In This Issue:
Left Wing Convention, Manifesto and Program

"Nothing Doing!"
The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE LEFT WING SECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY

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Reaction Dominant

The American Government, under the control of Capitalism, is apparently bent on revealing all the depths of its reactionary character.

While the capitalist press lavishes its praise upon the Peace—and particularly upon the "liberating" mission of the government of the United States—the acts of the government and the words of the conscious representatives of American Capitalism reveal the purpose to impose reaction and conquer world power for "social imperialism.

The Senate brutally speaks of "America's interests." Open scorn answers the old slogans about "making the world safe for democracy." "Ideals" have served their purpose—power is now the only ideal.

Financiers—while the political "liberators" pose—are quietly but systematically mobilizing their forces for the conquest of world power and the suppression of the proletariat. Finance-Capital determines the action of the Peace Conference and of American diplomacy.

The infamous assault upon the liberty of Soviet representative Martens is followed by an insolent, brutal answer of the American government to Soviet Commissariat Chicherin's protest against the violation of Marten's rights. This process, together with ruthless attacks upon Socialist organizations—by means of law and legislatures, and the foul slander of the gutter—

Throughout all this looms the sinister menace of intervention in Mexico—to aggrandize American capital.

Socialism is dominant—necessarily dominant. It is the characteristic of Capitalism. The official A. F. of L. accepts reaction. The official Socialist Party promotes reaction by its miserable compromising policy. But labor thinks and prepares to act. Out of reaction issues the forces for the militant class struggle against capitalism.

Another Expulsion

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has expelled the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, comprising about 6,000 members. The basis for this is the acceptance of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program by the State Convention.

Simultaneously, comes the news that the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio, by a vote of 47 to 7, has adopted the Left Wing Manifesto, and decided to organize a new party on September 11, if all delegates to the Emergency Party Convention on August 30 are not seated. Will National Secretary Germer expel the Party in Ohio?

The Left Wing does not recognize these expulsions. Our procedure is this: All state and local organizations of the Socialist Party (whether expelled or suspended) must elect their delegates to the Emergency Convention. Not to do this is to abandon the struggle in the Party, to surrender to the bureaucracy.

These delegates, with their credentials, will appear at the Party Convention as if no expulsions or suspensions had been perpetrated.

If they are seated (through a Left Wing majority within) we shall proceed to reorganize the party on a Communist basis.

If they are not seated, all Left Wing delegates will secede, and organize a new Communist Party.

This was the procedure decided upon by the National Left Wing Conference. Any act that interferes with this date strikes directly at the Left Wing, and revolutionary Socialism.

Expulsions? Let them expel! Our task is to secure the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party. If the Left Wing does not control the official party, what is it? Again: our task is to secure the revolutionary masses for a Party of Communist Socialism.

The Peace

With all the pomp and ceremony of the Medieval conquerors, the great "democrates" have dictated their "peace" terms to the vanquished. No detail that would reveal the true nature of the peace was lacking. The old barbaric forms were strictly adhered to, even to the final humiliation of the vanquished.

All the great words, all the heroic phrases, all the high idealism—vanished! and the scene revealed only the age-long spirit—"Woe to the vanquished!" Never did feudal knight so force his victor to swear of garrison, with sterner disregard for the "humanities," never were the forces of disease and famine more implacably invoked. "Starve or surrender," said the Peace Conference. "Starve or go" said the "great democracies."

So the Germans signed, and "peace" is proclaimed to the world!

A peace that is merely an armistice, merely a truce that is the beginning of new antagonisms, with which the treaty is replete, develop—and then new wars. A peace that is the final proclamation to the peoples of the world that capitalism knows not of peace, that Imperialism must be satisfied on continental war. A Peace that condemns mankind to incessant bloodshed—unless the world prostrates itself, and sweeps away society, that so arrogantly proclaims its bankruptcy.

After five years of war, of the mobilization of the world for destruction, of the concentration of the entire world's resources for the destruction of the world's peoples on the work of feeding the flames of international hatreds; after six months of diplomatic intrigue, of the fencing for the "greatest military" of bourgeois society, a treaty was signed and the face of peace is solemnly proclaimed to the thunder of the guns that has been roaring across the twenty-two war zones raging throughout the world, and the sinister preparations of all for the wars that are developing out of the new antagonisms, heralds peace for the world. 

Even while the "statesmen" in Paris sign the treaty their colleagues in their respective parliaments lay new plans for the raising of gigantic armies and the building of huge navies. Even while they bend to affix their signatures their armies leap at the throats of the new republics they, themselves, have called into being. The names of liberation that once cried to draw together the trysting knot round and strangle workers and peasants of Russia and Hungary. While they speak of democracy and freedom, they starve three nations and prepare to set against the people of Russia the representative of the Czarism these people have overthrown.

Peace is signed, but war is raging.

The representatives of Capitalism have proved themselves incapable of settling the problems confronting society. They have proved incapable of settling the problems that confront themselves. Even the authors of this peace are unable to protect themselves from each other. The representatives of Capitalism from the vanquished peoples have equally proved incapable of settling the problems of their own lands.

There is only one answer to the peace of Versailles. Russia and Hungary have given it in clear and unequivocal terms. Only where the broad masses of the people are in the power of their own hands is the might of the conquerors impotent. Before the revolutionary workers and peasants, the cruelty of diplomacy and the threats of armed might are alike helpless.

Capitalist-Imperialism, by its peace of violence, is bankrupt, is dragging society into chaos. Like a beacon light the revolutionary soviets point the way to world security. Society stands at its choice: either to reaction and disaster.

A Correction

(Publication Unavoidably Delayed.)

Editor "Revolutionary Age":

In your issue of May 17, you printed a letter (address not indicated) in which Herman Shuster makes it appear as if, although a member of the I. W. W., he had received no assistance either from the Chicago headquarters of the organization or from the New York Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

We have been unable to get in touch with the New York branch of the I. W. W. to request you to correct the erroneous impression you have helped to create by printing Shuster's letter without first ascertaining the facts.

On receipt of the letter Shuster mentions having sent to Louis Ratnofsky on Feb. 4, the N. Y. Defense Committee directed a Boston lawyer to call on Shuster, and also made arrangements for his release on bond, but he wrote back that it was "too cold." Before the Shuster's misstatements, and take this opportunity to recommend that, in future cases of this sort, out of fairness to your readers as well as to those directly concerned, you inquiring the facts before you print an "unsigned" letter.

NEW YORK DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

Per James Doyle, Secretary.
Clear the Decks!  

The struggle in the Socialist Party, between moderate Socialism and revolutionary Socialism, has assumed a character making a split not alone inevitable, but necessary. A split that is necessary cannot be evaded. The integrity of a movement is more important than the unity of a party. The unity of a party is a means to an end; and when the end itself is jeopardized by this unity, the unity must be broken.

There is a tendency to attach too much importance to the expulsions perpetrated by the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party. These acts constitute treachery, of a particularly mean variety. But that is not the issue. The issue is much more fundamental, and the fundamental aspects must be emphasized: the issue comprised in the impossibility of reconciling revolutionary proletarian Socialism with moderate petty bourgeois Socialism.

The N. E. C. and the reactionary party bureaucracy generally are animated, not by its campaign of terror and extortion, but fundamentally by their particular conception of Socialism, which is not in any sense in accord with fundamental Socialism. They are concerned about one thing and another, but above all things, fundamentally by their particular conception of Socialism, which is not in any sense in accord with fundamental Socialism. They are concerned about one thing and another, but above all things, fundamentally by their particular conception of Socialism, which is not in any sense in accord with fundamental Socialism.

