Peace is signed—now for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
Words—and Words
Audiacy, again audacity, more audacity was that was the motto of Danton. President Wilson has apparently paraphrased this to disguise a copy.

Wilson it may be said as a brutal peace of modern times. That was the motto of reaction and international war.

The world revolution does not proceed according to mathematical calculations; it proceeds. An Italian proletarian revolution would assure action in France, Austria and Germany. The revolutionary temper is there; the acts of the Italian masses are all the more significant because of a general strike—in Italy, France and England—scheduled for July 21 against intervention in Russia. International proletarian solidarity is becoming a fact.

On to Mexico
For a long time the great American interests in Mexico have been squealing bloody murder. Their's has been a regime of forty per cent dividends tempered by revolution. In the blessed days of Diaz the American men could buy a copper mine, a million acres of cattle-land, or a tobacco plantation by slipping a few dollars hard cash into the proper hands; and the government would arrest enough peons to provide penal labor to work the properties.

Then came Revolution, long deferred and overdue. The Madero movement was financed by American interests, in return for the pawn of the Mexican properties. The Madero movement was financed by American plunderbundt. They want the oil, the gold, the silver, the real estate, the tobacco and cattle and mining properties.

Woodrow Wilson's only experiment in practical, as opposed to verbal, liberalism, was his lofty pedagogical moral stand against Huerta. At that time the financial vultures were forced to cringe back, and wait for a more favorable opportunity.

They could afford to wait, meanwhile engaging in individual guerilla sales, backing counter-revolutions like Orozco's and Salazar's and the unmistakating attempts of the younger Diaz and his ilk, and in the meantime, battling with each other; for behind half the clashes between petty chieftains lay the gigantic feud of the Standard Oil interests as well as the Mexican interests.

Then came the War, the opportunity for all scoundrels. Under cover of the nation's defense, the American business pirate was adeptly organized, encouraged these profiteers, now in order to prevent a revolution, condemns the profiteers and acts against them. The government is using force judiciously and trying to legalize the revolt of the people against the food pirates.

But the food riots have ceased being isolated, and are becoming a general class movement. In city after city the masses are asserting control of the food, its prices and distribution; in city after city Soviet—those organs of the masses' revolution—are actually functioning. The movement, unless smothered by the trickery of the government, must assume a political character. And the movement is developing. As in 1910, again, the food riots arouse strikes; strikes are on in many cities, and a general strike was declared in Naples on May 9. Socialists, protestant and Soviet organizations are usurping municipal functions; soldiers are fraternizing with the workers.

Peace with Germany was signed: and international Capitalism breathed more freely when a new German revolution did not materialize. Now comes the revolt of the Italian masses—which may yet become a revolution.

The world revolution does not proceed according to mathematical calculations: it proceeds. An Italian proletarian revolution would assure action in France, Austria and Germany. The revolutionary temper is there; the acts of the Italian masses are all the more significant because of a general strike—in Italy, France and England—scheduled for July 21 against intervention in Russia. International proletarian solidarity is becoming a fact.

Italy Moves
The masses in Italy are stirring—that is clear. The depth and width of this movement is still a matter of conjecture, since the Italian government's censorship of news is perhaps the most drastic in the world. The government's censorship of news is perhaps the most drastic in the world. The Italian government suppress Socialist newspapers. The depth and width of this movement is still a matter of conjecture, since the Italian government's censorship of news is perhaps the most drastic in the world. The Italian government suppress Socialist newspapers.

The approach of the end of the War gave the American plutocrats their opportunity. The munitions factories need not have been impaired: the Armistice is a popular one; a million dollars is now released upon a labor market unable to absorb it, creating dangerous hordes of idle men and the closing of foreign markets by Revolution made it of vital importance that American manufacturers have new worlds to exploit.

It was just at this critical time that the Car nervous system had adopted the new Mexican Constitution of 1917, which embodied the objects for which the Revolution had been fought: redistribution of landed estates, heavy taxes on foreign concessions and properties, and the announcement of Mexico's right of Eminent Domain over natural resources—in other words, Mexico for the Mexicans, instead of for foreign owners.

The United States Government immediately warned the Mexican Government that it would view as an "unfriendly act" such "confiscation" of American property. And when the Peace Council assembled in Paris, the American State Department granted passports to a delegation of private oil-pirates, whose hands still ran blood from the counter-revolution they had just launched from Wall Street. And the diplomats told the gentlemen, at the same time refusing to receive the Mexican delegate.

