistic religions—considering one man to the defense of themselves and the defense of their children. The working masses in Lawrence have defeated the greedy industrial barons, backed by the power of the state. They have defeated the military in the streets, the police in the streets, the state. Carloads of trained Cossacks and other strike-breaking units have been rushed to Lawrence. Everything has been prepared for the suppression of the movement. The leaders are in jail, but the working masses are on the march, and the maintenance of the strike is more solid than ever, and the masses of Lawrence are more determined to maintain the strike than the first week and 25 per cent of the strikers have been arrested.

The workers have been denounced as foreigners and have been treated as enemies and outlaws. The law is invariably invoked against them and their families constitute the majority of the population of Lawrence. The strikers are considered by the authorities as criminals by the laws. They are being tried by juries composed of the capitalist class, even the services of the so-called "labor" organizations have been utilized to crush the workers and drive them back to the mills at reduced wages.

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III.

The liquidation of our obligations which were caused by the damage caused by us, the question of the financial problem.

The payments of interest shall be partly in products and partly in foreign currency, as far as possible.

The joint Commission of German and Soviet representatives, who are at this moment in session in Berlin, has come to the following conditions for an agreement, in the name of the governments of Germany and Russia.

Russia must, for the sake of economic restoration, take up her economic relations with the Central Powers again, and at the same time continue her relations with the Entente Powers as far as possible.

To meet our obligations to the Central Powers, according to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, we are compelled to conclude a loan, whereby the total amount of these obligations shall be turned into a state debt. The payments of interest shall be partly in products of our country, and timber, and partly in gold and in German securities in possession of the Soviet government.

As a guarantee for this debt, and also for the payment of the more necessary products for the economic reconstruction of Russia now being bought in Germany, a certain condition of the exploitation of natural resources in Russia. The condition of these concessions are within the existing Soviet government, and provision will be taken in the exploitation of these resources, retain a part of the proceeds and reserve the right of control.

The following are the necessary conditions under which the agreement is sanctioned:

(a) No interference whatsoever by Germany in our internal politics.

(b) No intervention by Germany in those countries with which she was formerly united, by the conclusion of mutual economic treaties, to wit: Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic Provinces (Estonia) and the Caucasian Provinces.

(c) Recognition by Germany of the nationalization of the railroads, and other banks.

(d) Guarantee from Germany for the continuation of the supply of ore to Soviet Russia from Kri­ vosh, which is an essential German Government, and from the Caucasus, from which districts Russia has hitherto received at least half of the total ore production.

(e) Guarantee of the railroad connection between Ukraine and the Don region whereby Russia shall be awarded the privileges of an international line.

Concerning the demand that we meet our obligations by payment with products, we call attention to the fact that our decided refusal to agree with these claims does not mean that we refuse, for as far as our position as a neutral nation makes this possible to supply Germany with raw materials and products, we are willing to deliver to her what we can without injury to our own interests, without conflicting with the situation of our country as a neutral nation.

In our interests, the interests of an exhausted nation, make it necessary that we receive in return for products and services in Europe and America such products as are absolutely necessary for the reconstruction of the country.

In the interests of existing in the capitalistic centres of Germany, that our social experiments make the concessions worthless, that the nationalization exacts a price which is prohibitive on account of the form, which is pointed out by the German capitalists as a Socialist experiment, would be resisted by strikers and the masses, who have been learned to grave experience of many years never to subsidize a government in a capitalist country, and that, as a natural result, the masses of the workers and capitalists of Restoration. If German Capitalists would reckon with this fact, and a fact it surely is;—then the Ger­ man government would be less wrong in our opinion, and have, after the inevitable period of confusion, reached the work of organization, and that we require for this work the assistance of foreign economic apparatus, as long as we can not depend upon the assistance of a coming crisis. When the Russian government de­ mand the recall of the ambassador, whose declara­ tion of the Entente governments is, that the central government of Russia, as such, does not exist, the ambassador is still present in Vologda, although the Russian govern­ ment considers him merely an ordinary in­ stitution, and has never given him the right for the return of our troops stationed in France, only the in­ tervention of the Entente governments, and of the United States, who are not yet convinced to bear in different ways upon our soldiers to induce them to continue the war in the ranks of the Russian army, and to get the necessary support from France, because they recognized the authority of the Soviet and approved the withdrawal of Russia from the war. On account of this, many were procured or were sent to the African penal camp.

