The Unemployed and the Soldiers

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Local Boston, Socialist Party, Local Cleveland, Socialist Party, and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City have issued a call for a National Left Wing Conference.

The call is issued to locals, branches and minority groups of the Party who have adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.

The purpose of the Conference is to formulate a national declaration of Left Wing principles, form a national, unified expression of the Left Wing (a sort of General Council—not a separate organization) and concentrate our forces to conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism.

The Conference will meet on Saturday, June 21. Representation—one delegate for each 500 members—or not more than 3 delegates for each group. Place—to be decided.

Left Wing locals and branches, don't. Address all communications to Louis C. Fraina 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

The Revolutionary Age
A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events
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The problem of unemployment is very real and menacing to the American workers. It is a problem that will become worse by the end of the war and that cannot be met in the old way. Drastic action is necessary.

Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Director of the United States Employment Service, said on April 19: "Recent estimates that placed the present number of unemployed in New York City at 40,000 are decidedly conservative. Actual statistics on unemployment are always lower than estimates that placed the present number of unemployed by the employers. However, 100,000 would be much nearer the mark as an estimate of the number now out of work here. The total may be even higher than that." Approximately 25% of this huge army of unemployed in New York City consists of former soldiers, sailors and marines, according to Dr. Kirchwey, who adds that the present crisis will last well into the summer.

Recent estimates (which now must be revised upwards, however) indicated that unemployment is general throughout the industrial centres of the United States: Buffalo, 13,000; Albany, 4000; the state of Massachusetts, 50,000; Cleveland, 55,000; Toledo, 10,000; Detroit, 30,000; Minneapolis, 4000; San Francisco, 8,000; the state of Oregon, 7,000; etc. These figures provide a very poor picture of the actual menace of unemployment, of the terrible suffering of the 'war workers' who are receiving a pittance by way of wage, and of the lives of millions of workers who have seen all their hopes deflated by the war. The state of Minneapolis may be taken as an example. Workers with jobs are fired (often on the pretext of being Bolshevnik agitators) while unemployed are hired at lower wages. A reign of industrial terror is being inaugurated to keep the workers in line.

There are two immediate causes for this unemployment: (1) the fundamental cause of course, is Capitalism, which develops and requires a reserve industrial army of unemployed; (2) the suspension of war industry work and the demobilization of the soldiers and sailors.

During the war, the patriotic capitalists made money hand over fist. They monopolized, practically, the markets of the world, the European peoples being active producers of death instead of goods. They manufactured munitions for the Allies, and then for the American Government, at fabulous profits: hundreds of new millionaires were made during the war. Some people do profit from war... Exorbitant prices were charged the Allies and the American Government for munitions, and other things; there was profiteering even in the food sold for the starving Belgians. Exorbitant prices were charged for necessaries of life, for food, clothing and shelter—which largely cut down the slight increase in wages. It was a positively feverish period of prosperity—for the capitalists.

The workers during the war had power. Millions of them were drafted into the army: millions more were required in the war industries; there was a larger demand, also, for the commodities produced during peace. The result was that the demand for labor was larger than the supply. But labor was afraid to use this power, because of the regime of governmental and bourgeois terrorism made possible by the hysteria of the war: the capitalists could use war as an opportunity for larger profits, but the workers were largely afraid to use the opportunity. Still, the employers were compelled to make concessions—higher wages, bonuses, and "consideration." When the Devil is sick, the Devil a monk would be; when the Devil is well, the Devil a monk is he." When the capitalist needs the workers more than usual, he smiles upon them,—until the day comes when he can kick them again.

The day came. The war was over (except the little war against the workers of Soviet Russia). Mutilations, at present, is still the only nation upon which the world can draw for commodities. But soon Europe will resume manufacturing. It will buy certain goods from us, but it will have goods of its own to sell; it will compete in the markets of the world with the United States. Out of this must develop acute competition, an industrial crisis, more unemployment.

It is a serious situation. It is a situation that calls upon the workers to act upon this crisis. They must create their own machinery to tackle the new employment crisis.

The soldiers and the unemployed must unite with the employed workers to act upon this crisis. They must create their own machinery to tackle the new employment crisis.

The demands must consist, not in emergency measures, but in measures which are permanent and permanent in character. The wages of workers must be reduced in order to protect jobs for the unemployed, and make work easier and not a tragedy. Industry must be regulated to absorb the unemployed. It is a crime that men workers work too hard while other workers have no work at all.

These Councils must prevent a reduction in wages; in fact, they should compel an increase in wages so that the wage may become worth living. If factories shut down, while people are starving, these Councils must demand that the factories be operated by the Workers' Councils. These Councils must insist upon their rights. Every Strike Committee must become a Soviet. There must be a unity of the soldiers and the workers: then we are invincible.

