THE soul of man is an adventurous soul. The great adventure of humanity, its ascent to the sovereignty of life, is a Wunderkind, a spiritual manifestation of the infinite in the finite, a soul in which the unity of courage and aspiration issues its defiance to death. The soul of man is in that Great Adventure which is Life.

If you can invoke the spirit or the Great Adventure in man, you loose a force that is uncontrollable. It was this soul, this adventurous yearning for the light and a new world, that was used consciously and calculatedly by the masters of bourgeois society and, in man, you loose a force.

"The Great Adventure in man is life and the world, aviation offered us another symbol of the unquenchable spirit of the Great Adventure, they made their flight, magnificent, unafraid."

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

The Great Adventure became the great tragedy—while preparing man for that real Great Adventure which is Life.

Man's conquest of nature, his mastery of the earth and the winds, the sea and the sky, is the means of his ascent to life itself. In this world of misfortune, where does the conquest of nature is the Great Adventure, which never ends and which always inspires new conquests.

Into the sky and the winds and over the sea, man, with a machine built by his ingenuity and sustained by courage and aspiration, tried to do that which was never done before—the mystery of the deep—over the terrible depths of the sea. These aviators were to fly through an air never charted by man; above an atmosphere of a thousand feet thick, in the waters of its being. Mischap was death; hesitation, was death—the winds might direct them to disaster and the waters close over them in death. But, with the spirit of the Great Adventure, they made their flight, unjealous, unafraid.

And the most adventurous of all were those who almost met disaster. The Americans had planned it all; they had prepared to kill death itself. They had all the ingenuity of man—courses had been charted, ships were everywhere to assist in case of mishap. The danger was there; but it was lessened.

But the ones who almost met disaster, the Britishists aghast with the mystery and joy of the open ocean, made no preparations. They had no cold hearted; they had no months of preparation behind but there was enough there against death. They met death, that is the maker of life for those that would come after them, that death which is the finish of the spirit of the Great Adventure. Others shall come, and others shall conquer the depths of the sky and the ocean and the winds with death to accomplish their dooms. They almost met death, that death which is the maker of life for those that would come after them, that death which is the finish of the spirit of the Great Adventure. Others shall come, and others shall conquer the depths of the sky and the ocean, and the malignity of the winds. It is in life of that death that shall meet death in order that others may inherit and maintain it.

But man's conquest of nature is not the end of his Great Adventure. The conquest of nature must finally meet and unite with man's conquest of man, with the conquest of society for man, and for life the joy of life from the spirit. Hawker and his unconquerable comrades almost met death in order that man might conquer over nature. At the moment that they met death and conquered, other men, aye, and women and children, too, were actually in the midst of the Great Adventure that man might conquer over man, conquer society for man and for life, for peace and work and happiness.

Just as nature, while proficing life conspires against life, so, in man, producing society conspires against man and society. The conspiracy is the conquest.

The Great Adventure

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Bands, on behalf of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America, C. U. Partington, National Secretary of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of New York City.

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialists of America to advance the party, hereafter to practice the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the socialist parties in America, with the Congress of the Great Britain, to advance the party over national revolution—this all, and more, this and above all, the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for concern and action.

This call is therefore issued for the holding of a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

1. The crisis in the party, and action thereon;
2. The New International and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "International" of the social-patriots, of the Elektor-Schindelen gangsters, and the wavering center; alliance with the Russian-Spartacus Internationale alone.
3. The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes by the Left Wing of the American Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.
4. Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing, for propaganda, for information and spreading information.
5. To capture and destroy the revolutionary forces in the party; to consider other means of furthering the cause: to end the revolution as a party.
6. This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branch, county or state or group, or local, or mass, or regional, or national, or any one of the various bodies of the Socialist Party of America, in the United States, to act against the Social Democratic Party of America, and the American Socialist Party, and the American Labor Union, to unite with the Socialist Party of America, to act against the American Labor Union, and the American Socialist Party, and the American Labor Union.
7. Left Wing locals are invited to send delegations officially. Where a locally official refuses to participate, leasures or minority groups in the party, the principles of the Left Wing should learn.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegations officially. Where a locally official refuses to participate, leasures or minority groups in the party, the principles of the Left Wing should learn.