The great capitalist press has now come out in open, advocating the subjugation of Mexico. She has been told officially that the capitalist governments of the Allied and Associated Powers will not permit her to either tax or buy back her natural resources; that no laws may be made which interfere with foreign property in Mexico. At the same time there has been formed the "Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico"—with an Oil Division, a Minerals Division, a Cattle and Land Division, a Press Division, etc., whose object is frankly to arouse American public opinion to the necessity of destroying the Carranza Government, so that the vultures may gorge themselves upon the Mexican peons, as they have done all through history.

A page article in the Sunday Times last week gives the game away. Its headline announces in enormous type the damage done to foreign property in Mexico by the Revolution.

But below, in a separate line, occurs this statement:

The investment of $500,000,000 has grown in value until in 1910 it was said to be worth $2,000,000,000.

In other words, compare the loss and gain:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gain</th>
<th>$1,350,000,000</th>
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<tr>
<td>Damage</td>
<td>$650,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net Gain</td>
<td>$1,270,000,000</td>
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The investment figures, of course, are not of today, but of nine years ago. What the increase in value has been since then, can only be guessed at.

But what is a paltry billion or two to the American plunderbund? They want the oil, the gold, the silver, the real estate, the tobacco and cattle and mining properties.

The government would arrest enough peons to provide penal labor to work the properties. They could afford to wait, meanwhile engaging in individual guerrilla sales, backing counter-revolutions like Orozco's and Sala- zar's and the unmistakating attempts of the younger Diaz and his ilk, and in the meantime, battling with each other; for behind half the clashes between petty chieftains lay the gigantic feud of the Standard Oil interests as well as the Mexican interests.

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The "14 Points"

T is indisputable that the peace imposed upon Germany is not in accord with the "14 points" formulated by President Wilson. The projected terms, which Germany accepted as her final peace in concluding the armistice, have been ignored in practically every particular. This fact has aroused the scorn and invective of even ordinary bourgeois liberals, who lament this "betrayal of Wilson's ideals." But the invective and the sarcasm invoked by the collapse of the "14 points," while justifiable, by no means touch the heart of the problem.

The liberal petty bourgeois democracy, while compelled to accept Imperialism, struggles in a tragi-comic way against the consequences and "excesses" of Imperialism. It willingly acquiesces in the wages of a predatory war, comforting itself with illusions; and then it protests against a predatory peace, confronting itself with the illusion that a "just peace" is realizable under the conditions of Imperialism. The petty bourgeois democracy protests against these "excesses" of Imperialism, while rejecting the revolutionary struggle against Imperialism. The consequences are unavoidable reaction.

The collapse of the "14 points" is not a study in the malignancy of an individual, but a study in the malignancy of social conditions under Capitalism.

Under Imperialism, governments are necessary to imperialistic,—that is to say, organized for international conquest and spoliation. An imperialistic government waging a victorious war must necessarily conclude an imperialis pacific peace—unless the Socialist proletariat intervenes.

The fact that Imperialism necessarily threatens the independence of nations provides an excellent opportunity for developing a "liberal" ideology for an imperialistic war. This fact was used to the utmost by the European belligerents. The position of the United States made it particularly easy to develop the ideology of a war for democracy, since this country had no territorial interests at stake, making it difficult to connect Imperialism with our entry into war. Out of this circumstance arose the conception of the United States as a democratic country; the war was founded on the fraudulent ideology of the "14 points."

But the United States 'did have a direct imperialistic interest in the war, although this interest was not territorial aggrandizement. Imperialism is a struggle for world power, a struggle as to which particular national financial capital will dominate the trade and the investment markets of the world; it had ceased being a debtor nation and become a creditor nation, possessing enormous resources of surplus capital. American Capitalism has become extremely important in a prospective victory for the Allies. A post-war victory would have practically wiped out this investment in surplus American finance-capital to secure world domination.

At the Peace Conference, it was necessary, in order to protect the investments and the potential world power of the United States, to preserve the financial and territorial interests of the Allies in order that the world might pay. Moreover, the world was divided financially and territorially among the victors, the United States securing financial recognition and recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. The "14 points" acquired the character of the "14 points" necessarily had to burst into that garbage can of diplomacy which contains so many "ideals."