In the beginning of the year (1918), when the negoti­ ations concerning the return of our troops from France were started, France proposed, as an indis­ cuttable condition, the retention of the Caucasian divisions to France, as France was very much con­ cerned with their fate. When the Czecho-Slovak and Russian delegates refused the proposal, France in Moscow declared that the disarmament of the Cze­ cho-Slovak soldiers would be considered as an un­ acceptable condition to such an extent that France, in which opinion he was supported by the re­ gime of England, Italy and the United States of North America.

The English government has, on the other hand, not even hesitated to insist on a similar condition to the Soviet government (this was, to remind the readers again, reported before the conspiracy of Lockhard, after the departure of the Entente ambassadors from Moscow, but also commenced negotiations with the authorized representative, Livonof, of the Russian government, who allowed the right to land and receive couriers, and to use the code, but not­ withstanding this, the want of any diplomatic rela­ tions towards him is, in many respects, not in con­ formity with the dignity of the Russian Republic. After several months of these negotiations, Livonof as a diplomatic representation, the owner, without any cause, declared that the Entente and the court have evidently sustained the illegal action of the owner, and the court embellished its decision with comments which were offensive to the Soviet government. Our couriers were admitted but were subjected to a careful investi­ gation. When Kamjenjef and Salhard arrived in Eng­ land, all their diplomatic documents were taken from them, and only returned when they left England. When not only the relations but the above-mentioned opportunity and the police who accompanied them treated them shamelessly. A few people who were allowed to land were expelled from England, and were not even allowed to return.

The English government maintains friendly relations with the old Czaristic embassy and consulates, instead of which, at present, the representatives of Livonof and the English government consults them on all sub­ jects which concern military service, Russian prisoners of war, Russian steamer in English harbors, and other general interests of Russia. Connis McLean in Glasgow and Simmona in Australia, appointed by Russia, was not recognized. The situation was most difficult right after the conclusion of the Brest-Li­ tovsk treaty. The yellow press insulted McLean vi­ ciously.

The position of Russian citizens in England is, in general, very difficult. There are about 300 who wish to continue in the newspapers. The return of Russian citizens is very difficult for them. The military agree­ ment concluded by Kerensky, which gave the English government the right to draft Russian citizens to the forces of the Entente, the trade unionists of France, at the beginning of 1918, to declared to the government of Great Britain that we do not recognize this Ker­ ensky agreement. The Congregation of the union of citizens who were drafted into the Russian army, had not received the answer that foreigners could not live in England without performing work in the interest of the nation, and that those who had not entered into the labor of workers' divisions for the production of munitions were to be expelled.
REVOLUTIONARY Socialism always had its exponents and champions in New York. Back in the old days before the war "rights" and "lefts" were prominent in the various labor organizations and consumed lots of space in the Socialist press with relatively little in the way of content.

But the world war and the betrayal of International Socialism by the dominant Social-Democrats of the day served to turn many away from the Bolsheviks to power; our own entrance into the conflict; the defection of our movement with its lip-service to the idea of class-conscious pacifism, and finally the social-patriotic acts of our vassals in London and the Socialist Aldermanic Delegation of New York in particular, created an intolerable situation.

The rank and file betrayed and outraged by its spokesmen found every attempt at protest blocked by an intrenched machine hard to reach and difficult to dislodge. It controlled the party machinery and press and had the active support of reactionary trade-union elements who threatened to withhold financial assistance during political campaigns unless candidates suitable to these principles were nominated.

A general membership meeting called only after pressure had been exerted after the Aldermanic delegation first voted on the Liberty Loan, found its representatives publicly withdrawing their support on the floor.

The re-nomination of Meyer London found every attempt at protest blocked and needed no further amplification. After pressure of some members of the City Committee a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialists in Greater New York was called to discuss the Aldermanic acts and recommend action to the various locals.