There is no compromise conceivable on this fundamental issue. An issue of a treacherous bureaucracy, an issue of momentary disputes and trades-union activity, which, while dominating the Socialist movement until now, is directly contrary to the actual facts of the proletarian class struggle in its revolutionary implications.

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The Left Wing is of whom and for whom? Of moderate Socialism for State Capitalism; or of revolutionary Socialism for the Communist conquest of the world. Moderate Socialism is the annihilation of Socialism; it is jeopardized by this unity, the unity must be broken.

But this broken unity becomes the condition for the emergence of a revolutionary Socialist movement. It means the easier conquest, if of the machinery of the Socialist Party, of the revolutionary masses in the Party.

The Left Wing has conquered the Socialist Party. That is indisputable. Equally indisputable is it that the moderates may, through police power, control the Emergency National Convention on August 30, refusing to admit the delegates of suspended states and locals. In that event, the Left Wing will constitute its own Convention, which is the organization of a new Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism.

Should the Left Wing capture the Party Convention, it will proceed immediately to reorganize the Socialist Party on the basis that it is a Communist Party. This implies not simply the adoption of resolutions; it means not simply a transformation in words, but in deeds. The moderates, under these circumstances, will secede; and we shall hasten their secession by the implacability of our policy.

It is necessary to clear the decks. Conquer the Socialist Party for a Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism!

Debs in Prison

Much has been written of the liberal treatment which Debs received at the hands of the authorities since his incarceration. But this liberality apparently ceased with his transfer to Atlanta Jail. Since then no news has been received of his treatment and his comrades have been living under a false impression. Whatever may have been his fate in Mount Eden Jail, a brutal autocracy has since seen to it that Debs suffers all the rigors of prison discipline. In Atlanta Jail, Gene Debs, the piling heart of the American Socialists, is now groined and bent in the physical body with years of service in the cause of the oppressed masses of America—and the world, is condemned to work in the clothing factory during the hours of sunlight. From 5 o'clock in the evening until 7 in the morning Debs, in whose soul is the freedom of the washing sea, of the rushing wind as it sweeps the plains, is locked in a narrow cell, like a beast in a cage. For twenty minutes each day he is allowed to exercise out of doors, for twenty minutes each day he may tramp the prison yard and "gaze upon that little tent of blue that prisoners call the sky." He is prohibited from reading any Socialist or radical literature, he may not receive any packages and he is permitted to send only one short note each week to his family.

This is Capitalism's answer to Socialism. Let Socialism answer Capitalism.

Bolshevijkabs

CHINA refuses to sign the Peace Terms—which merely proves that all the money we have spent on missionaries failed to corrupt the heathen.

"And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany" says President Wilson in speaking of the Peace Terms. We would have to go the other way round and said: "It is much less than a treaty of peace with Germany—it is a declaration of war."

General Smuts' protest which accompanied his signature shows at least that he learned something from his visit to Hungary.

We suppose that the signing of the document in Versailles means that we can now proceed with the other 22 as war in peace.

There is an important omission in the newspaper accounts of the ceremonies at Versailles. The entire press forgot to mention that the Bolshevik were not present.

Their absence must not, however, be taken as indicative of a lack of interest on their part. It was merely due to the fact that they feel that they need not sign the Peace Terms. The Peking Government would do the job to their entire satisfaction.

How well their expectations have been fulfilled is proved by the fact that they intend to make the Peace Treaty their chief means of propaganda.

Lenin is quoted as saying that he regards the document as a masterpiece, while Trotsky is of the opinion that a comparison of the propaganda values of the Paris document with those of the one signed at Brest-Litovsk conclusively prove that in this field the Allies are immeasurably ahead of the Germans.

"After Brest-Litovsk" says the Russian war minister, "we swung Hungary into line and we were enabled to make the first definite impression on Germany herself. With the Versailles treaty as a basis we expect to swing the rest of the world into line and complete the conversion of Germany to the principles of Bolshevism."

It is reported in London that, as spokesman for the Monarchs' Union, King George has objected to the document on the ground that it gives the revolutionists altogether too much propaganda material. The Mikado has also lodged a formal protest on the ground that the League of Nations has usurped his Divine Rights.

On the other hand Samuel Gompers expressed himself as entirely indifferent, saying that if the A. F. of L. could survive Atlantic City it certainly was proof against any propaganda written in Versailles.

The Lusk Committee took a more serious view of the matter and, while stating that Versailles was outside its jurisdiction, informed our correspondent that it had the subject under consideration and would probably seize the document if it entered through the port of New York and thus prevent its distribution in America.

William English Walling was one of the few people entirely satisfied. He said that he knew all along that democracy could be relied upon.
The National Left Wing Conference

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party has unified and organized itself nationally. At its first National Conference, held in New York City starting May 18th, the Left Wing was animated by a fundamental and unalterable determination to conquer the old Socialist Party for the revolutionary Socialism of the Communist International.

The most important issue before the Conference was whether a Communist Party should be immediately organized by the party elements for a Communist International. The Conference was overruled by large majority to wage the struggle within the Party unconditionally; and the production of the Socialist Party, its politics and tactics, as the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party.

The Left Wing Conference was overwhelmingly a proletarian body. It was animated with a fine spirit of enthusiasm, which nothing could daunt. For four days the delegates labored over important problems, and the product of their labors was an organization basis and a theoretical formulation for a real party of revolutionary Socialism. It was the Bolshevik Conference, appreciating the vital necessity of a Bolshevik policy for the American proletariat. The one hand, the prejudices of Menahem delegates were overwhelmingly beaten; and, on the other, a tendency toward Anarcho-Syndicalism met with absolutely no response. In the final analysis, this Conference stands alone in the history of American Socialism.

The Conference was composed of over 90 delegates from 20 different states, coming overwhelmingly from large industrial centers, the heart of the militant proletarian movement, such as New York, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, Philadelphia, Providence, Pittsburgh, Hartford, Chicago, Minneapolis, Duluth, St. Paul, Detroit, Kansas City, Denver, Cleveland, and Oakland, Cal. The Left Wing has taken firm root in New England and the Pacific Coast, in the Northeast and Middle West, in New Mexico, wherever the militant proletariat is in action. A letter was received from dozens of communist federations, including the Fort Leavenworth Prison, greeting the Conference as the inspiration of revolutionary Socialism.

Louis C. Fraina was elected temporary Chairman, and in his opening address sounded the keynote of the Conference:

"This Conference is an expression of the upsurge of revolutionary Socialism within the Party. The crisis in Capitalism has created a crisis in Socialism, and this crisis goes to the heart of our revolutionary problems. The proletarian revolution is not a mere old tactical concepts of Socialism; and the inspiration of the Bolshevist conquers, joining with the original minority Socialism in the Socialist Party, has produced the Left Wing. In spite of a reactionary bureaucracy, revolutionary Socialism is conquering the Socialist Party, proclaiming that in spite of the dead policies of the past, it will lay the basis for a revolutionary Socialist movement. Our Socialism will not consist only in the masses in the party, but the proletarian masses outside the party. This Conference has an historic mission to perform, and it will perform it in accord with the militant traditions of revolutionary Socialism. Our task is not an immediate revolution; it is the task of organizing and preparing for the revolutionary struggle."

The Credentials Committee, consisting of Max Cohen (N. Y.), J. Lurman (Mass.), Jack Carney (Duluth), A. Wagenknecht (Ohio) and J. Stillson (Chicago) proceeded to consider credentials. Pending their report various delegates spoke concerning conditions in their local movement. Zucker, of Kings County, spoke in favor of the immediate organization of a Communist Party, after which the Chair urged that this particular problem be discussed when it actually should come before the Conference. John Reed, just returned from attendance at the A. F. of L. Convention, gave a satirical and critical sketch of the proceedings, indicting the A. F. of L. as a betrayer of the workers.