Left Wing locals or groups are invited to send delegations officially. Where a locally official refuses to participate, local unions, or groups, are invited to send delegations officially.

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

The Great Adventure

The Great Adventure of our generation is not the conquest of man over nature, but the conquest of man over man, of Society over Capitalism, of revolution over oppression and misery.

Consider that Great Adventure which is revolution—Russia, the soul of the ages. After an agonizing war, exhausted and starved by its malevolent fury, the Russian people overthrew the despotic power of Czarism, they aspired of the past, they asserted their independence of the past. But they were still 

The only avail is to conquer the oppression of nature, to free the Oppression of man in the midst of the revolution.

What avail is it to overcome the tyranny of Czarism, if the masses of men condemn the workers to death in industry, in order to maintain the Socialist Revolution over oppression and misery.

The Great Adventure of the Revolution calls you, men and women of the proletariat. The conquest of man over man is the conquest of the Socialism over Capitalism.
The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

Louis C. Fraina

Editor

Contributing Editors

Joseph Reed

Sen Katayama

I. N. Hough

Louis Lore

Eademon MacAlpine

ISSUED EVERY SATURDAY
By Local Boston, Socialist Party
H. G. Steiner, Business Manager
895 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Subscription $1.00 for six months (26 issues)
Bundle orders 25 cents a copy

A Warning

FRANK A. VANDERLIP, president of the National City Bank, has long been considered as one of the few men from the capitalist ranks who has an intlielligent grasp of the world situation. He has just returned from Europe and unlike the others of his cltry, by one or other of the "Four Four" that the policy of Europe has no tales of atrocities, nationalization of women, mass terror, or other bogeys. But he has quite a lot to say about the ruinous condition of Russia. Apparently he has kept his eyes and ears open and has not allowed his prejudices to bias his judgment. He came back to tell of Europe seething with revolt. The masses are beginning to realize that the cause that they are fighting for is a cause worth fighting for. Now comes a statement of the fantastic nature of the situation, and it is this realization... grows the determination of a generation to throw off the shackles of a system which has been in power for nearly five years."

The report that "thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors, armed with swords, rifles, and other missiles, marched upon the House of Commons" gives some insight of the measure of the situation in recent days. At least in theory the British government has not arrested and thrown into jail or shot down in hatches all the Allies."

The Poles have refused to recognize the Russian Soviet Government because "it does not represent the majority of the Russian people and maintains itself by force."

Why is Poland thus favored when it is obvious that the Allies are recognizing no part of the actions of the nations they recognize—armed with rifles and more powerful nations? The answer is given in the phrase "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Poles are to be given "freedom" because they stand up for that which is right, and not that which is wrong, and even that which is illegal. But the situation is complicated. "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Bolsheviks must be put down in order that the world may be made safe for democracy. Poland and her allies are ready to fight the Bolsheviki in order to prevent their destroying the great service that has been rendered to the world in beating down labor. So Poland is to be forced to stand up for the laws and to prevent their being used against the Russian workers and peasants.

A Labor in England

The report that "thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors, armed with swords, rifles, and other missiles, marched upon the House of Commons" gives some insight of the situation in recent days. At least in theory the British government has not arrested and thrown into jail or shot down in hatches all the Allies."

The Poles have refused to recognize the Russian Soviet Government because "it does not represent the majority of the Russian people and maintains itself by force."

Why is Poland thus favored when it is obvious that the Allies are recognizing no part of the actions of the nations they recognize—armed with rifles and more powerful nations? The answer is given in the phrase "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Poles are to be given "freedom" because they stand up for that which is right, and not that which is wrong, and even that which is illegal. But the situation is complicated. "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Bolsheviks must be put down in order that the world may be made safe for democracy. Poland and her allies are ready to fight the Bolsheviki in order to prevent their destroying the great service that has been rendered to the world in beating down labor. So Poland is to be forced to stand up for the laws and to prevent their being used against the Russian workers and peasants.