Then there was democracy. Democracy was defined as the "14 points"; indeed, the "14 points" were "to make the world safe for democracy." In this vain attempt was included the whole character of the war and the political tendency of Imperialism.

Democracy and Imperialism exclude each other. It excludes bourgeois democracy, that traditional democracy which is the carrier of the bourgeois struggle against feudalism and the political expression of the competitive epoch of Capitalism. The centralization of industry and capital produces a centralization of the power of government; Imperialism forms political democracy into a factor promoting Imperialism and a government centralization that negates the old democracy of bourgeois society.

Under these circumstances the old liberal slogans of democracy come to possess a new meaning. The older democracy implied national independence; the new democracy of Imperialism annihilates the independence of nations. The older democracy implied an actual functioning of the parliamentary system; Imperialism destroys the system and places practically all powers in an executive autocracy. Democracy having been perverted by Imperialism becomes a part of Imperialism and the necessary factor in waging a predatory war. This circumstance alone would necessitate the collapse of the "14 points," since their basis (in the minds of those seduced by their ideology) lies in a conception of democracy which no longer functions in the Imperialistic epoch of Capitalism.

Another assumption of the "14 points" is in contradiction with the actual forces prevailing in the world of Capitalism: it consists in the concept of realizing national independence for the small peoples of Europe.

The war was not a war for national independence,—except in the case of Serbia. But the moment the war actually started, Serbia's independence disappeared as a factor, and Imperialism dominated, with the small nations as pawns. Belgium itself (as Holland) is rampantly Imperialistic.

Oppressed nationalities, such as Poland, have not secured "independence"; they are not independent, being vassals of international finance-capital.

Moreover, the real struggle in these nationalities is a social struggle against the imperialism of the masses to end Capitalism and class rule. This was true before the war,—the political revolutions in Mexico and China developed economic aspects, assumed the character of social revolution. This social revolutionary tendency conquered in Russia, and is trying to conquer in other nations.

National independence breaks down—either under the domination of Imperialism, or under the pressure of international proletariat and revolution. The ideology of the "14 points" necessarily promote Imperialism and reaction. The "14 points" is the final form of the League of Nations.

As against the conception of the "14 points" and bourgeois democracy, the proletariat must oppose the aggressive struggle for Socialism.

The Communist Party

The development of the American movement is directly toward the organization of a Communist Party. The tactical aspect—whether it shall emerge out of a transformation of the Socialist Party, or from a completely new party—is determined by events; the important thing is that there must and will be an American Communist Party.

The adoption of the name "Communist Party" is not determined by sentiment, but by objective facts.

Imperialism, the doctrine of dominant Socialism, has broken down miserably under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution. It has, indeed, broken down because of the American party. We must break away from this movement and its stigma.

Lenin says, "The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party... The word democracy is simply a slogan fastened upon the revolutionary nation."

In answering the objection that the workers are not accustomed to the old name, Lenin says: "This reason is based solely on laziness and love of routine. We want to recast the world. And here we are hesitating. Here we are keeping on with our backs the same old dirty shirt! It is high time we should cast off the dirty shirt and put on a new, clean one."

The American Socialist Party has familiarized the masses with certain phrases of Socialism. But it has equally familiarized the masses with a false ideology. Socialism, as Marx explained in 1875, and Engels in a more popular form in 1894, Mankind totally antagonistic to the official Socialist Party, that is, public ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to individual needs. Socialism looks farther ahead than that: Socialism is bound sooner or later to ripen into Communism, whose banner bears the motto: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

That is the first reason. Here is my second.

"The second part of the term 'Social Democracy' is scientifically wrong. Democracy is only a form of authority. We Marxists are opposed to every form of authority."

"The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party... the word democracy is simply a slogan fastened upon the revolutionary nation."

In answering the objection that the workers are not accustomed to the old name, Lenin says: "This reason is based solely on laziness and love of routine. We want to recast the world. And here we are hesitating. Here we are keeping on with our backs the same old dirty shirt! It is high time we should cast off the dirty shirt and put on a new, clean one."

The American Socialist Party means, to the workers, parliamentary action as the means to realize Socialism; it means government ownership of large industries. The Socialist Party means, to the workers, parliamentary action as the means to realize Socialism; it means government ownership of large industries. It means, fundamentally, a non-proletarian program and policy.