The report of the Credentials Committee respecting the seating of 66 delegates from 14 states (other delegates being seated at sub-sequent sessions) but split on the question of seating 15 delegates representing the Central Committees of the Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukraine, Estonian, Lithuanian and South Slavic Federations. The majority recommended seating them as full delegates. Max Cohen, as the minority, opposed this, arguing that the Federations were already adequately represented through regular delegates they elected or participated in electing, and that these delegates from the Central Committees meant duplicate representation. The majority report was accepted.

With the adoption of the Credentials Committee's report Fraina vacated the chair, and William Bross Lloyd of Chicago was elected permanent Chairman, A. Remer of Detroit Vice-Chairman, Fannie Horowitz of New York permanent secretary, and Rosenthal of Philadelphia assistant secretary. Committees were then elected as follows:

* Manifesto and Program: Fraina (Boston), Batt (Detroit), Stockelzky (Chicago), Ruther-emberg (Cleveland) and Ferguson (Chicago).
* Labor Committee: John Reed (N. Y.), Ben Gillow (Brooklyn), A. Anderson (Boston), Car-ney (Duluth) and Jurgis (Boston).
* Resolutions: John Ballam (Boston), Bross (Chicago), Dry (Chicago), Gils (N. Y.), Mau-rin (Boston) and Stillson (Chicago).

At the second session, Sunday afternoon, the Committee on Manifesto and Program reported. It was recommended to the Conference that the approval of the Manifesto be left to the National Council, and that only the Program be considered. After a discussion, in which the members of the Committee and other delegates took part, the procedure was adopted. Ferguson then read the Program on behalf of the Committee, which was considered point by point. It was in two parts, the one a program, consisting of a summary of the Bolshevik Call for an International Communist Conference and the Left Wing Section of Program of the Communist International; the other a Program devoted to the program of the Left Wing.

An interesting discussion took place, particularly on mass action; Batt of Detroit opposed the Committee's report on mass action, arguing that the term mass action should be dropped, that it was already definitely none-politicallly, and that the Left Wing Section of the Communist International; the other a Program devoted to the program of the Left Wing.

The minority, consisting of Nicholas I. Hourwich, reported in favor of the immediate organization of a Communist Party, that a National Council of nine members should be elected to compose the executive organ of the Left Wing Sec-

* The Revolutionary Age (to be adopted by the New York Communist).
* The Name of the Party (to be adopted by the National Council).
* The Resolution (to be adopted by the National Council).
* The Program (to be adopted by the National Council).
immediately sever all connections with the Socialist Party of the United States and pro­
ceed at once with the work of organizing a new party."

Practically all the delegates participated in the discussion. The advocates of an immedi­ate organization of a Communist Party argued that this was the psychological moment; that

further work in the Socialist Party would silently undermine that organization; that we should organize immediately on an un­
compromising party basis. The opponents answered that a Communist Party could only be or­
ganized; that no one could oppose this party, and that the only issue was one of judgment

and compromising party basis. The opponents immediately sever all connections with the

Socialist Party in Chicago, September 1, to organize a new National Convention. The call

was not a Menshevik one, but simply a call to organize a Communist Party itself. A National

Council of nine members, elected by the Conference itself. A minority of two, Hourwich and

Lindgren, brought in a minority report that, in addition to these nine, there shall be at

least seven other members to be elected one

each by the Central Committees of the Rus­

sian Federations (this, in time, would mean

accepting the editorship of the Federal Con­

ference by Central Committees of the Language Fed­

erations). This proposal would have meant

that the Conference could not approve of separate and duplicate representa­

tions already being adequately represented by delegates at the Conference it­

self; and that we should have membership con­

trol, not Central Committee control. The min­

ority report was defeated. A National Coun­

dcil of nine members was thereupon elected, as follows: C. E. Rutheenberg, of Cleveland;

Louis C. Fraina, of Boston; J. E. Ferguson,

of Chicago; John Ballam, of Boston; James

Larkin, of New York; Eadmon MacAlpine,

of New York; William C. Nathan, of New

York; Max Cohen, of New York; and Bert

Wolfe, of New York. (At the first meeting

of the Council, Fraina was elected Editor of

The Revolutionary Age, and MacAlpine Man­

aging Editor; these two comrades there­

upon resigned as members of the Council.)

On the third day, the Conference, consisting

mostly of the Federations, decided, after a'

caucus, that they would withdraw further ac­

tivity in the Conference because of its attitude

on the Communist Party, these delegates resign­

ing from all committees and having pre­

viously declined nominations for the National

Council. The 31 practically bolted the Con­

ference.

At the following sessions (eight in all were

held) the reports of the Committees on Mani­

festo and Program, Labor Organization and

Resolutions, were disposed of. A discussion

of the report of the Committee on Imperialism

describing the I. W. W. The report of the

Labor Organization Committee was finally

adopted, recommending that the executive body of the Left Wing shall be a National Coun­

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ference.
The Left Wing Manifesto

THE world is in crisis. Capitalism, the prevailing system of society, is in process of disintegration and collapse. Out of its vitals is developing a new social order, the system of Communitarian Socialism; and the struggle between this new social order and the old is the fundamental problem of international politics.

The predatory "war for democracy" dominated the world. But now it is the revolutionary proletariat in action that dominates, conquering power in some nations, mobilizing to conquer power in others, and calling upon the proletariat of all nations to prepare for the final struggle against Capitalism.

But Socialism itself is in crisis. Events are revolutionizing Capitalism and Socialism—an indication that this is the historic epoch of the proletarian revolution. Imperialism is the final stage of Capitalism, and Socialism means stern reaction and new wars of conquest—unless the revolutionary proletariat acts for Socialism. Capitalism cannot reform itself; it cannot be reformed. Humanity has learned from its last excesses only by the Communist Revolution. There can now be only the Socialism which is one reformer, and purpose, with the world's revolutionary struggle.

There can be only the Socialism which unites the proletariat of the whole world in the general struggle against the desperately destructive Imperialisms—the Imperialisms which array themselves as a single force against the overwhelming proletarian revolution.

THE WAR AND IMPERIALISM.

The prevailing conditions, in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism, are a direct product of the war; and the war was itself a direct product of Imperialism.

Industrial development under the profit system of Capitalism is based upon the accumulation of capital, which depends upon the expropriation of values produced by the workers. The accumulation of capital promotes itself by the concentration of industry; the competitive struggle compels each capitalist to secure the most efficient, or the least conducive to the destruction of Imperialism—the Imperialisms which array themselves as a single force against the overwhelming proletarian revolution.

The concentration of capital produces monopoly, and monopoly expresses itself through dictatorial control exercised by finance-capital over industry, and finance-capital unifies Capitalism for world-exploitation. Under Imperialism, the banks, whose control is centralized in a clique of financial magnates, dominate the whole of industry directly, purely upon the basis of investment exploitation, and not for purposes of social production. The concentration of industry implies that, to a large extent, industry within the nation has reached its maturity, is unable to absorb all the surplus-capital that comes from the profits of industry. Capitalism, accordingly, must find means outside the nation for the absorption of this surplus. The older export trade was dominated by great goods, and monopoly. In Imperialism, the exportation of capital depends upon the exportation of raw materials, and upon the exportation of machinery, in short, predominantly a trade in iron goods. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials, and to control undeveloped territory, produces Imperialism.

A fully developed capitalist nation is compelled to accept Imperialism. Each nation seeks markets for the absorption of its surplus capital. Undeveloped territory, possessing sources of raw material, the industrial development of which will require the investment of capital and the purchase of machinery, becomes the objective of capitalist competition between the imperialistic nations.