A Labor in England

The report that "thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors, armed with swords, rifles, and other missiles, marched upon the House of Commons" gives some insight of the situation in recent days. At least in theory the British government has not arrested and thrown into jail or shot down in hatches all the Allies."

The Poles have refused to recognize the Russian Soviet Government because "it does not represent the majority of the Russian people and maintains itself by force."

Why is Poland thus favored when it is obvious that the Allies are recognizing no part of the actions of the nations they recognize—armed with rifles and more powerful nations? The answer is given in the phrase "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Poles are to be given "freedom" because they stand up for that which is right, and not that which is wrong, and even that which is illegal. But the situation is complicated. "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Bolsheviks must be put down in order that the world may be made safe for democracy. Poland and her allies are ready to fight the Bolsheviki in order to prevent their destroying the great service that has been rendered to the world in beating down labor. So Poland is to be forced to stand up for the laws and to prevent their being used against the Russian workers and peasants.

A Labor in England

The report that "thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors, armed with swords, rifles, and other missiles, marched upon the House of Commons" gives some insight of the situation in recent days. At least in theory the British government has not arrested and thrown into jail or shot down in hatches all the Allies."

The Poles have refused to recognize the Russian Soviet Government because "it does not represent the majority of the Russian people and maintains itself by force."

Why is Poland thus favored when it is obvious that the Allies are recognizing no part of the actions of the nations they recognize—armed with rifles and more powerful nations? The answer is given in the phrase "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Poles are to be given "freedom" because they stand up for that which is right, and not that which is wrong, and even that which is illegal. But the situation is complicated. "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Bolsheviks must be put down in order that the world may be made safe for democracy. Poland and her allies are ready to fight the Bolsheviki in order to prevent their destroying the great service that has been rendered to the world in beating down labor. So Poland is to be forced to stand up for the laws and to prevent their being used against the Russian workers and peasants.

A Labor in England

The report that "thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors, armed with swords, rifles, and other missiles, marched upon the House of Commons" gives some insight of the situation in recent days. At least in theory the British government has not arrested and thrown into jail or shot down in hatches all the Allies."

The Poles have refused to recognize the Russian Soviet Government because "it does not represent the majority of the Russian people and maintains itself by force."

Why is Poland thus favored when it is obvious that the Allies are recognizing no part of the actions of the nations they recognize—armed with rifles and more powerful nations? The answer is given in the phrase "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Poles are to be given "freedom" because they stand up for that which is right, and not that which is wrong, and even that which is illegal. But the situation is complicated. "The Allies' one time fighting was going on with the Bolsheviks."

The Bolsheviks must be put down in order that the world may be made safe for democracy. Poland and her allies are ready to fight the Bolsheviki in order to prevent their destroying the great service that has been rendered to the world in beating down labor. So Poland is to be forced to stand up for the laws and to prevent their being used against the Russian workers and peasants.
Clear the Decks!

The controversy on principles and tactics in the Socialist Party is coming to a head. It is connected with the question of the membership and the decision of the moderate-officials and counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the party, leading to split the party in order to retain control.

Instead of meeting argument with argument, facts with facts, the petty-bourgeois Social Democrats, in the Party are answering the recite of the membership with expulsions and with acts that threaten the whole membership.

Branch after branch of New York affiliated with the Left Wing, has been expelled; and now the National Executive Committee, in session at Chicago, expelled 10 of the 20 members of the Michigan, with threats of other expulsions. This, clearly, is a criminal attempt to steal votes from Left Wing candidates, in order that the moderates may be "elected." It is, moreover, a desperate attempt to "isolate" the fires of revolutionary Socialism, lest they burn away all the fires of the moderates.