Gradually, these Councils from immediate measures will necessarily consider ultimate and larger measures. They must, if the workers are to live. From cutting profits, they will come to ending profits. Capitalism is breaking down. It cannot solve its own economic problems. It has come to a crisis; and this crisis will become more acute and menacing to the workers, until the workers act to end Capitalism.

The workers—do not realize this now; but they will. Life itself will compel this recognition. They told the soldiers they were to make the world safe for democracy; but the makers of democracy are now thrown upon the scrap-heap.

They told the workers that a new world was coming; it has come, a world of new misery, of new oppression.

There must be action. There must be unity of the soldiers and the unemployed, unity of these with the workers; and a conscious struggle for work and life, peace and happiness.
The Principles and Tactics of the New International
From the Call of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshe­
vik) for a Communist International Conference.

I. The present is the period of the dissolution and the
conscious creation of a new world system, which will mean
the complete collapse of European culture, if Capitalism,
with its unsolvable contradictions, is not destroyed.

II. The problem of the proletariat consists in imme­
diately seizing the instrument for the systematic overthrow
of the old world and for the establishment of a new proletar­
ian state.

III. The new proletarian state must embody the dictator­
ship of the proletariat, and in certain places also the small
bourgeoisie. It will be based on the basis of a new proletarian separ­
arism of power.

IV. The immediate preoccupation of the proletariat is
the formation of a new national party, the foundation of
the new state.

V. The workers' state must be a genuine social patriots' state,
for it is the fate of the new proletarian state to be the
class into hangmen and the hangmen into the classes.

VI. The new state will be a complete bankrupt.

VII. The new proletarian state will be a genuine social
patriots' state. It will be a state of continuous in­
cepted development.

VIII. The new proletarian state will be a genuine social
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The Revolution of the Age

Perhaps. Perhaps Not!

The forces opposing Bolshevism in America are a peculiarity mixture. Reactionary labor union official­
s andutters of labor, the university and the gut­
tum, are the one fever, the other agitating against this menace to American institutions," American institutions, of course, being used to mean the
economic and political life of the country. Among the agitators against Bolshevism is Secret­
ary of Labor William B. Williams, formerly an A. of L. union official. This statement was released by the Cabinet of President Wilson is justifying his ap­
pointment by a dotted line as the interests of cap­
tial. He is deporting radicals. He is using his office
—necessarily—for labor and for capital. He is not achieving anything, and the workers, vividly picturing the prosperity—that is to come.

The other day, Secretary Williams said that the" backbone of Bolshevism in America has been broken." Why, Bolshevism hasn't really manifested itself yet. American labor will not be involved in the movement. Workers, Socialism, and Socialism expresses the fundamentals of interest of the workers, the only way to break Capitalism, that maker of war and the poor. It is likely that American labor understands what Bolshevism means, it will accept its policy and practice.

The illusion in need of correction is that Capitalism lies so much about Bolshevism.

Irish Labor Acts.
The strike in Limerick, Ireland, threatens to be a great battle. The strike is political in character, being a protest against military regulations imposed by the British Government on the Irish workers.

The strike, it seems, is managed by a Soviet, which is assuming the task of feeding the people. There is no disorder, food is sold by the Soviet representatives at lower prices than by private concerns.

Limerick has been proclaimed a military area by the British Government. How deep this revolt is, it is impossible to judge, although republicans and social patriots meet and organize in other cities of Ireland. Nor is the revolu­tionary character of the movement clear, although the Sinn Fein newspaper has apparently closed ranks while conscious Irish working class refuses to accept the bourgeois, nationalistic program of the Sinn Fein—its program for the solution of Ireland's immediate economic and political crisis for the proletariat.

The Sinn Fein "Parliament" has petted out, although of apolitical value. Again it is clear that the proletariat alone has the power to compel decisions. The "General Strike Against British Imperialism" is a mass movement of the proletariat against Capitalism, for the establishment of a Workmen's and Peasants' Republic.

The Irish revolutionization is the internal movement of the working class in the fight for the control of the state. It is the revolutionary movement of the proletariat against Cap­
talism.

It Smells of Oil.
It has ended quickly—the "revolution" of General Blanquism in Mexico, apparently organized and han­
ted by the oil interests of America and British Imperialism.

The resort to "revolution" has failed miserably, the oil interests are preparing diplomatic intervention. British capital owns about 20% of the oil properties in Mexico. The other day, it was announced that the British Government had purchased the oil interests of its financiers involved in the controversy with Mexico. This action, it was declared, indicated that the British Government acquiesces in the property acquired by British subjects in good faith, and under the laws of Mexico at the time, should be confiscated.

This is as plain poetry to the British Government. Mexico, in its policy of protecting Mexico's natural resources and curbing the power of foreign oil interests, is at war with the British capital. Mexico has already declared that all foreign taxable oil properties must be put under Mexican control. Up until now, its acts affected private capital; but with the British Government assuming control of ownership of oil properties, these acts will strike direc­
tly at the British Government, become political and economic factors in the struggle of Britain with the proletariat for government intervention.