But Left Wing Socialists at this meeting adopted a resolution nullified by Comrade Gerber suddenly springing from on high after the special resolutions. The re-nomination of Meyer London found every attempt at protest blocked and needed no further amplification. After pressure of some members of the City Committee a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialists in Greater New York was called to discuss the Aldermanic acts and recommend action to the various locals.

The chairman of the Socialist Aldermanic Delegation moved a report of a committee of inquiry and put the question of a meeting where the method of procedure should be discussed. It was insulating by the absence of emphasis on those points in the report which were the essence of the argument in favor of a full inquiry from the floor. The chairman having the floor moved the question and the chairman moved the question of a meeting where the method of procedure should be discussed. It was insulating by the absence of emphasis on those points in the report which were the essence of the argument in favor of a full inquiry from the floor.

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At the first party meeting to re-nominate, the resolutions setting strong opposition, finally sabotaged the meeting into getting London down to face the charges of impropriety, which charges were dropped in full force and then they played their trump card. Meyer London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor. London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after London was called to the floor.

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September he addressed a meeting at Barrow, telling the workers to strike whenever they had a grievance and to strike suddenly; and in answer to a question he said he was out for a revolution, and if he found bloodshed was necessary he would not be one to hesi- tate.

In November, 1917, he started an agitation at Glasgow calling on the Government to release Peter Petroff, one of the Russian Bolsheviki then in the United States, and to the Soldiers' and Workers' Council. He was pro­ nounced to be the author of a pamphlet.

In January, 1918, he was re-elected to the Glasgow, and demanded new elections to the union, and on January 31 he was arrested with Callagheil when the Riot Acts were passed.

Arthur MacManus, born in Scotland of Irish parents, is an editor. In March, 1916, he was editor of the Glasgow Socialist, the organ of the Socialist Party in Scotland, and was arrested under the seditious libel laws and was tried before the Court of King's Bench at the Old Bailey in June, 1917. He was tried before the Court of King's Bench at the Old Bailey in June, 1917. He was tried before the Court of King's Bench at the Old Bailey in June, 1917. He was tried before the Court of King's Bench at the Old Bailey in June, 1917.

In December, 1915, he was charged at the Police Court on account of statements made at a Socialist meeting to direct against conscription. In 1917 he was charged with sedition.

The local organization of the Socialist Party in Scotland was dissolved; and in September of the same year he was convicted for inciting the workers to strike and demand the release of the men charged with sedition.

Mr. Churchill, born in Scotland, was first chief steward of the Shearslourney Works, and a prominent member of the Civil Workers' Committee. He was a member of the Soldiers' Committee and labor demand meeting on the 17th of January, 1919, which was attended by the National League and the Civil Workers' Committee. He was a member of the Soldiers' Committee and labor demand meeting on the 17th of January, 1919, which was attended by the National League and the Civil Workers' Committee. He was a member of the Soldiers' Committee and labor demand meeting on the 17th of January, 1919, which was attended by the National League and the Civil Workers' Committee. He was a member of the Soldiers' Committee and labor demand meeting on the 17th of January, 1919, which was attended by the National League and the Civil Workers' Committee.
A Program of Revolutionary Socialism

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE
Saturday, March 8, 1919

I N its call for an International Communist Congress of revolutionary Socialism, the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) includes "the elements of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party (ten­
dem at the Chicago, E. V. Debs and the Socialist Propa­
danda League)."

The Socialist Propaganda League was organized about four years ago. In January 1917 it began to issue a weekly paper, The International, which in May 1917 was replaced by The New International with Louis C. Fraina as editor. The League and The New Inter­
national represented the extreme left of the American move­
ment; it accepted the Bolsheviki theory of the world before the Bolsheviki conquered power; The New Inter­
national favored the Bolsheviki at a time when no other American Socialist paper did, at a time when the extent of the struggle and tactics of the proletariat of Socialism, proletarian for the Soviet Government, · declares:

The Socialist Propaganda League of America, ac­
knowledged and authorized by the Central Exe­
cutive Committee of the International, is the organ of the international proletariat. The League is still in existence, but its paper is no longer published, since The Revolutionary Age expresses its policy.