Nor are these actions isolated. They are proceeding upon a definite theory, formulated by that master strategist of the right, Emma Goldman. In an article in the New York Call of May 21, "The Socialist Task and Outlook," Miss Goldman propounds her theory. The article is, on the one hand, a cleverly camouflaged plea for moderate Socialism disguised as "radical;" and on the other, an open war against the Left Wing. Miss Goldman insinuatingly adopts the language of the revolutionary Socialist; but every stroke she makes is the Bolshevist and the Spartacists, acting as gangsters and betraying the Left Wing for revolution.

Why are these tactics necessary? If the majority of the membership is for moderate Socialism, why are the moderates disqualifying members from voting, stating ballots as a way to "keep up the" "majority"? It is because they recognize that the majority is against them and, if not now, will be against them in a few years. They wish to publish the revolutionary upsurge in the Socialist Party! So the moderates adopt the tactics of brute force, of a desperate minority best upon rule or ruin.

Clear the decks? Yes! Revolutionary Socialism in the Party accepts the challenge. If it is a minority, we are not afraid to organize a new party; we are so afraid to act precisely as the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists did: American Socialists shall form a Communist International, and it shall respond to the Bolshevik-Spartacist call for solidarity and action! Our comrades call-answer!

You cannot mix laborism and petty bourgeois "Socialism" with revolutionary Socialism. You cannot betray Socialism and yet claim to represent the proletarian revolution.

Clear the decks! Clean them—Clean.

But this clearing of the decks must be done by the membership of the Party: there are a few traitors, acting as gangsters and betraying Socialism. We accept the challenge, but we refuse either to secede or be expelled from the Party by Hillquit, Germer, Steedman & Co. We refuse to allow the reactionary N. E. C. to sabotage our movement. We refuse to allow the N. E. C. to anticipate the action of the Emergency National Convention of the Party. The membership, in the National Convention are the supreme expression of the Party: the N. E. C. cannot abdicate in order to retain control. It means that "Socialism" which means a betrayal of Socialism. Let the moderates the betrayers of Socialism organize a new party, be Free and Fair.

We refuse to turn over the Socialist Party to the moderates. We shall not abandon the struggle to revolu- tionize the Party, for the membership is overwhelmingly revolutionary. We shall reorganize the Party, we shall crush the moderates and the traitors and the bad workers after their expulsion from the Party. We shall affiliate the Party in membership in that Communist International of which the Bolsheviks and the Socialists are a part of the Party of Italy, of revolutionary Socialism in all lands. We shall conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism.

Clear the decks!

The slogans of the moderates is: Split the Party for moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism.

The slogans of the Left Wing is: Conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Communist International.
AFTER the defeat of the revolutionists in Finland, part of the Finnish-Social Democracy found refuge from the White Terror on the territory of Russia. Lacking a connecting centre these Finns scattered in all directions, and the number that now over one hundred Finns have settled in Tomsk.

The “Organization of Finnish Social Democrats Abroad” which was created about this time was so completely devoted to the interests of aiding the refugees—establishment of refugee colonies, supplying work to thousands who were unemployed, organizing Finnish regiments of the Red Army—that very little attention was paid to build up the Party: clubs and circles were established and soon it became necessary to call a congress to centralize and connect the growing organization.

In addition to a part of the membership of the former party, including some of the leaders such as Valpäiä Cheminin, only aided in the work of disruption. The paper, Vapaudus (Freedom), established in Petrograd after great difficulty, devoted itself almost exclusively to criticizing the revolutionary government, ignoring the inner party organization. But the spirit of organization engendered through many years of effort was bound to triumph. The masses, themselves, who were too weak to build up the Party: clubs and circles were established and soon it became necessary to call a congress to centralize and connect the growing organization.

Finally at the end of last August a congress was held in Moscow. About 120 persons attended, but only a small proportion had definite credentials; it was decided to accept all those who came to the congress, as members of the so-called “preliminary conference.”

The question facing this conference was whether it was now time to restore the Finnish Social Democratic Party, which had been destroyed by the White Terror, and to revise the program, tactics, etc. On this question the Moscow and Petrograd Finnish Communist Clubs subsequently reported, which had as a basic aim: “The former Party is dead and we must build on its ruins a new party—the Communist Party.”