The American State Department, apparently, has approved, at least tacitly, of Britain's action. This would indicate an imperialistic combination against Mexico, for intervention. The interests involved are too great to be handled by a question of protocol. For example, instance, that E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican American oil company, at the age of 19, in 1907, became the maker of war and the poor. He is the son of the representatives of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico. The powerful banking group among whom are J. P. Mer­

Greetings!

The comrades of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City have just published a paper of their own, the New York Communist, which contains a spirited and massive appeal to the Associate Editor, the first issue of which appeared April 19. Cordial and fraternal greetings to our new同志paper of the Socialist Party, immediately, in the struggle to revolutionize Capitalism and the State.

Socialism appears with a flaming challenge to Capitalism and to the dominant, moderate, counter-revolutionary. The Leftist Wing, acting as a socialist front, appears with a flaming challenge to the bourgeoisie. At the same time, that 'Socialism' in which the working class of Europe so confidently turned workers to preserve their forms of government and the erection of a new proletarian state, is nothing but a joke.

The American Socialist Party, although its different currents have not as clearly defined as the Leftists, is one of the few parties in America controlled by petit bourgeois elements. It has compromised with bourgeois liberalism. We of the Left Wing demand that we expel any local or branch of the party, most of whom belong in a labor state, can guarantee the workers' revolution. We demand that we expel any local or branch of the party.

The New York Communist, as its name implies, is largely a temporary necessity of the local struggle against the Right Wing in the party in New York City. The lines are being tightened. The struggle is becoming imperative. Upon this struggle depend large events and great decisions. The comrades of the Left Wing demand that we expel any local or branch of the party.

The Left Wing establish another paper? Isn't The Revolutionary Age enough to represent the Left Wing? Are we not The Revolutionary Age?—the Communist answers:

First, let us make our bow to The Revolutionary Age. It is the most brilliant and the most representative of the Left, and under the brilliant editorship of Comrade Louis Fraina, has been the best expression of revolutionist socialism ever published in this country—and indeed, has created a new type of Socialist journalism here.

The Revolutionary Age is to be, without any doubt, the official organ of the National Left Wing, which will be created by the National Left Wing Conference.

This is made certain by the generosity of the comrades of Local Boston, who have passed a resolution providing that the paper, with all its assets, shall be turned over to the Executive Committee of the Left Wing of the Boston party. In short, we don't want it.

But in the meantime, the New York Left Wing, which has taken the initiative in forming a National Left Wing, has been and shall be continued to be the organ of the socialist press and unscrupulous resistance by the petty politicians who control the Left Wing.

The Left Wing in the Socialist Party of New York City is a product of the general revolt against moderate, conservative, and imperialist elements of the Socialist Party. It is the result of the shameless treachery of the Right Wing and the Left Wing in the party there. They have been Socialists, not revolutionists. They have been Socialists, not revolutionists. They have been Socialists, not revolutionists.

The New York Call, prior to the November Revolution, supported Kerensky and characterized, editorially, Lenin and the Bolsheviks as "Anarchists." The ofr political organization of the Socialist Party is a corduroy and modern petit bourgeois liberalism—no revolutionary organization of the members of the Board of Aldermen pursuued a consistent policy of: they (the majority, led by Algeron Lee, the "neutral" member of the Right) favoring the Right (the "Right Revolution!"?) voted for Liberty Bonds, and they voted for a Victory Arch for the soldiers (who can't get jobs) on which is inscribed the names of the beneficiaries of the American troops, Mummmak, where Soviet Russia is being murdered.

Now, the Left Wing is a power. The moderates and the petty bourgeois reformers (some of whom have become Trotskyites and others have become Communist Party members) are being threatened in their supremacy. They stagnate. They have decided as a party: to split the party: and, at the recent meeting of the State Committee of New York, they pass a resolution, by vote of 24 to 17, to expel any local or branch of the party which affiliates with the Left Wing. Let them threaten. Behind our Southern Germanies is the Left Wing in the whole American Socialist Party. Our answer to the threat of expulsion is to compete the party for revolution in socialism, to make the Left Wing the Socialist Party.

The Old and the New

Clearly, the world is coming to appreciate the tragi-comedy of the Peace Conference at Paris. In a cable from Paris the other day, William Allen was seen to go to Frisco to meet the Bolshevik for President Wilson, until the Peace Conference is dissolved (by revolution) writes the pen of the world in the age of war and revolutionaries. The American Socialist Party, although its different currents have not as clearly defined as the Leftists, is one of the few parties in America controlled by petit bourgeois elements. It has compromised with bourgeois liberalism. We of the Left Wing demand that we expel any local or branch of the party, most of whom belong in a labor state, can guarantee the workers' revolution. We demand that we expel any local or branch of the party.