Names may mean much, or nothing—according to circumstances. In this case, the name "Communist Party" is so much, since our prime task is to familiarize the masses with a revolutionary conception of Socialism. The name "Communist Party" is the label of the historic work of the Socialist Party. To use the old name is to confuse the issue and hamper our task.

The name "Communist Party" would vary the imagination and develop new energy in the revolutionary comrades. It would come to the masses new, clean, virile, with a proletarian message necessarily evoking a proletarian response.

More—the name Communist Party is necessary to make clear the issue. There must be no compromise. There must be no opportunity to mix Laborism with Socialism. There must be an imitable determination to rally revolutionary elements alone in our party.
The Revolutionary Age

July 12, 1919

Bolshevistikjabs

The Fourth of July has come and gone, and as far as we have heard nothing seems to have gone off except the usual number of firecrackers—it's a good job the newspapers scarred the bomb-throwers. Or can the papers have erred? *

It seems as if the whole matter was a "put up job" to do the cops out of a holiday. *

And talking about the Fourth of July—Tom Mooney is still in jail.

We were talking to an Irishman the other day who said he felt a lot surer of Irish Freedom if the A. F. of L. had got Mooney out of San Quentin. *

Now that the war is over humanity is becoming sane again, the world is sick of bloodshed—40,000 people paid enormous sums to see the Toledo prize fight. *

England is now demanding that the ex-Kaiser be tried—for losing the war. *

Apparently poor old England hopes to keep the war feeling up long enough to get over the present revolutionary period. This is a bad sign. English diplomacy is losing its cunning else it would know that if trying the ex-Kaiser could avert revolution, there is really no need to try him. *

According to the newspapers Italy has cut the food prices in half as a result of the riots. Now the Italians know what to do: if a few riots bring down prices by fifty per cent what would a revolution do? *

It would appear to be about time that the Italian government started another rumpus about June. *

If the Italians plump for the Soviets will they be German agents? Perhaps they'll just be "a bunch of dirty dagoes" the same as they were before they got the coal. *

From reading the examination of some of the witnesses in the Henry Ford case it would appear that Clemenceau, Wilson, Jesus Christ and Tolstoy were all the same—but then the dead can't bring libel suits. *

Now that the first of July has gone we wonder who will expel the rest of the Socialist Party? *

It really was a piece of shortsightedness on the part of the old N. E. C. not to have expelled at least half of the remaining quarter of the organization before June 30. *

Bela Kun's wife arrived at the Swiss border with a large sum of money the other day but was not allowed to cross the frontier, according to a dispatch from Geneva. We are glad to see the Swiss taking a firm stand against the Bolshevik-trotting wives of the wives of Soviet ministers, but after all perhaps Mrs. Kun merely wanted to visit Trotsky's wife for the purpose of showing that her husband was doing pretty well also.

Send all editorial and business correspondence to our new address:
43 West 29th Street
New York
A Call From Hungary

Hungarian Socialists Appeal to the Entente Workers

Workers of the "entente" countries! The masks have fallen from the faces of your governments. They are trying to end this war with the most violent, imperialistic peace that the world has ever seen,—that same war into which they drove you in the name of democracy, and your burdensome lives in order that the German people should fall under economic oppression, in order that the power and wealth of your capitalists should increase to infinity, and in order that that power, erected on oppression and extortion, on blood and iron, should be let loose over the entire world.

All your hopes for a better and happier future to follow as a result of the victory of the Western European nations over the militarism and Imperialism of Germany, were treacherously deceived, all promises given to you were lies in the mouths of your masters who were urging you to bent all your energies to the extreme in order to attain that victory which its rival fought away from the bourgeoisie in order to possess the heart of the Russian revolution, Petrograd, and the Finnish White Guard, which for a year with the help of imperialism Germany stamped out the Finnish revolution in a sea of blood, is now going to support your governments.

Your bourgeoisie is inciting the Rumanians and Czechs against the revolution of the working class in Hungary, which, for some two months, has taken the power into its own hands and has already nationalized the large estates, banks, factories, and dwellings and has thus given the workers the opportunity of getting out of the clutches of Capitalism. Thus your bourgeoisie is trying to stamp out the second working class island rising out of the trackless ocean of Capitalism.