Kuusinen described in detail the growth of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, pointing to its gradual development from the position where the parties were gained, to parliamentarianism. He also showed how the formerly strong trade union movement of Finland gradually lost its revolutionary spirit, and how industrial development had become a purely reformist labor movement. He traced the manifestations of these facts during the revolutionary days—while the revolutionary working masses were aspiring, growing, discussing, that class feeling, towards proletarian dictatorship, the leaders and the main organs of the Party centered their attention on legislative measures not within the hands of dictatorships but of universal franchise; putting in the forefront of their activities the gaining of “democratic liberties.” This he declared was one of the main causes of the defeat of the revolutionists, arguing that if the revolution in Finland had been looked upon as a phase of the international proletarian revolution the Red Army could have been saved and the strengthening which had been given to the German infiltrations to the White Guards. But as the revolution was regarded as a national phenomenon—as a struggle of classes within Finland—its international significance was lost and the Finnish workers isolated themselves.

What was the use, he asked of organization and propaganda work for fifteen years if at the decisive moment they were called “democratic slogans” as universal suffrage, constituent assembly, etc. He urged the building of a new Party on a return to the Marxian basis, which had been ignored in the programme of parliamentarism and trade unionism.

In the lengthy discussion that followed the speech two sharply diverging points of view were manifest: one for Communism and the other against it. The opponents of Communism tried to evade the issue. They accepted in principle the dictatorship of the proletariat and the aspiration to crush the bourgeoisie, but said that the international proletarian revolution fail, the imperialists of all lands would join hands for the purpose of strangling Soviet Russia. It would be better to be ready for all sorts of emergencies, and therefore, the fighting for civil liberties, their enactment by legislative measures, the raising of the economic level of the workers, should be their immediate aims, as only through the accomplishment of these aims would they ever be ready for the seizure of power.

After the discussion the Left Wing submitted the following program which was carried by a vote of 74 to 16, four abstaining from voting:

1. The proletariat must resolutely prepare for armed insurrection and must discard the pre-revolutionary methods of struggle: parliamentarism, trade union and cooperative organizations and other such means on which the Finnish Social Democratic Party had hitherto supported itself.

2. All labor movement based on Communist teachings and having for its ultimate aim the socialist revolution is acceptable. The groups and parties who share opposite views must be branded and their agitation and the movement absolutely combated.

3. The aim of the revolution is the seizure of power by the proletariat; therefore its object is the abolition of the bourgeois state.

4. By the power of a proletarian dictatorship a Communist government is established. In this, all land, factories and all means of production and distribution are confiscated, and production and distribution organized on Communist lines through the disciplined bodies of the proletariat.

5. To conduct an energetic propaganda and agitation for the international proletarian revolution.

After the acceptance of this program the work of the “preliminary conference” was finished and the 74 delegates who voted in favor remained to continue the work of establishing the Finnish Communist Party.

Let us Clean House

By Alanson Sessions

We will overlook Mr. Stokes’ abysmal ignorance with reference to the progress and accomplishments of the revolution. But it is worth pointing out that the fact that this is the fault that Mr. Stokes and all who shared his opinion were committed to the so-called “bourgeois democratic slogans” as universal suffrage, constituent assembly, etc. He urged the building of a new Party on a return to the Marxian basis, which had been ignored in the programme of parliamentarism and trade unionism.

In the lengthy discussion that followed the speech two sharply diverging points of view were manifest: one for Communism and the other against it. The opponents of Communism tried to evade the issue. They accepted in principle the dictatorship of the proletariat and the aspiration to crush the bourgeoisie, but said that the international proletarian revolution fail, the imperialists of all lands would join hands for the purpose of strangling Soviet Russia. It would be better to be ready for all sorts of emergencies, and therefore, the fighting for civil liberties, their enactment by legislative measures, the raising of the economic level of the workers, should be their immediate aims, as only through the accomplishment of these aims would they ever be ready for the seizure of power.