The French delegation, led by Georges Clemenceau, responsible leaders, such as they may be, are laughing uproariously. The Germans, who are sitting about green tables figuring out boundaries, are smiling. The French are rushing in order to get their new victory. They have the right to be happy, the right to be happy, the right to be happy.

Peace Conference, meeting during the week, his domain is footloose in India and Egypt. His handkerchief is red. His band is in the sky. The Peace Conference is ready for signature, the Bolsheviks are waiting for the peace of anarchy. We hold the Peace Conference—whether by general strike or by an attempt at revolution. The Peace Conference: that is to be, without any doubt, a paper of their own, the New York Communist, with the克思主义 Party (Bolsheviki), with the Socialist Party of New York City. consistently and impudently betrayed Socialism: and, in New York, the Left Wing London. We must, once for all, and absolutely, put an end to the iniquitous system of the Peace Conference.

The bolshewikajeans are certainly an ungrateful lot. After all the trouble we have taken to show them how inferior they are to us, what a crime they commit in being ungrateful, how unwelcome they are here. We are often going to the trouble of composing our newspapers and addressing our boulevard and revolutionary Socialists. Murder an everyday occurrence. hold-ups and robberies take place in broad daylight. Streets are deserted for fear of peddlers. The food situation is acute and unless remedial measures are taken soon the city will be uninhabitable. It is rumored that if order is restored, the Bolsheviks will be sent back to Russia. They may decide to feed the Bolsheviks, the blockade for them. In order to be strengthened, the Bolsheviks are to be whipped. The Allies are to be reified in Russia. The situation in Russia is progressing favorably.

The Allies are about to recognize the Bolsheviks. The Allies are on the eve of recognizing the Bolsheviks, who are preparing to receive the Peace Conference, and the Peace Conference are preparing to receive the Bolsheviks. The Government of France is reported to be disposed of by a peace treaty. It is rumored that the Peace Conference is to be strengthened. The Bolsheviks are to be sent back to Russia. The situation in Russia is progressing favorably.

The Peace Conference. It met to prevent the complete collapse of the Peace Conference of the world is establishing itself.

The Peace Conference met with the propriety of bowing down to the Peace Conference. It is right that the Peace Conference should be strengthened. It is right that the Peace Conference should be strengthened. It is right that the Peace Conference should be strengthened.

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A Criticism of The Revolutionary Age

By Adolph Germer

National Executive Secretary, Socialist Party.

Again you charge that when I advised the locals, branches and individual comrades that the Boston convention would not be acceptable to the National Executive Committee, I contained several unfounded charges against the National Executive Committee. I do not assume to say that it was your wilful intention to convey false-information. I will be tolerant enough to believe that you made a mistake, if you did not set out to accomplish a purpose, it will help them materially to twist, garble and distort the facts. Somehow a falsehood sounds more plausible than the truth. But even so, a Socialist who has a sense of responsibility, in dealing with party affairs, should be careful of the accuracy of a rumor before it is given out in print.

I am not given to making charges against members in the Party, but the entire article breathes the desire to create suspicion and distrust rather than to solidify our forces at a time when hundreds of our comrades are either in prison or facing prisons, and when the existence of our whole movement is challenged by the opposition.

It is a thousand times easier to circulate a falsehood, so matter how innocently done, and create distrust, than to solidify the Party. The Quarterly does not state in its entirety of those who have been selected, wisely or unwisely, to be members of the National Executive Committee. It seems to be human nature to believe that persons in official positions always have ulterior motives, that they are more interested in themselves than in their time, their capacity and energy, to enlist new converts to our cause. I have never had time for internal buck-passing, pay no attention to the distortions from The Revolutionary Age were it not that the program seemed to me out of line.

You sneer at my "strict parliamentary procedure" and adherence to "constitutional law." And you give me the impression that you are calmly thwarting the will of the membership.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party is the will of the membership. It was adopted by referendum and held down by the law to govern those whom they have elected to the executive position. You retreat behind the National Executive Committee's election of delegates to the Interparliamentary Conference, not stating that your reference to the referendum vote, beside, you fail to call to the attention of your readers the fact that the Constitution has the above two authors classified as the Constitution. Art. III, Sec. 1st: "The affairs of the Socialist Party, its officers, its National Executive Committee, its sub-committee and officials, the National Convention and the general vote of the party." And, Art. X, Sec. 8: "The duties and powers of the National Convention shall be:

(a) To represent the party in all National and International affairs."

This too is the will of the membership, expressed by referendum when the Constitution was adopted. Why did you not call this to the attention of your readers?

Of course, the failure to state the exasperating circumstances and constitutional provisions is a minor matter; the all important thing is to give your readers the impression that the National Executive Committee and the National Convention are an aggregation of official authors.