Capitalism, in the epoch of Imperialism, comes to rely upon its "prosperity" and supremacy upon the exploitation and enslavement of colonial peoples, either in colonies, "spheres of influence," "protectorates," or "mandatoried." It seeks markets for the exportation of millions of subject peoples in order to assure high profit and interest rates for a few million people in the favored nations.

This struggle for undeveloped territory, raw materials, and investment markets, is carried on "peacefully" between groups of international finance-capital, by means of agreements, and between the nations by means of diplomacy; but a crisis comes, the competition becomes irreconcilable, and the nations resort to war.

The antagonisms between the European nations were antagonisms as to who should control undeveloped territory, sources of raw materials, and the investment markets of the world. The inevitable consequence was war. The issue being world power, other nations, including the United States, were dragged in. The United States, while having no direct territory in the Imperialistic war, was concerned, since the issue was world power; and its Capitalism, having attained a position of financial world power, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The imperialistic character of the war is climaxed by an imperialistic peace—a peace that strikes directly at the peace and liberty of the world, which organizes the great imperialistic powers into a sort of "trust of nations," among whom the world is divided financially and territorially. The League of Nations is simply the screen for this division of the world, an instrument for joint domination of the world by a particular group of Imperialism.

While this division of the world solves, for the moment, the problems of power that produced the war, the solution is temporary, since the Imperialism of one nation can prosper only by limiting the economic opportunity of another nation. New problems of power necessarily arise, producing new antagonisms, new wars of aggression and conquest—unless the revolutionary proletarian conquerors in the struggle for Socialism adopt a policy of joint domination of the world.

The concentration of industry produces monopoly, and monopoly produces Imperialism. In Imperialism, the concentration of industry results in the concentration of industry, the material basis of Socialism.

Production moreover, becomes international. The League of Nations is simply the screen for this division of the world, an instrument for joint domination of the world by a particular group of Imperialism.

The Left Wing Manifesto

Issued on Authority of the Conference by the National Council of the Left Wing

The Left Wing Manifesto

Imperialism.

The Collapse of the International

In 1912, at the time of the first Balkan war, Europe was on the verge of a general Imperialistic war. A Socialist International Congress was convened at Basle to act on the impending crisis. The Basle Manifesto condemned the coming war as Imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretense of national interest. The Basle resolution declared:

1. That the war would create an economic and political crisis; 2. That the workers would look upon participation in the war as a crime, which would arouse "indignation and revulsion" among the masses; 3. That the crisis and the psychological condition of the workers would create a situation that Socialists should use "to rouse the masses against the downfall of Capitalism"; 4. That the governments "fear a proletarian revolution" and should remember the Paris Commune and the revolution in Russia in 1905, that is, a civil war.

The Basle resolution indicted the coming war as imperialistic and that Socialists should oppose it. The war was in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912; or at the time of the Agadir crisis. But, upon the declaration of war, the dominant Socialism, contrary to the Basle resolution, accepted and justified the war.

Great demonstrations were held. The governments and war were denounced. But, immediately upon the declaration of war, there was a change of front. The war credits were voted unanimously. The dominant Socialism favored the war; a small minority adopted a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism.

The Basle Manifesto simply required opposition to the war and the fight to develop out of its circumstances the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the war and Capitalism.

The dominant Socialism, in accepting and justifying the war, abandoned the class struggle and betrayed Socialism. The class struggle is the heart of Socialism. Without strict conformity to the class struggle, in its revolutionary implications, Socialism becomes either a thin Utopianism, or a method of reaction. But the dominant Socialism accepted "civil peace," the "unity of all the classes and parties," in order to wage successfully the Imperialistic war. The dominant Socialism united with the governments against Socialism and the proletariat.

Capitalism, the class struggle comes to a climax during war. National struggles are a form of expression of the class struggle, whether they are revolutionary wars for liberation or imperialistic wars for the absorption of territory. It was a war that material conditions provide the opportunity for waging the class struggle to a conclusion. The cry of the proletariat in the war was a war for world-power—a war of

The Left Wing Manifesto
the capitalist class against the working class, since world-power means power over the proletariat.

But the dominant Socialism accepted the war as a war for democracy— as if democracy under Capitalism is not already counter-revolutionary! It justified the war as a war for national independence—as if Imperialism shared not only the form, but the essence of domination with the old national states. It might as well have been called, the international unionism of all the petty bourgeois State Socialists, the united front for the concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital. As one moved from one side of the international unionism to the other, they met, formed a juncture, and united to try to use the state to improve their conditions. The dominant Socialism justified the decent thoughtful development of policy of legislative reforms and State Capitalism, making the revolutionary class struggle a parliamentary process.

This collapse did not mean, obviously, the abandonment of fundamental Socialism. It meant working on the basis of the bourgeoisie that it was not the struggle to destroy that state; it meant the "co-operation of classes" for State Capitalism, instead of the transformation of the proletarian revolutionary Socialism, of the proletarian dictatorship. Moderate Socialism, Government ownership, the object of the middle class, was the policy of moderate Socialism. Instead of the revolutionary theory of the necessity of conquering the state, of the historical process through state control and regulation of economic life itself, of the destruction of the bourgeois social order. But while the masses made the Revolution in Russia, the bourgeoisie usurped power and organized the regulation bourgeois-parliamentary republic. This was the first stage of the Revolution. Against this bourgeois republic, organized the forces of the proletarian revolution. Moderate Socialism in Russia, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, united with the Cadets, the party of bourgeois Capitalism, in a coalition government of bourgeoisie and aristocracy of labor. In this war "against German militarism," in national ideals, in parliamentary democracy and the co-operation of classes.

The proletariat, urges on the poorer peasantry, conquered power. It accomplished a proletarian revolution by means of the Bolshevik policy of "all power to the Soviets," of organizing the new transitional/state of proletarian democracy. But the proletariat, having achieved this, fell back, and was compelled by its very conditions to struggle for the

(Continued on Page 8)
international revolution of the proletariat, the war having initiated the epoch of the proletarian

The revolution in Germany decided the controversy. The first revolution was made by the masses, against the protests of the domi­nant moderate Socialists, represented by the Social-Democratic Party. As in Russia, the first stage of the Revolution realized a bour­geois revolution, with power in the hands of the Social-Democratic Party. Against this bourgeois republic organized a new revolution, the proletarian revolution, rejected by the Social-Democrats. And, precisely as in Russia, the dominant moderate Socialism opposed the proletarian revolution, opposed all power to the Soviets, accepted par­liamentary democracy and repudiated pro­letarian dictatorship.

The intransigent Germany could not be obscured. Germany had been a fully developed industrial na­tion, its economic conditions mature for the introduction of Socialism. There was an insufficiency of disin­clinations that the socialists in Germany and Rus­sia, the dominant moderate Socialism pursued a similar counter-revolutionary policy, and re­jected the revolutionary conception of the state developed the counter-revolutionary policy of moderate Socialism.

Revolutionary Socialism, on the contrary, in­sists that the democratic parliamentary state can never be the basis for the introduction of Socialism; that it is necessary to destroy the parliamentary state, and construct a new state of the organized producers, which will deprive the bourgeoisie of political power, and function as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletarian revolution in action has con­clusively proved that moderate Socialism is incapable of mobilizing the proletariat for revolution, for the conquest of power of the state, by means of revolutionary action and pro­letarian dictatorship.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

The upsurge of revolutionary Socialism in the American Socialist Party, expressed in the Left Wing, is not a product simply of Euro­pean conditions. It is, in a fundamental sense, the product of the experience of the American movement—the Left Wing tendency in the Party having been invigorated by the expe­rience of the proletarian revolutions in Europe. The dominant moderate Socialism of the International was equally the Socialism of the American Socialist Party.