After the discussion the Left Wing submitted the following program which was carried by a vote of 74 to 16, four abstaining from voting:

1. The proletariat must resolutely prepare for armed insurrection and must discard the pre-revolutionary methods of struggle: parliamentarism, trade union and cooperative organizations and other such means on which the Finnish Social Democratic Party had hitherto supported itself.

2. All labor movement based on Communist teachings and having for its ultimate aim the socialist revolution is acceptable. The groups and parties who share opposite views must be branded and their agitation and the movement absolutely combated.

3. The aim of the revolution is the seizure of power by the proletariat; therefore its object is the abolition of the bourgeois state.

4. By the power of a proletarian dictatorship a Communist government is established. In this, all land, factories and all means of production and distribution are confiscated, and production and distribution organized on Communist lines through the disciplined bodies of the proletariat.

5. To conduct an energetic propaganda and agitation for the international proletarian revolution.

After the acceptance of this program the work of the "preliminary conference" was finished and the 74 delegates who voted in favor remained to continue the work of establishing the Finnish Communist Party.

The General Strike in Canada

The general strike which a short time ago was considered impossible in the Americas, now looms large and three cheers and the first week of the Win­ nipeg strike finds the workers daily gaining strength while throughout the Dominion the idea of the sympathetic strike, the living demonstration of the just as many labor, is spreading rapidly. The Central Strike Committee in Winnipeg has the situation well in hand. It was estimated that 74 delegates who voted in favor remained to continue the work of establishing the Finnish Communist Party.

Some months ago J. G. Phelps Stokes wrote me a letter which contained the following: "You speak of yourself as being a Bolshevik. I trust that you are a Bolshevik only as regards ideals, and that you do not think that it would be a wise policy to attempt to implement millennial conditions by force of arms. For the Bolsheviki of Russia are trying to do. Millennial conditions of a type that will last can only be obtained as a result of a long educational process, and of a highly developed form of political democracy that only educated men can, through its instrumentality, proceed in safety to develop such forms of industrial labor as have been reached by the freedom of the whole community. I cannot believe that anything but chaotic conditions akin to those of Cap­ tain Kidd and his men or the most meager of industrial powers here and there by groups aiming at their own advantage."
OMARDES: At the end of my letter of the 26th March I added: "to the American workers."

Now, at the 12th of January, 1919, I received the following letter from the American workers: "We have been struck by the power of the German Social Democrats, who forever contaminated themselves by their alliance with the imperialistic brigand bourgeoisie of Germany, and with the imperialistic governments. At the time of writing the above mentioned letter, the German Social Democrats continued to side by side with the Scheidemanns and their spies, who have continued themselves by their alliance with the imperialistic bourgeois of Germany and with Wilhelminism; while the Spartacists in Germany, the representatives of the international, the real revolutionary, the socialist, the working-class movement, are fighting the struggle and creating a real reality. Its formation has not yet been formally established, yet, in fact, the Third International is already acting. It has since been organized, at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919.

Now, no one can be a workman, no one can be a Socialist, can fail to see what shameful treason against Socialism was perpetrated by those who, in line with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries of Russia, with the Scheidemanns, with the Renanistes of France and Vandervelde in Belgium, with the imperialistic bourgeoisie in all countries, France, England, and with the whole bourgeoisie of the spoils of brigandage makes for increased hostility between Italy and France, between France and England, between England and America, between America and Japan, and between the Allies and the rest of the world, between the capital and the proletariat.

Side by side with these cowardly puny-wise mongers are still the presidents of bourgeois democracy, side by side with these "Socialists," who ter-or-defended their "imperialistic governments," and who openly declare: "It is against "military intervention in Russia"—side by side with them we see in the Allied countries an increase in the number of those who cry: "The road to the capitalist empire, the road, or the road of MacLean, Deb, Lorot, Lazzari, Seebach, Vandervelde, etc.—of the road of the bourgeoisie, of the imperialists—of the road of the manipulating leaders of the Allies, the Cadets, and the Mensheviks. They are nothing but the tools of the bourgeoisie, and the annihilation of bourgeois representative governments, only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the annihilation of bourgeois parliamentary government, only Soviet Russia (as it stands for a symbol of the fidelity of a leader to the interest of the proletariat, and for fidelity to the Socialists' revolution this is a symbol for the real convinced, devoted, self-sacrificing, guiltless struggle against Capitalism; this name is a symbol for the ruthless war against the proletariat—not in words, but in action, a struggle ready for sacrifice, even when one's own country is in the grip of the hysterics of imperialistic victories. Together with Liebknecht and the Spartacists stands everything that has remained of the genuine Socialism and the genuine Socialists, all that is most conscious within the proletariat, the exploited, in whose desire for the spirit of revolt and for the birth to revolutionary actions.