Comrades, your bourgeoisie declares that Bolshevikism has doomed Russia to famine and disarmament and is threatening the whole world with the same misfortune. True, there is a terrible famine in the Ukraine, and transportation system of the whole country is broken down, industrial life is choked off in most parts. But if, in spite of all efforts, the Bolsheviks are not in a position to organize their production, who should be responsible for that except your own governments who reduce the working class of Russia to want by their military policy of destruction, also the destruction of European civilization and a return to barbarism.

The eyes of the suffering, struggling, and contending working class of Eastern Europe are turned towards you. On your revolutionary will, on your revolutionary strength it depends whether this heroic effort of your fellow-workers, struggling also for your freedom, gets results; on this depends your future and that of the working class of the whole world. And for you also peace has not come to the aid of your brother-workers, struggling also for your freedom. Commotions and mass strikes, show that you are ready for any Brest-Litovsk treaty. They saved the revolution in Russia or Hungary, imposition of capitalist slavery for whole decades, or, if Capitalism cannot get over its military policy of destruction, also the destruction of European civilization and a return to barbarism.

Show your plunderers action: demonstrations and mass strikes, show that you are ready to take up the mass struggle for Socialism, come to the aid of your brother-workers, to show yourselves worthy of your revolutionary past. Your revolution will also be difficult and demand sacrifices, you also will not conquer at the first attack, but every step you take in the direction of revolution will prepare for the final victory.

Long live the republic of the working class!

Long live the revolution in France, England and Italy!

Long live the revolution of the international working class!
The World Revolution

From the Finnish Communist Paper "Viest," published at Stockholm.

Translated by O. W. Oksanen

in Eastern, Central and parts of Southern Europe. The proletarian revolution is progressing in these parts. In the Balkans, the Baltic States and Poland it is rapidly being moulded for action. In Austria and Germany it is shaping itself and waiting the opportunity to present its formulated plans, to replace the fantastic with the realistic.

A glance at the situation will reveal the struggling proletariat facing victorious Imperialists are in former still disorganized, as yet scarcely sensing international unity and groping for an affective form of international association. For the crushed imperialists of the defeated nations, the proletariat has inherited nothing but ruins, ashes and hunger. On the other hand, the victorious imperialists, the war lords of the world have a firm international alliance, fortified by complex conditions. From

Left Wing Finances

To the readers of The Revolutionary Age it is only necessary to say that the Left Wing National Council has no purpose other than to spread and stabilize the propaganda of Socialism which this paper has carried on since last November. There is no immediate basis for this work outside of voluntary contributions by individuals and Party branches. The task between now and August 30th is overwhelming in its complexities of crucial importance to the future of the revolutionary working class movement in this country. Our appeal for immediate donations should not be passed over unanswered by any reader of The Revolutionary Age who can possibly help in this emergency. The accounting for these funds will appear in this paper.

I. E. Ferguson, National Sec’y.
43 West 29th Street, New York City

The Gereans rushed their armies into Finland, the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Poland, and because of their shortsightedness, in this manner hastened the approach of their own destruction. English Imperialism expects to avoid this mistake. It would be ridiculous to maintain that England could not accomplish more than Russian armies whenever pleased; but it would be bad diplomacy and she therefore desists.

The English diplomats can exercise self-denial when victory requires it and they have the ability to judge the outcome of the future with more or less accuracy; two qualities that the German lords lacked completely.

The imperialistic statements of England seem to see clearly that they are standing on the top of a volcano. They seem to be somewhat uncertain as to their ability to prevent an eruption and they are working, first to prevent the outbreak, and second to delay it as long as possible. And this is where their prosperity is evident.

English industry has been entirely organized on a war basis. Now it must be changed to suit the requirements of peace. The transition by the transition has caused much dissatisfaction. Discharged soldiers swell the ranks of the unemployed. Charitable donations are insufficient to relieve the distress. But, it will be asked, has not there been sufficient time to establish industries on a peace basis? Most certainly, but there are other difficulties in the way. Raw materials must be obtained, and markets must be found for the surplus product. It would be possible to confiscate the raw material from the vanished nations, Germany and Russia. But what about the markets? It will be asked, does not the proletariat need products? True, but they are so exhausted economically that they will not be a good market for England for many years to come. The other entente nations, France and Italy will all probability not make good markets for England either, as they are faced with the same problem of changing their industries from a war to a peace basis, and in order to avoid disturbances caused by unemployment they also must produce on a large scale. If each of the Entente nations is successful in making this change, then a very large pool will be propelled to seek markets outside of the Entente group. The result of this surplus production and capitalist competition will be new antagonisms between the nations of the Entente. Here is cause for more wars—and for revolution.