The policy of moderate Socialism in the Socialist Party comprised its policy in an at­tack upon the larger capitalists, the trusts, maintaining that all of distrust that the les­ser capitalists and the middle class, the petite bourgeoisie—are material for the Socialists, struggling against Capitalism.

The doctrine Socialism dominant in the Social Party asserted, in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts and the realization of Socialism depends upon the unity of the “people,” of the workers, the small capitalists, the small investors, the professions,—in short, the official Socialist Party actually depended upon the petite bourgeoisie for the realization of Socialism.

The concentration of industry in the United States gradually eliminated the small produc­ers, which initiated the movement for govern­ment ownership of industry, and for other re­forms proposed to check the power of the phi­locracy; and this bourgeois policy was the ani­mating impulse of the practisers of the Socialist Party.

This party, moreover, developed into an ex­pression of the unions of the aristocracy of labor,—of the A. F. of L. The party refused to engage in the struggle against the reaction­ary unions, to organize a new labor move­ment of the militant proletariat.

While the concentration of industry and social developments generally conserved the revolutionary task of realizing the typical peri­od of unskilled labor, massed in the basic industries. This proletariat, expropriated of all property, denied access to the A. F. of L., required a labor movement of its own. This impulse produced the concept of indus­trial unionism, and the I. W. W. But the moderate Socialism rejected industrial unionism openly and covertly entered against the I. W. W.

Revolutionary industrial unionism, moreover, was a recognition of the fact that extra­parliamentary action was necessary to accom­plish the task the revolutionary political party should be and a new proletarian state of the organized producers constructed in order to realize Socialism. But the Socialist Party did not only repudiate the form of industrial unionism, it still more emphatically repudiated its revolutionary political implications, cling­ing to petty bourgeois parliamentarism and re­formism.

United with the aristocracy of labor and the middle class, the dominant Socialism in the Socialist Party necessarily developed all the evils of the dominant Socialism of Europe,—and, particularly, abandoning the immediate revolutionary task of realizing the revolutionary unionism, on the basis of which alone a militant Socialism could emerge.

It stultified working class political action by limiting political action to elections and par­ticipation in legislative reform activity. In every single case the Socialist Party has and elected public officials they have pursued a con­sistent petty bourgeois policy, abandoning Socialism.

This was the official policy of the Party. Its representatives were petty bourgeois, moder­ate, hesitant, oblivious of the class struggle in its fundamental political and industrial im­plications. But the compulsion of life itself drew more and more proletarian masses in the party, who required simply the opportunity to initiate a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia provided the opportunity. The Social­ist Party, under the impulse of its membership, adopted a militant attitude against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The official policy of the party on the war was petty bourgeois pacifism. The bureaucracy of the party was united with the bourgeois People’s Council, which accepted and carried out those who rallied to the Council in opposition to the war.

This policy necessarily developed into a repudiation of the revolutionary action of the Socialists. When events developed the test of ac­cepting or rejecting the revolutionary implica­tions of the declaration against the war, the party bureaucracy immediately exposed its reactionary policy, by repudiating the policy of the Russian and German Communists, and re­fusing affiliation with the Communist Inter­national of revolutionary Socialism.

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

Imperialism is dominant in the United States, the country, which is now a world power, which is now a world power. It is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism against the proletariat. American Capitalism is utterly incompetent on the problem of the proletariat's movement, as in Seattle and Winnipeg. The mass struggle of the proletariat is coming into being.

A minor phase of the awakening of labor is its mass organizations organized in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class; its policy would in general be what is now the official policy of the Socialist Party—reforming Capitalism on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism; and it is as much a sys­tem as moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism.

Our task is to encourage the militant mass actions of strikes, which are equally a revolt against the bourgeois party and against the employers. These strikes will con­stitute the determining feature of proletarian action in the days to come. Revolutionary Socialism must use these mass industrial revo­lutions to broaden the strike, to make it general and militant; use the strike for political objec­tives, and, finally, develop the mass political strike against Capitalism and the state.

Revolutionary Socialism must base itself on the mass strike as a means to carry into effect, in the struggle directly in these struggles while emphasizing the revolutionary character of Socialism and the revolutionary character of the conflict, the revolutionary character of the state that provides the material basis out of which to develop the conflict.
Aat this moment two campaigns are being carried on within the American Socialist Party. One is a campaign to defeat the transformation of the party into an organ of revolutionary socialism. The other is an intensive campaign of Socialist education, ever carried on in the United States.

The internal control of the Socialist Party, now centered in the repudiated National Executive Committee and in some of the local executive bodies, is being used to reward the demand of the overwhelming majority of the membership that the Socialist Party shall cease to play capitalist politics, which it was in revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat.

The Left Wing movement within the party has been in actual terms a campaign of education, to which those who have not yet grasped the full significance of this new assertion within the party, who have not yet visualized the real challenge of life which must be clearly expressed in real and ethical events since August 4th, 1914. They realize that the historic changes of these five years cannot be without moment in the world of social democratic politics, in an international interaction of the proletariat.

Socialists everywhere—Socialists who really think and feel in true proletarian consciousness—have been moved to the depths of their souls by events since August 4th, 1914. They realize that American Socialism can no longer remain the confused, listless, anaemic expression of the class struggle. It must become a proletarian consciousness. For 1918 the Oklahoma average was 9,774. Next came Ohio with 8,098. Ohio was added to the list of states with over 5,000. The big gains for the year of 9,774, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Massachusetts also stood above the 5,000 mark. For 1917 the Oklahoma average was under 2,000, with New York at 12,642 and Illinois, 8,998. Ohio was added to the list of states with over 5,000. The big gains for the first part of 1917 are in New York, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Massachusetts. From 1916 to 1917, 13 Western and South-Western agrarian states lost approximately 14,000 members.

It is at once apparent that there has been a fusion of the blooms within the Left Wing Party during the past two years. The losses have been rural, petty bourgeois, losses in favor of the Nonpartisan League. The gains have been proletarian, cosmopolitan, international.

In other words, the stress and strain of war, revolution and prosecution—prosecutions which recognize our revolutionary class policy in spite of the party's bourgeois reformist platform—the international world and American Socialism has already changed the face of the party notwithstanding the stubborn refusal to record this change in the party program. The American party, formerly a Socialist organization of farmers, shop-keepers, professions, etc., with its working class membership, has now become predominantly of the petty bourgeois craftsmen type, has now become predominantly an organization of the industrial proletariat, massed Greeks, etc. Nothing could reveal more clearly the fundamental explanation of the easy conquest of the party for revolutionary Socialism. It is the party which speaks the real proletarian aspirations.

Recently the party officials, still mouthing the phrases of Socialist internationalism, have been instant upon an American Socialist Party which is American in membership and American in its program and methods. In this they manifest their utter blindness to the truths of Socialism and of the social conditions about which they speak. In what country have not the active Socialists been branded as "foes of alien workers"? In what country have not the "agitators" been advertised as "aliens"? What a degree of reactionism is revealed by this Socialist aping of the blood-suckers who heap fulsome flattery upon the immigrants while in meek servitude, only to curse, harass, and kill them when there is an assertion of class action?

Think of Americanizing an international party by eliminating Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Letts, Jugoslavians, and Hungarians, meanwhile keeping within the fold Germans, Scandinavians, Jews, Finns, Italians, Greeks, etc. Nothing could reveal more clearly the unprincipled, hypocritical, inherently reactionary character of the official Socialism challenged by the Left Wing.

The industrial proletariat, in the United States, is predominantly of foreign birth. Of the native elements, the largest groups are those who are the products of the alien working class. But even this is beside the point, for the struggle against Capitalism is not a national but a world struggle, and when is this more apparent than in the present phase of open alliance of the capitalist forces in the League of Nations for the object of checking the on-sweeping social revolution? Even American Imperialism was quick to accept its mutuality of obligations in laying seige to Soviet Russia, though the American economic interests in Russia are relatively of small account.