Against Liebknecht stands the satellites of Scheidemann and the Social Democrats and the American representatives of the Kaiser and bourgeoisie. They are traitors, "Socialists," such as Samuel Gompers, Veblen, and the rest of them. We have not yet seen the end of the struggle and the struggle will lead to victory.

Karl Liebknecht—his name is known by workers in all countries, everywhere, but especially in the Allied countries, for it stands for a symbol of the fidelity of a leader to the interest of the proletariat, and for fidelity to the Socialists' revolution this is a symbol for the real convinced, devoted, self-sacrificing, guiltless struggle against Capitalism; this name is a symbol for the ruthless war against the proletariat—not in words, but in action, a struggle ready for sacrifice, even when one's own country is in the grip of the hysterics of imperialistic victories. Together with Liebknecht and the Spartacists stands everything that has remained of the genuine Socialism and the genuine Socialists, all that is most conscious within the proletariat, the exploited, in whose desire for the spirit of revolt and for the birth to revolutionary actions.

Against Liebknecht stands the satellites of Scheidemann and the Social Democrats and the American representatives of the Kaiser and bourgeoisie. They are traitors, "Socialists," such as Samuel Gompers, Veblen, and the rest of them. We have not yet seen the end of the struggle and the struggle will lead to victory.

The struggle of 1914-18. This war has completely revealed the capitalist class, its tactics. It has broken with Gompers and Renner. Slowly but surely the bourgeoisie is privileged, it continues its imperialistic campaigns, and it has succeeded.
Proclamation of Commander in Chief of all the
Armed Forces of the Russian Soviet Republic,
Vatsetis: countersigned by Members of the Reve-
olutionary, Administrative, and Military Commlttees of the
Chief of the General Staff at the Front, Major,

I N accordance with the decision of the All-Russian
Central Executive Committee, I have assumed com-
mmand of all the armed forces of the Russian Re-
public, with a view to expel and drive all the forces
of the state against the enemies threatening it from all
sides.

Everyone understands that this task is a difficult
one, one in which personal consciousness of the difficult
and complex character of this problem. But, at the
same time, I believe and hope that with the aid of the whole
command of the Workmen's and Peasants' Red Army and
all the true revolutionary forces of the country,
I shall succeed faithfully and conscientiously in carry­
ing out my task and defeating our insolent enemy, thus
safeguarding the rights of the poor and of the worker.

Now all are aware of the fact that the armed de-
monstrations of the Czecho-Slovaks, which at first
seemed insignificant, assumed the magnitude of an
immense confusion, an uprising of various count­
trywide forces which are attempting to en­
circle the country, threatening nearer to us the numerous
barricades of White Guards and of the other of the
confrontants must perish: either they or we. I firmly believe that we shall conclude this
mission from this struggle, for we are fighting in a
sacred cause—for the rights of the poor, for fraternity
and justice, and this must triumph over slav­
ery and exploitation.

But, firmly believing in all that, I cannot, to my
deep regret, speak as confidently about my immediate
side. I intend to act in accordance with the command of
military units and to whom have been given responsible
aides who have been entrusted with the command of
the other of the

CRIMEA

KRAUZE.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE
Saturday, May 31, 1919

Problems of the Soviet Army

By A. Nyemanov

American “Democracy” and the European Workers

(Continued from page 454)

The other day, according to newspaper dispatches,
in a number of cities of Sweden meetings were held
to protest against persecution of Socialists and indus­
trialists in our “free Russia” under the leadership of
the bourgeoisie, or rather of the bourgeois press. The
Swedes are apparently very well posted in this
matter. There were about 2,000 “political offenders” being
pinned away in the prisons and cells of American democracy.
They know all the real methods of punishment of which
American courts resort.