If the membership in its National Convention, which is the fundamental law of the Socialist Party, says that a referendum must be initiated in a certain way, I presume that it is expected of us to set it into practice and initiated in no other manner, especially when the Constitution has the above two authors classified as the Constitution. If the membership do not initiate a national referendum. But what is a trifle if we are more interested in the will of the members than when the minds of the members are to be influenced against party officials?

In this article and amusing to see how the writer of the article says, "We Must Have a National Emergency Convention," twists and places suits to his satisfaction. In order to do this, he decided upon calling an Amnesty Convention, it was with the hope that the National Executive Committee would accept it. NATIONAL CONVENTION. The thought the committee had in mind was to arouse and combine every element in the cause to the subject of the convention, and bring all possible pressure to bear upon the administration to compel the release of all war-time prisoners.

The impression that the National Executive Committee has been carried on so persistently.

This too is the will of the membership, expressed by referendum when the Constitution was adopted. Why did you not call this to the attention of your readers?

Letter of N. E. C. member L. E. Kosterfeld, to Adolph Germer, Executive Secretary of the Party.

You ask for a statement from N. E. C. members regarding the proposed Party Convention. You are mistaken in asking for my statement. It is true that as a member of the National Executive Committee I shall be in attendance at the Convention as an officially appointed delegate. You claim to oppose the nomination of the national Party convention shall be held. And you and I am not in the least worrying about your convention.

We do not expect our Party leaders and representatives of our Party to stand with that gang against the Convention. I can never forget your efforts at the St. Louis Convention to stop the Convention. I can never forget the Convention that was held at Chicago in 1916. The convention enthusiasts insist that the new world conditions demand a new party declaration: our present declarations and programs are out of date. It will require no extended argument to con­"
An Answer to Germer's Criticism

By Louis C. Frain

6.—The N. E. C. decided to send delegates (in implica-
tion, affiliation) to the Congress of the Great Be-

Mean Committee at Berlin, or the Socialist Socialists, as Socialists and counter-revolutionary-Socialists.

7.—The N. E. C. refused to call a Party National Convention with bourgeois "liberal" and non-

Socialist organizations, a clear abandonment of the class struggle, and the most mortgage of an emergency Convention, because the Party is "brokered." But it would not cost money to hold an "Amnesty Convention? A Party Convention could, moreover, in considering the international crisis, equally and necessarily consider our class war problems.

This is our indictment of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. This is the story of its treachery to international proletarian solidarity and Socialism,—or, in charity, shall we say "incompetency?"

Comrade Germer's whole letter reeks with declarations and insinuations that we are liars. Yet upon what do these baseless accusations? Upon one thing: that we have been infatuated with a theory that at this late date I made an objection to the Queens County motion on the ground that it was initiated by a delegate and not state aid.

But this statement was preceded by a passage which clearly indicates that we didn't depend upon that "information." This is the passage:

The resolution offered by Local Queens has, how-

ever, received the required number of seconds and must be put to a referendum of the membership. But, even the advocate of strict parliamentary proce-

dures and constitutional law, except in such minor mat-

ters as the deletion of the original International Convention or the decision to align our party with a "ghost" party, would recognize that it is consistent to make the motion that will have to be published in the official Bulletin, thereby taking a few days or a week more. In other words, everything is to be done to avoid holding a referendum, which appears—nobody, outside of a few officials, desires, while every-

thing is to be done to delay the referendum for the National Emergency Convention which is called for by the request of many branches and locals.

In this it is clear that we knew the Queens County motion was going to referendum. The passage that came further down is simply supplementary. It was an error. But a error is not a lie. Why did not Comrade Germer simply write us that we had been wrong? No, Comrade Germer's job is to call comrade liars and to cut-fish in the momentous issues now agitating the Party. And that is the same thing as to call comrade liars! In its attitude, The Revolutionary Age has discussed party issues as matters of principles. It has not re-

ferred to the defamation of character— as Comrade Ger-

mer does. We have a strong case; Germer and his crew of moderates have not: hence their petulant tactics.

Our charge against Comrade Germer is that of simple mendacity, and we refuse to inaugurate a referendum which wasn't framed properly. When he received the Local Bulletin, he knew that it was not properly framed: why did he not immediately notify the N. E. C. that such a Party Convention, and he didn't care to inaugurate a referendum to elect by referendum vote, the N. E. C. was in a hurry to participate in Berne, but not in a hurry about giving the left-wing leadership of the emancipation movement through an Emergency Convention. Why did not the N. E. C. suggest a referendum in November, knowing that an International Congress would be held?

Facts are facts. And the facts are that the "Amn-

esty Convention is unanimously (and uselessly) to sabotage the Emergency Convention.

It is disgraceful for Germer to insinuate that we are liars. There are no other alternative. There are some

who are not pleased with our dictatorship. I say to

them, "Go to Siberia and see if the dictatorship is better there. We will willingly place transportation to your disposal." But enough! Comrade Germer's "arguments" are empty, he does not argue, he does not propound? the number of millionaires in Norway has been multiplied by ten during the war. Do you believe that the Nor-

wegian millionaires, less than one out of a hundred in

the late Tsarist days, can be appalled without the blow of a sword?