It is only the corruption and decadence of the opportunistic Socialist parties which makes understandable how the true Internationalism of the early Communists and of the First International became the lip-internationalism of the Second International. The betrayal of the class-conscious proletarians of the United States by their party officials in making a juggling of phrases out of the whole conception of Socialist internationalism—in the midst of a world-wide proletarian responsiveness to the great challenge of revolution—is a betrayal of the same calibre as that of the worst Socialist reactionism of Germany, France, and England. It lacks only the setting of a crisis of action to make it conform to the sequences of the Scheidemann-Ebert-Kautsky treason to the Social Revolution.

Out of this Left Wing movement were anything more than the beginning of a world-wide proletarian responsiveness to the great challenge of revolution?

As if the Left Wing movement were anything more than the beginning of a world-wide proletarian responsiveness to the great challenge of revolution?
The Communist Program

THE Left Wing Program is implied within the terms of the program of the Communist International, as it is consistent with the concrete form.

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist Movement of the United States with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacists of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership Unions, etc., and like.

3. We insist that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchic or democratic, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Socialist transformation.

4. We favor organized party activity in cooperation with class-conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

a) The Party shall propagate industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

b) The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to develop the understanding of the struggle in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—nor if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial success enterprises and financial trusts.

Program of the Left Wing

1. adopted by the National Left Wing Conference.

2. A) The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which can utilize the instrument for the taking over of world power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working-class power.

b) The “Center,” at present theoretically led by Kautsky (by Hillquit in the United States), representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous.

c) The revolutionary Left Wing.

3. As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moments oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciful task is absolutely necessary. As regards the other groups, action must be separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders.

4. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

5. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

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Labor Organization and Agitation

The purpose of the Left Wing organization is to create a revolutionary working class automobile, and to demand that the action of the working masses themselves, will lead to workers' control of industry and the state, and that of appropriating capitalist property and abolishing classes in society.

The capitalist state, as has been clearly proven, is based on the workers' organizations, whose purpose shall be the permanent destruction of capitalist power by the expropriation of capitalist property.

The absence of any feudal class in America permitted the capitalist class here to concentrate all its strength upon the robbery and subjugation of the working class. At the same time the founders of the American Government framed the Constitution as to guarantee the perpetuation of a capitalist dictatorship, without any opportunity, under the law, of the workers ever gaining control. For the purpose of blinding the working class and enlisting its support, the fundamental law was framed so as to guarantee the taking over of industry.

In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this article, there must be recognition of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America in the ranks of the I.W.W., and pledge them our wholehearted support and co-operation in their struggles.

In the Labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes. This tendency, an impulsion of the workers toward cooperation across the frontiers of craft-divisions, is expressed most clearly in the Seattle Resolution outlining a plan for the recognition of the American Labor into twelve great industrial departments, and also in the One Big Union movement of Canada and the West. It carried to its logical conclusion, this method organization and action would inevitably result in workers' control of industry.

To that end it is an instruction to all editors, propagandists, and members to advocate the principles of the One Big Union. Further, where members of the Left Wing are compelled by the monopoly Job Control of the American Federation of Labor, to be members of that reactionary organization, which is in our opinion the main buttress of the Capitalist oligarchy by industries of the country, such members should also enroll in an industrial union covering the section of industry in which they are engaged and, if no union functions in the area wherein they have their habitations, it shall be the paramount duty of such member to initiate an industrial union within such area.

The National Left Wing declares its firm and unswerving loyalty to the American Federation of Labor, in its present general state of affairs, and its present leadership, is entirely reactionary, and cannot be of any value in the workers' struggle for emancipation.

II. PROGRAM.

The National Left Wing Conference of the Socialist Party appeals to the workers to educate and organize themselves in Scotland and England, or the Factory Shop Committees of Russia. These Committees can serve as a spur or check upon the Unions. Their unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of today, and it therefore becomes immediately necessary to find some way by which the workers can act. We suggest that some plan of Labor organization, along the lines of the National Left Wing Committees, shall be adopted.

The Unhampened development of American capitalism, in whose service the best minds of the race have been conscripted, has created a condition in which the Government is controlled by the great capitalists to a degree unparalleled in history, while appearing to have an advanced political democracy; a condition in which the working class is the most exploited in the world, while appearing to be the best-paid and most comfortable; where the most abysmal ignorance of the workers' class-interests prevails, while apparently they are the best educated.

The European War has speeded up social and industrial evolution, however, to such a degree that Capitalism all over the world has reached the stage at which it can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist system is in sight. In Europe it is already tottering and crashing down; and the proletarian revolutions there indicate that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of the will to power.

The capitalists themselves admit that the collapse of European Capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary proletariat abroad cannot help but drag American Capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is faced with a terrific alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of Communism.

It is the intention of the Left Wing to help prepare the American workers for their historic role, so that when the hour strikes they may take their places in the front ranks of the Social Revolution.

I. REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into a great federation of revolutionary unions, whose purpose shall be the permanent destruction of capitalist power by the expropriation of capitalist property.

In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this article, there must be recognition of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America in the ranks of the I.W.W., and pledge them our wholehearted support and co-operation in their struggles.

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“Labor Is Not a Commodity”

By JOHN REED.

Impressions of the A. F. of L. Convention.

that "many of the sentences imposed were fully justified."

10. Passed a resolution condemning the abuse of judicial powers in construing the law, and advising workers to disregard injunctions in industrial disputes.

11. Voted down a proposal to change Labor Day to May 1st, and another to arrange it that all contracts expire on May 1st--because the International Labor Movement of Europe--which is revolutionary--celebrates on that day.

12. Requested the President to disband Postmaster-General Burleson from office.

13. Voted down a proposal that the workers demand the right to elect their foremen. ("Why," said Matt Woll, speaking on this motion, "that is the business of the employer--the workers. You might as well have the workers elect the Board of Directors!")

14. Endorsed the bill in Congress to restrict foreign immigration in the form of years--including Mexican Immigration.

15. Refused to support Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils, and in particular, the Soldiers', Sailors' and Marines' Protective Association.

16. Refused to take a stand against the deportation of radical aliens.

17. Requested the Government to repeal the Espionage Act, but only after peace is signed, when it will automatically cease to function anyway.

18. Endorsed the Labor Charter attached to the Covenant of the League of Nations--which has been denounced by the Labor Movements of every civilized country on earth--and gave its qualified approval to all the words and deeds of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.

The report of the Resolution Committee recommended that the Executive Council "give their early attention" to considering ways and means to get a Labor Day in the United States.

"As far as I can understand it," he said, "it is a government of the workers, and the workers alone. Therefore we cannot recognize the Labor Move- ment of foreign countries which has not been born in their own country." He was continuing his explanation of why the League of Nations was not a League of Nations.

Thursday, June 19th, was taken up with the report of the Committee on Executive Council.

"We are sent here," he said, "by the Mexican Federation of Labor. At 11:30 Matt Woll read the report recommending the exclusion of foreign immigration, which was quickly amended and passed to apply also to Mexican immigration. . . . I saw Morones afterward. He was pale, and very much agitated.

"What effect," I asked him, "will this have upon the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention, which is to meet in New York in July?"

He, wiped the sweat from his forehead. "Disastrous!" he said. "In the present moment, when the great American interests are urging the invasion of Mexico, the Mexican workers believed that they could rely upon the American Federation of Labor to support these plans of annexation. They will not now be so sure."