In January, 1918, The Socialist Propaganda League issued a Manifesto incorporating its principles and tactics, which follows in full:

The conditions of Imperialism mean Capitalism at the climax of its development, and the maturity of the proletariat for the Social Revolution. These conditions have brought into being the final revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism; the epoch of the Social Revolution.

The revolutionary epoch determines the character of Socialism: it means the reconstruction of Socialist organization, the abandonment of the process of "growing into" Socialism, which in practice makes Socialism a party in the bourgeois state, and the overwhelming necessity of Socialist adopting immediate revolutionary purposes and tactics.

The Socialist Propaganda League of America, ac­
knowledged and authorized as the representative of the international policy of Revolutionary Socialism, as consistently practiced by the revolutionary proleta­
riot in Russia, declares:

1. The S. P. L. A. accepts the new forms and tact­
tics of the class struggle against Capitalism.

Imperialism unites all layers of the ruling class into one great mass of reactionary interests; the smallest and formerly independent capitalist groups cease their struggles against Big Capital, and compromise in Imperialism. Moreover, the policy of Imperialism merges skilled labor and the "liberal" petite bourgeoisie into the imperialistic state, making the great industri­
al concentration attainable only through state intervention and mass action. Imperialism means Capitalism, the immediate and opportunist officials. The unity of the proletariat for action and the latent powers of the proletariat for action and the latent powers of the proletariat for action and the latent powers of the proletariat for action and the latent powers of the proletariat for action and the latent powers of the proletariat for action.

2. The S. P. L. A. accepts the Social Revolution as the basis for its immediate demands in the class struggle.

Class struggle is not an abstraction; it is a concrete force. To avoid the everyday struggle against Cap­
italism by immediate demands means Socialism either a bucolic condition, or a sect for the propaganda of dogmatic affirmations. Our immediate demands, however, are not limited to the demands of the proletariat, but demands that will be the first measures introduced by the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the process of the Social Revolution. The Social Revolution is no longer an aspiration of the future: it is a fact of immediate, palpable determination, and the immediate policy and tactics. Our immediate demands, accordingly, are as follows:

a. The S. P. L. A. stands for direct industrial action and Socialist policy in the general mass action of the proletariat and of revolutionary Socialism.

b. The S. P. L. A. opposes all imperialistic wars and favors all revolutionary wars of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism.

Imperialistic wars are waged exclusively for ag­
gression; they are, however, in strict accord with Socialism, the "defense of the country" under Imperialism is a fraud; its purpose is to end the enthusiasm and moral energy of the proletariat for the general struggle, and for the more intensive exploitation of the world proletariat. The "defense of the country" by Imperialism means Capitalism, and the aspirations of the international proletariat. The League was the only Ameri­
can Socialist paper that continued to support the Bolshe­
vi­

3. The S. P. L. A. strives for the unity of industr­
al action and Socialist policy in the general mass action of the proletariat and of revolutionary Socialism. The revolution of the proletariat annihilates the bourgeois in a general political class struggle, and parliamentary action, if aggressive­
ly, is capital, that actively and immediately for the Social Revolution.

4. The S. P. L. A. opposes all forms of opportunism, Social-Imperialism and opportunism, and par­
5. The S. P. L. A. opposes all forms of opportuni­
ism, Social-Imperialism and opportunism, and par­
6. The S. P. L. A. opposes all forms of opportuni­

7. The S. P. L. A. recognizes that Imperialism and State Capitalism are one and indivisible, meaning that the power of Capitalism and the capital­
8. The S. P. L. A. urges upon the proletariat the con­
9. The S. P. L. A. opposes all imperialistic wars and favors all revolutionary wars of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism.

Imperialistic wars are waged exclusively for ag­
10. The S. P. L. A. urges the organization of Coun­
11. The S. P. L. A. organizes to wage a struggle on two fronts, inside and outside of the Socialist Party.

The organization is formed to work in the Socialist Party as well as independent of the party. The task ahead is the revolutionary reorganization of the American Socialist movement. We do not confine our efforts within the Socialist Party, however, because our purpose is to advance the general mass action of the movement from which the present party, the Socialists, which subsequently our organization is constantly in conflict with the struggles and aspirations of the industrial proletariat.