Or maybe you can tell me how more than twelve million people were killed in the world war? "War until victory!" was written on Kerensky's banners. "War until victory!" was read from the pulpits of every church in this country. We were the only voice in the world for peace.

Civil war is civil war. It writes its own laws. It is like this: Either the proletariat governs or capital rules. The Russian revolutionary class will be the only

Granted to M. Pantuev, of Norway

The main duty of the Russian people during the period of political and social transition is to establish a proletarian dictatorship in the city and country, all with a view of tumbling to the ground the régime of the bourgeoisie, to prevent one individual from making war of another and to establish Socialism under which there will be no division into classes.

"Intervention becomes a more difficult problem for the Allies every day, it would also be very much harmed by giving any assistance to the Bolsheviks in the fight against the Entente countries. At the same time, the Russian Red Army is growing in strength every day.

It is, of course, not entirely impossible that the Entente will attempt to intervene this spring, but this is not likely.

On the agrarian question we are divided into three groups. The half-farmers, or country proletarists, who are our best supporters; the small farmers and the big farmers. The last mentioned are, of course, opposed to us, as we march beloved the path away from the inefficiency of their resistance is broken.

The small farmers, contrary to the more wealthy classes, do not want a revolution, of course, against grain monopoly and desire free trade for their stocks. There is a great lack of materials in the country and of food in the cities. Our economical situation is also very uncertain. Not the least serious factor is the shortage of fuel. As we have just conquered the coal district,
The Revolt of the Small Peoples

There is a conspiracy of Councils in the United States, a conspiracy that brutally instills upon exposing the sinister purposes that skull behind the splendid world war.

This conspiracy of impossibilities. The Conference promises to make peace—and then by its resolutions, revolutionary war against international imperialism. It decides to mediate between the various Russian "factions"—and then proceeds that its real purpose is to crush the Bolsheviks. It promises to conclude a peace of reconciliation and divorce—and then, if reports are true, it determines to impose a peace upon the tsarist government. The Conference finds the German crime at Brest-Litovsk a "gentleman's agreement" and then actually organizes a sort of imperialist trust of five great nations.

But this conspiracy of impossibilities is most cruel to the Peace Conference when it comes to the "small nations" or the "peoples" of the world. Here the conspiracy is posthumously revealed. The Conference as being against the progress and liberty of the world.

The Triple Entente, the apologists of the Allies, was a war to protect the small nations—Belgium and Serbia. Later, according to these same allies, this was a war to free all the small peoples of Europe oppressed by Austria-German Imperialism. During the war, the small nations had undergone a large stage of the events (marinottis whose wires were pulled by the Imperialism of the Allies.) This conference has divided the small nations and oppressed peoples, the representatives of these should have been given real organization, if a determining voice, in the deliberations of the Peace Conference. But not! They were given the usual "gentleman's agreements," and these proceedings are no more.

They tried a revolt in January against the dictatorial government in Big War, were ruthlessly crushed, and since then they have at the Conference acted as if not a determining voice, in the progress of the nations. If not a determining voice, in the progress and liberty of the world.

At this moment, moreover, revolts are raging in the small and oppressed peoples. Famine rages in the small and oppressed peoples. Famine rages in India is in a desperate state. Her men and money were conscripted by Great Britain in the war to protect the small and oppressed peoples. Famine rages in these small nations to which British Imperialism has denied the "opportunity for development. Have been denied the "opportunity for development" by British Imperialism. The British Government is using the troops it has already sold to Her Majesty's and the United States. These three nations control three-quarters of the available finance-capital of the world. Absolutely necessary to a small nation to maintain its own independence, amount to much. They would still be the economic aggressors among these small and oppressed peoples, clashing with the small and oppressed peoples, centralized in the capitalists of Great Britain, France and the United States. These three nations control four-fifths of the left bank of the world. Absolutely necessary to a small nation to maintain its own independence, amount to much. Therefore they would still be the economic aggressors among the small and oppressed peoples, clashing with the small and oppressed peoples, is the task of the international proletarian revolution.

American Soviets May Hold Convention

The spontaneous springing up of Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors all over the United States, gives unmistakable evidence of the revolutionary spirit which now pervades the workers of every country. That, for instance, these Councils will have a hard struggle, goes without saying. They have to contend with the opposition of the employer class of course, but now that revolutionary labor officials have had time to organize their forces, an opposition even more dangerous to their immediate existence is in some of them. Some of these labor officials realize that these Councils are the forerunners of the revolution and are deliberately opposing them in every conceivable manner, for that reason. Others, not so far sighted, fail to see in them anything but a menace to the machinery which they have so carefully built up and which now controls, organized labor. Both of these types feel the old revolutionaries' watch-dogs are now, when they are openly opposing progress, but also in the near future, when they may be driven to work service as unscrupulous confederates in patriotism. Let us study these people and should put mental tags on them for future reference. Learn their names and faces! This is a business.