When the question of the League of Nations came up, Andrew Furuseth made a violent attack upon the Labor Charter in the Peace Treaty. He declared that it had been altered by Gompers, and that he had offered to turn over to Organized Labor all funds and machinery and that both the American Federation of Labor and the great International Unions had refused to do anything to help Mooney, nor had the convention done anything.

Concerning the Committee's recommendation against the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L., I interviewed Frey. His argument was that if there were initiative and referendum in the Federation, some of the national organizations would surely be able to get hold of the membership and break down the organization. He admitted to me that the masses of the membership could not be trusted to make laws for themselves without the interposition of some deliberate body, and some rule which preceded for "period of deliberation."

The recognition of the Irish Republic was the price paid by Gompers to the Sinn Fein politicians in the convention, in return for which they agreed to throttle Soviet Russia and support the League of Nations. This action was on a par with the deeds of the League of Nations, who, to gain their own independence, sold their arms to the Allied Insur­ ects for the black purpose of destroying the freedom of the workers. Anyway, however, it meant nothing--nothing but words. And then, the United States Senate has demanded practically the same thing.

The Committee's objection to recognizing Soviet Russia was, according to Frey, because it was not "democratic."

The proposal to terminate all contracts with employers on May first, and to change Labor Day from September first to May Day, was voted down for two reasons: first, because May Day was celebrated by European Labor and Socialism--and second, because if the workers of the United States celebrated on the day following the abrogation of their contracts, they would be too excited! "We don't want to have a Labor Day when everybody is hot-headed," explained Frey.

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slavery and another guaranteeing the rights of seamen had both been rejected.

Gompers, in reply, adopted the usual tactics of accusing Furness of acting behind the back of the American delegation. He then went on to say that while the provisions of the Labor Charter were not adequate, the American delegation accepted them to keep the workers of the "backward nations." He said that American labor, under the beneficent rule of the Federation, was more than the federations and movements of any other country in the world—which of course is not true, since the workers of Europe have, during the war, gained a position far in advance of the United States, as was proven by the Berne Trades-Union Conference; and that not only politically, but also in many trade-union provinces of wages and hours.

The ignorance of the delegates concerning the groups supporting them, they did not extraordinary, and deliberately fostered by the Gompers "machine." According to the of­ ficials, he said, he and the other American delegate (representing the employers), were in absolute harmony—and complained bitterly that the Socialists attacked him as violently as the reactionaries. But what, you will ask, has all this to do with labor? True, the Convention denounced the reforms in the courts, and also resolved to organize the Steel Industry in the face of the most hostile trust in America. But these actions were in no sense revolutionary actions; they were merely to protect the Federation's monopoly of the commodity, labor.

The Congress of the Convention was the settling of jurisdictional disputes. Just as one of the functions of the capitalist state is to settle disputes among the capitalist class, and to suppress the weak capitalists in favor of the strong, so the main function of Federation is the adjustment of troubles between groups of skilled workers, and the strengthening of the powerful at the expense of the weak. A little union is formed in a new trade. This union is not formed from the labor of the Federation, and the Federation appoints a committee to investigate, and this committee is composed of persons obedient to the Com­ pers machine, in which are represented the presidents of the great unions. Then begins a bitter fight between the great unions for the fragments of the little union, and the end is that they partition between them, like the Kingdom of Poland, or the Austrian Empire. Again and again in the Convention these jurisdictional disputes were accompanied by the savage quarrels of the great unions themselves—forever pirating upon each other, combating, and realizing the need, in correspondence with the machine, there were signs of change from all others. And if the members of the defeated union do not obey, they are black­ listed, scabbed upon by the Federation, and, in some cases, forced out of their jobs.

Thus at this Convention I witnessed the partition of the Jewelry Workers between the Machinists and the Metal Polishers. One despairing delegate of a union whose charter had been suspended because it refused to sub­ mit to the dictatorial ruling of the Federation, addressed the chair: "You have suspended our charter," he said. "We are not disheartened by the results of the Con­ vention. But under the rules it requires a two-thirds vote of this Convention to revoke a charter; isn't that so?" Anyway, as was expected, the hour of adjournment having now arrived; the Convention stands adjourned!"

The delegates listened to the reports of the Foreign Labor Missions without a smile—the hollowness of the words, the ignorance of the delegates concerning the struggle—the mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletariat forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come with­ in our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which the union uses in the preliminary stages of the proletarian revolution as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large-scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a con­t inued period of time.

b) Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the Party itself, and realizing the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalistic power to be combated, of a centralized party organization, we offer the following recommendations:

a) Delegation by the National Executive Committee of a large measure of its administr­ative powers, between intervals of meetings, to a National Emergency Committee, composed of three or more members of the National Executive Committee; this Emergency Com­ mittee to maintain the closest possible contact, with the work of the National office and to advise with the Executive Secretary on all matters where co-operation is necessary.

b) Strict control by the party organization over all Socialists elected to public office; the Emergency Committee and of the National, State, and County Committees to cooperate with the public officers within their respective jurisdic­ tions; immediate expulsion of all public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the party.

c) Control by the party membership, through the regular party processes, of all party papers and official publications; not by committees or trustees not responsible to the membership, the party.

d) Like control of all party property, such as offices, halls, etc.

e) Like control of officially recognized edu­ cational institutions.

f) Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau and of a Press and Information Bureau.

g) Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues and methods of organiza­ tion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite di­ rection of revolutionary socialism. The mani­ festations of the following recommendations are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat, powers, helps intervals of meetings, to close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike. The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletariat forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come with­ in our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which the union uses in the preliminary stages of the proletariat revolution as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

But what, you will ask, has all this to do with labor? True, the Convention denounced the reforms in the courts, and also resolved to organize the Steel Industry in the face of the most hostile trust in America. But these actions were in no sense revolutionary actions; they were merely to protect the Federation's monopoly of the commodity, labor.
utionary industrial unionism of the proletariat becomes an indispensable phase of revolution­
ary Socialism, on the basis of which to broaden and deep the class struggle of the industrial prole­
ariat, developing reserves for the ultimate conquest of power.

The concentration of industry produced the industrial proletariat of unskilled workers, of the machine proletariat. This proletariat, in the sense of the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle against Capitalism; and, deprived of skill and craft divisions, it turns naturally to mass unionism, to an industrial unionism in action, with the integrated industry of imperialistic Capitalism.

Under the impact of industrial concentra­
tion, the proletariat developed its own dynamic tactics—mass action.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it takes vary, mass action starts as the spontaneous activity of unorganized workers massed in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unorganized proletariat. The mass move­ments of the proletariat developing out of this mass response to the tyranny of concentrated industry, are not the spontaneous activity of the dominant modern Socialism, which tried to compress and stultify these militant impulses within the limits of the old form of organization.

In this instinctive mass action there was not simply a response to the facts of industry, but the implicit means for action against the domi­nant parliamentarism. Mass action is industrial in its origin; but its development imposes upon it a political character, since the more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it antagonizes the bourgeois state, be­comes political mass action.

Another development of this tendency was Syndicalism. In its mass impulse Syndicalism was a direct protest against the futility of the dominant Socialist parliamentarism. But Syndicalism was either unconscious of the theoretical basis of the new movement; or where there was an articulate theory, it was a deriva­
tion of Anarchism, making the proletarian revo­lution an immediate and direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the state. Anarchosyndicalism is a de­

turbation from Marxism. The theory of mass action and of industrial unionism, however, are in absolute accord with Marxism—revo­

lutionary action.

Industrial unionism recognizes that the pro­
etariat cannot conquer power by means of the bourgeois parliamentary state; it recog­
nizes, moreover, that the present parliamentary system cannot be used to introduce the forms of the bourgeois state, but that it must organize a new “state”—the “state” of the organized producers. Industrial unionism, accordingly, proposes to construct the forms of the government of the producers. The revolutionary proletariat cannot adapt the bourgeois organs of government to its own use: it must develop its own organs. The larger, more definite and general the industrial unions, the easier becomes the transition to Socialism, since the revolutionary state of the industrial unions must be based on the basis of union control and management of industry. Industrial unionism, accordingly, is a necessary phase of revolutionary Socialist agitation and action.