The Italian Socialists are also well informed on the
real situation on this side of the Atlantic. The Italian
Socialists have been conducting a similar propaganda
campaign, relative to the severity of Amer­
ican war laws. The general feeling in Italy is to
celebrate the presence there of Mr. Wilson, the
Italian Socialists did not fail to express their feel­
ing of indignation regarding the persecution of the Ital­
socialists and industrialists in America.

The American labor press with the “Labor Lead­
ner” at the head, prints biting articles against Amer­
ica, such as those expressing the horror of the
sentences—20 year prison confinement—which
four workers, while in continuous to severe
Gun service of the Abdul Hamid times; legislative bills
which fix a punishment of five years imprisonment for
having “unlawful literature”—all these laws have
secured wide publicity in the European countries.

Similarly, to those days when stormy meetings of
protest against the Czar's reaction were held in Amer­
ica, now such meeting are being held by the European
workers as a protest against American reaction.

Times are changing. The legend of a “liberal” and
“freedom loving” America is no more. Faith in
the possibilities of negotiation with the American
bourgeoisie is being exposed to the realities of the
American bourgeoisie republic. The workers of the
world now are more strengthened the spirit of our
Republic, giving it the power and opportunity to
boom for many, many years to come.

American “Democracy” and the European Workers

Problems of the Soviet Army
The Left Wing Manifesto and Program

By Louis C. Fraina

THE MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM

The Left Wing Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Congress of New York City, which has been adopted by a local after local of the Socialist party in this city, is a statement of the policy and practice of the dominant Socialist during the period of World War I.

The Social Democrats of Europe, unable or unwilling to meet the crisis of the war, were unwilling to deal with the suffering of the people against the war, denouncing it in different ways, from the public, was accordingly denounced the coming general war as "national" by Socialism and Marxists accepted the war of "national independence" as an argument in favor. In Germany, Marx's views concerning the morality of war were against General War, and the coming war was declared an "imperialist" war by the capitalist classes. But Marx was speaking of revolutionary Socialism, and the coming national independence war was "national" to Socialism and Marxists accepted the validity of "national independence." Precisely in this moment, the question was not whether Socialists accept the war of national defense, but whether as imperialists or as revolutionaries, the coming war was to be national defense; it ameliorates national independence in its struggle for territorial and financial domination. The thesis here is that the proletariat, in the struggle of all national "rights," is and was the character of the working class. These "theoreticians" of "national independence" were accordingly, were sheer sophistry of moderate Socialism. The proletariat: this is Socialism. The policy of the Basle Manifesto is to accept the war as a war of "national defense." In one national war was fought to prevent "imperialism." The Basle Manifesto, as the "theoreticians" of Socialism accepted the validity of "national defense," and the Basle Manifesto, as the "theoreticians" of Socialism accepted the validity of "national defense," was accordingly, was sheer sophistry of moderate Socialism.

"The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war is necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.

The war was necessary for the proletariat irresistible. It is justified by the war against the bourgeoisie against the war. The war signalized the beginning of international imperialism, a war in which the whole bourgeois society was thrown into the crucible of change. Capitalism, verging on collapse, was unable to endure without Imperialism and unable to solve the problems of imperialism. The war, the class struggle, and the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism, the state to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism.
THE Cook County Convention of May 17-18 re­

The Left Wing victory on the Local Cook County on the firm basis of revolutionary socialism.

The Left Wing committed to the Left Wing victory in the election.

This unique look tracks the course of the great Russian Revolution from March 1917 to October 1918, in the words of the two masters of the Revolution.

The Social Revolution in Germany

The Social Revolution in Germany

The Social Revolution in Germany

The Social Revolution in Germany