In spite of all and every kind of opposition which they may meet, these Councils have a real, material basis and will continue to exist so long as they function in the interest of the workers or so long as no other solve so long as no other organizations can. Their mission is the organization and education in revolutionary tactics of all the working class whether in the home or abroad. They represent directly, especially through the channels of their affiliated locals to throw open their meetings to the public and publish the reports of their activities in the press of the country. Their organization is the most complete, perfect, and effective of the American Soviets. Only through these organizations can they function.

Manifesto Edition

Anticipating a good demand for our issue No. 23, containing the amended "Left Wing Manifesto," we printed several thousand additional copies which are available at 2 cents per copy while the supply lasts.

88G Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE
Saturday, April 26, 1919
Imperialism - the Final Stage of Capitalism

By N. Lenin

English investments are absorbed first by her many dominions in America (Canada), in Asia and other parts of the world, and only later, when the ownership of large colonial lands, of which importance we shall discuss later, France is in a different position. Her foreign investments are mainly made in European countries, particularly in Russia and the new France (i) and they are rather in the shape of loans made to governments than in the shape of industrial investments. Foreign investments are chiefly made by English and French financiers in Germany, in the United States and in Japan. French Imperialism is rather a usurping Imperialism. Germany finds herself again in a different position: she is exporting to other countries, and her foreign investments are almost equally divided up between Europe and America. The capital flow into a country has a tendency to develop Capitalism in that country. If that export be a certain degree of stagnation in the exporting countries, it tends on the other hand to bring about a broader and deeper development of Capitalism in the world as a whole.

The exporting countries always manage to secure advantages whose character throws a flood of light on the world situation in your country, not to mention France, are among the various parts of the world. This is what appeared in October 1913 in the Berlin review Book:

"On the international money market there is being performed a comedy worthy of Aristophanes'." One of the number of Prosperity and war in South America. This is what happened in the Berlin review. Book: "A country without a war might carry with the Barons from Russia to Argentina, from Brazil to China are coming openly into the great money markets with advantages. This is the only means of overcoming the contradictions. The profit of the money will make its way to the creditor, always secures certain privileges: and thereby secure decided advantages in return. If that accommodation is not to be maintained, the capitais will have no other choice but to lend for a period. The profits of the traders, the creditor always secures certain privileges: and thereby secure decided advantages in return.

The Left Wing

By C. E. Rothenberg

Secretary, National Committee and its Candidate for Mayor.

The incorporation of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program by Local Cleveland, Socialistic Party, means the repudiation of all purely political or legislative reform and the substitution of mass action by the workers. This means that we will hereafter cease to participate in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of effecting social reforms, but will use political action only as an education. Until the state owns, distributes and exchanges the means of production, we will continue to struggle for the class struggle, has now overtaken the old idea of attempting to carry out various local reforms such as municipal ownership of street car lines. For this, we have substituted the industrial revolution as the only means of overcoming Capitalism, however, national markets are unavoidably bound up with foreign commerce. As the export of capital increased and foreign and colonial sphere of influence were acquired by the leading monopolistic combines, these combines finally came to conclude international agreements among themselves, thus organizing international trusts. This constitutes a step in the world's over concentration of capital and production, a step in advance of the preceding. Let us examine the growth of these super-monopolies.

The electrical industry is, as far as technical progress is concerned, typical of the Capitalism of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th century. It has attained its highest development in the two most advanced capitalistic countries, the United States and Germany. The crisis of 1900 exerts a particularly strong influence on the growth of that industry. Banks, which until then were closely allied to industrial concentration at that time, came to be the prey of smaller concerns, and their absorption by larger ones. "The banks," as so many enterprises which seemed so strong, allowing all the concerns which were not closely enough connected with these to go on. At last, the banks to which it is necessary to add, that the capital of these companies, in order to make a profit, was, in the beginning of the century, made by the profit of the banks, as the result of a process of organization and a new capital.

The result of it was that after 1900 concentration proceeded with gigantic speed. Until 1910 there were several different companies for different parts of the industry, each group made up of several societies, in all and added up a number of banks, from a to each for each group.

(To be continued)
THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Saturday, April 28, 1919

Class Character of Bourgeois Justice

By Nicholas J. Houreich

THE peculiar antics of modern legal justice, its
'it's grimace on the streets, the veil of the
Italian justice by interest, partiality covering the eyes of
the Cottin's sentence of death to justice. I refer to the
enceau for Eugene
official for President or the Attorney General asking for
and all munition officials and soldiers' councils and by
officers the councils constantly in
The other
The establishment of a revolutionary
class-capitalist
1. The abolition of all separate
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.. of the
He peculiar antics of modem legal justice, its
election to the
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and women, in the
and officers, as well as
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and
of the world war. Small agricultural
is what the Spartacists
This is what the Spartacists
The proletarian
not to the
belongs.
The Spartacists Group does not want to attain power over or through the masses of the working people. The Spartacists' view is that the solution of the main question which is conscious of its goal and attempts to wake up the broad masses to a revolution at every stage of the revolution represents the ultimate aim of the Socialists and the solution of national problems in the interest of the proletarian world revolution.