But industrial unionism alone cannot con­
quer the power of the state. Potentially, in­
erusting the potential power of the state, it alone can fail to protect the new society; but only potentially. Ac­

ually the forms of the new society are con­

structed under the protection of a revolu­tionary proletarian government; the industrial unions become simply the starting point of the Socialist reconstruction of society. Under the conditions of Capitalism, it is impossible to
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organize the whole working class into indus- try. The proletariat, organized and in the working class industrially before the conquest of power is as utopian as the moderate Socialist conception of the gradual conquest of the bourgeois state.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. The impulse that drives the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action comes into being as the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. The revolution starts with strikes of protest, developing into mass political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The final objective of mass action is the conquest of the power of the state, the annhilation of the bourgeois parliamentary state and the introduction of the transition proletarian state, functioning as a revolutionary dictatorship.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The attitude toward the state divides the Anarchists into Syndicalists and the moderate Socialist and the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate result of the Capitalistic System), the Anarchists (and the Anarcho-Syndicalists) submit to the fact that the state is necessary in the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism. The purpose of the state is to use the bourgeois state, with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of the "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses. The revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois parliamentary state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the introduction of a new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat must, accordingly, destroy this state. But the conquest of political power by the proletariat does not immediately end Capitalism, or the power of the bourgeoisie in the industry. It is therefore necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion of the bourgeoisie. Capitalism is bourgeois dictatorship. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois "representation," the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. The bourgeoisie is organized to coerce the proletariat, to baffle the will of the masses. In form a democracy, the bourgeois parliamentary state is in fact an autocracy, the dictatorship of capital over the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy promotes this dictatorship of capital, assisted by the pulpit, the army and the police. Bourgeois democracy seeks to reconcile all the classes; realizing, however, that the working class opposes the program of feudalism, and, on the other, to maintain the proletariat in subjection. It is precisely this policy that now is the instrument of Imperialism, that the middle class, that the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts and promotes Imperialism. The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule, to realize that industrial self-government of the workers, and conciliating the bourgeois, we can assure peace and liberty to the peoples.

Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of the necessity for a revolutionary state to coerce and suppress the bourgeoisie; it is equally a recognition of the fact that, in the Communist reconstruction of society, the proletariat as it is now must be the conscious producers who organize as a communist federation of producers. The proletariat alone counts in the revolution, and in the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis.

The old machinery of the state cannot be used by the revolutionary proletariat. It must be destroyed. The proletariat creates a new state, based directly upon the industrially organized producers, upon the industrial unions or Soviets, or a combination of both. It is this state alone, functioning as a dictatorship of the proletariat, that can realize the tasks of the revolution.

The tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are:

a) To completely expropriate the bourgeoisie politically, and crush its powers of resistance.

b) To expropriate the bourgeoisie economically, and introduce the forms of Communist Socialism.

Breaking the political power of the capitalist is the most important task of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, since upon this depends the economic and social reconstruction of society. But this political expropriation proceeds simultaneously with an immediate, if partial, expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically. It is this state alone, functioning as a dictatorship of the proletariat, that can realize the tasks of the revolution.

Tasks of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

a) Workmen's control of industry, to be exercised by the industrial organizations of the workers, operating by means of the industrial vote.

b) Expropriation and nationalization of the banks, as a necessary preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

c) Expropriation and nationalization of the large (trust) organizations of capital. Expropriation proceeds without compensation, as "buying out" the capitalists is a repudiation of the trusts of the revolution.

d) Repudiation of all national debts and financial obligations of the old system.

e) The nationalization of foreign trade.

f) Measures for the socialization of agriculture.

These measures centralize the basic means of production in the proletarian state, nationalizing agriculture and their partial character facilitates a return to free competition. Socialism as reconstructed, when the conditions of industry becomes actual and complete after the dictatorship of the proletariat has accomplished its task of suppressing the bourgeoisie.

The state of proletarian dictatorship is political in character, since it represents a ruling class, the proletariat, which is now in power; and it uses coercion against the old bourgeois class. But the task of this dictatorship occurs itself with the management of production and social welfare, and it becomes unnecessary the moment the full conditions of Communist Socialism materialize. While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs its negative task of crushing the old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship, there is developed a new "government," which is no longer government in the old sense, since it is one of the processes of production itself, and not with the government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there arises the Communist Federation of Producers, the industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full and free social and individual autonomy of the Communist order.

The Communist International

The Communist International, while seeking directly out of the proletarian revolution in action and in process of development, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant Imperialism.

The Communist International, at the Second International, at Berne, was a ghastly failure. It rallied the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution. In this "International" are united all the elements treasonable to Socialism, and the wavering "centre" elements whose policy of miserable compromise is more dangerous than open treason.

The attempt to resurrect the International as an instrument of Socialism as the politics of the Social Revolution—the politics of the class struggle in its revolutionary implications—admitting directly the political organization of Laborism, such as the British Labor Party.

The Communist International, on the contrary, represents the conscious elements of the proletariat, calling them to the final struggle against Capitalism on the basis of the revolutionary epoch of Imperialism. The acceptance of the Communist International means accepting the fundamental ideas of revolutionary Socialism as decisive in our activity.

The Communist International, moreover, is specially called to the masses of the world, crushed under the murderous majesty of Imperialism. The revolt of these colonial and semi-colonial peoples is the beginning of the world struggle against capitalist Imperialism; their revolt must unite itself with the struggle of the conscious proletariat in the imperialistic states. Accordingly, it offers an organization and a policy that may unify all the revolutionary forces on the world for the conquest of power, and for Socialism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. It is a problem of the immediate revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary epoch of the final struggle against Capitalism may last for years and tens of years; but the Communist International offers a concrete program, an immediate and ultimate in scope, that provides for the immediate class struggle against Capitalism and its revolutionary implications and for the final act of the conquest of power.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in crisis. The old order, the re-classified and the Communist reconstruction of society—the struggle for these—is now indispensable. This is the message of the Communist International to the workers of the world.

The Communist International calls the proletariat of the world to the final struggle!
The National Left Wing Council NEEDS $15,000 NOW

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America has organized itself as a national unified expression of Revolutionary Socialism.

Its immediate tasks are enormous.

The struggle within the Party must be waged—to conquer the Party for the revolutionary Socialism of the Communist International.

There is the struggle among the masses—the winning of the broad masses of the workers for

Communist Socialism

Leaflets must be issued, speakers routed, papers published. All this requires money—At Once.

The Socialist Party Convention meets August 30. We must carry on an enormous agitation without a moment's delay. Time is pressing and money is an urgent necessity.

Then money is needed immediately for

The Revolutionary Age

—which has become the national organ of the Left Wing. It must treble its circulation within the next two months in order to reach the rank and file of the Party and the masses of the workers with our message. Financially it is in a sound position, but it is not yet covering fully its own expenses. Every addition to its circulation means a reduction of the organization's expenses.

The Left Wing Convention authorized the National Council to issue special emergency stamps to help raise money. This is being done. But the process is slow. We need the money now.

Accordingly, we ask all comrades to contribute individually according to their means.

We ask all locals to immediately donate money on the basis of the following quotas:

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Comrades of the Left Wing—history calls to YOU! Upon you—the Left Wing—depends the future of Communist Socialism. Act! Individuals and locals—act now.

I. E. FERGUSON
Secretary, National Council
43 West 29th Street
New York City