The Spartacists Group refuses to share power with the servants of the bourgeoisie, Ebert and Schuster, because the former is a hireling and the latter is a tool of the capitalistic system. The Spartacists Group will never take over the power of the state, but if the proletariat will not take over the power of the state, unless the masses clearly express their allegiance.
The proletarian revolution can only progress by step by step on its Goliath path, and can only win full citizenship and all the other evils of Capitalism. . . . This proletarian demonstration, these proletarian crises, were always the three threads for the bourgeoisie to ignore them. A "cession" was necessary. A death sentence for Debs and the other bourgeois, a time a veil of materialism, and the bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie, sick at heart and barren of all revolutionary conscience, to the working class implied in the commutation of Cottin's sentence. Angry at being forced to
the bourgeois cannot disguise its grimace of rage with a false smile of Christian mercy.

But no conscious worker will believe that the French "Tiger" has suddenly awakened to humane and
1. It was the demonstration and the threat of the workers in the streets--symbol of the French proletariat and the oncoming proletarian revolution--that brought Eugene
the freedom of worlds.

Anarchist, Cottin who asked for Cottin
for an hundred years. And in this, equally,
no doubt. And in this, equally,
the bourgeois of the workers in the
always has the bourgeois
two things: one, the
the mass of the

When the workers in the bourgeois to in

The facts in the case are such that, until such petition be made by him, I
should not feel called upon to consider making
any recommendations in this case.

Let us analyze these two "impartial" decisions. Their apparent contradiction, from the point of
view of bourgeois justice, its first glance of the world's bourgeois justice, for Anarchist, for attempted murder," gets a commutation of six years to ten years imprisonment; while a Socialist who had delivered a "sedition" speech secures no "impartiality" and also gets ten years imprisonment. Why this apparent contradiction? What is the expla-
ation of this seeming bivouage of the French Government?

... It will be our task to discuss the French Government of humanitarian sentiments or of a tendency
toward the "meek and kind" virtues of Christian-
ity!

We shall easily find the explanation of this apparent contradiction. This "bivouage" of the French
Government is equally expressive of the character of bodies to resist, of the socialist forces that determine its decisions. All that is necessary is that we should transfer our attention from the gilded court palaces in which sits the dictate process of justice, to the streets of Paris where the workers are creating and administering real justice. In the streets, and not in the palaces of the workers' policeman, we should witness the moving force of things.

There, in the streets of Paris, occurred the other day a demonstration of the conscious workers, a
living proof that the long and much-abused patience of the workers is about to spring to the French
... As a protest against the acquisitil of Jaures' murderer, and as a threat of something more dangerous, tens of thousands of workers' policemen, conscious and implacable, under red and black banners, marched through the whole day along the streets of Paris. They did more than march. They did more than protest against the acquisitil of Jaures' assassin. Through the streets of Paris, they demonstrated the failure of the "international" and the cries of protest against the infamy of capitalist justice that hounded in the air, there, came, with ominous and hideous persistency, the cry of the Confédérate, the cry of the Spartacists, the cry of the Anarchists, the cry of the "Lone Live the Soviets!" and the cry, "Lone Live the "Internationale!" In the eyes of the rifle-protests the revolutionary determination in these proletarian hearts. It was more than a demonstration. It was a revolutionary threat, instinct with the determina-
tion to lift the worker the last nail out of the wall and all the other evils of Capitalism. . . . This proletarian demonstration, these proletarian crises, were always the three threads for the bourgeoisie to ignore them. A "cession" was necessary. A death sentence for Debs and the other bourgeois, a time a veil of materialism, and the bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie, sick at heart and barren of all revolutionary conscience, to the working class implied in the commutation of Cottin's sentence. Angry at being forced to
the bourgeois cannot disguise its grimace of rage with a false smile of Christian mercy.

But no conscious worker will believe that the French "Tiger" has suddenly awakened to humane and Christian feelings. No! It was the demonstration and the threat of the workers in the streets--symbol of the French proletariat and the oncoming proletarian revolution--that brought Eugene
the freedom of worlds.

No! he will never ask for clemency, and ask no one to do it for him. Of that there is no doubt. And there is equally no doubt that the French bourgeoisie, following the example of their English patrons, will take "justice" into their own hands. That day is approaching when freedom for Debs and the other revolutionary fighters.

The Spartacists justice is living its last days. . . . The day of proletarian justice is coming!

Program of the Spartacists in Germany


MASS MEETING