The English statesmen suspect something of this sort, therefore they are proceeding very carefully, step by step, on the top of the volcano. English diplomacy has been very successful historically. It does not boast if it calls itself unconstructive, but even it has met its master in the proletariat of the world revolution.

Today a political victory is a Pyrrhic victory. The revolutionary proletariat even in England has deserted its electoral program. There the tide of the general strike rises higher and higher each week; the growth of the revolution is transgression. With the rise of the roar of the distant sea. It is the murmur of revolution, as yet incoherent. The lords, imminently, must recognize this incoherence, but it will not be for long. The millions of the English workers march on towards revolution.

The above revolution stage to which the world revolution has reached today an economic standpoint the victorious imperialists are in much stronger position. Though there is destruction and ruin in their territories, yet they control areas having abundance of food.

Between the two forces a conflict, which will determine the outcome of the world revolution, is inevitable. Is it possible that the proletariat will conquer?

When German Imperialism fell, all the conservative elements felt certain that millions of Entente soldiers would be led against the revolutionary proletariat of the different nations. Even the revolutionists everywhere feared that this would be so, though they were confident that the result would be the revolutionizing of the Entente armies. Before this transformation could occur, however, they feared that much injury and suffering would be pressing in all these parts.

But English Imperialism has at its disposal many more clever statesmen than Germany. The

The Revolutionary Age

July 12, 1919
The Left Wing Answers

By I. E. Ferguson

MOS T of the objections to the Left Wing, offered by the Reformist Socialists, are simply subterfuges to distract from the real issues. But undoubtedly there are some who take these objections seriously, and this stands in the way of their study and understanding of the vital differences between Reformist and Revolutionary Socialism. In order to clear the way of these subterfuges, let us meet the critics of the Left Wing to meet the real issues, we make answer to the most common objections.

Object: The Left Wing seeks to destroy the unity of the Party on account of a quarrel of phrases.

Answer: The progress of history has exploded a false unity within the Socialist ranks of all countries. This was a unity of phrases, a unity having no more fundamental basis than agreement on reform politics within the scheme of capitalist democracy. Beyond this, some of the phrases of the class struggle, and more or less insincerity of the political party of the working class must stand by itself.

The Left Wing seeks to create a real unity on the basis of the true Socialist program, a unity of understanding and of action. Such is the unity of the Communist International, which, however, rigidly excludes all elements not in complete accord with its fundamental principles.

The unity which is literally simply prepares for a separation just at the moment of crisis. As we have already witnessed in Germany, and as we witnessed in 1914, when the parties of the Second International chose to stand with the party unsuitable as refuge for various revolutionary phrases which, because any body can those who oppose the Left Wing, and make this the basis for trying to split the proletarian consciousness, are really the most dangerous, are really the enemies of the working class at a time of crisis.

Besides there is not so much discrimination on the part of the capitalists as might be imagined. They are largely ignorant about the Socialist movement, and their class viewpoint keeps them ignorant of Socialism until the time of revolution. Meanwhile they pay little attention to our internal discussions. There is bound to be a new direction to the Socialist movement along with tremendous historical changes, and this is our special and most important business. In these adjustments of our policies and tactics there are bound to be a few whose minds are beyond the grasp of a new historical situation, who are bound to insist on their old habits of thought and action—whichever for making this objection to the Left Wing.

Object: The Left Wing delights in reversing the phrases of Socialism leading nowhere except to idle shouting or outbreaks of violence.

Answer: The Left Wing insists upon the phrases which tell the truth about Socialism and the policies of the class struggle—and these phrases do, as a matter of fact, describe a revolutionary movement of the conscious proletariat. They are linked to Capitalism.

In truth, however, it is the Reformists and Opportunists who play with phrases for their hypocritical purposes of alluring all sorts of persons through contrary interpretations. The Left Wing seeks the life meaning of all Socialist phrases, to convey life truths.

The program of the Communist International is a document of revolutionary Socialism, second only to the Communist Manifesto of 1848, and here is language with unambiguous revolutionary meaning, for example, the "statement of principles" of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, issued May 29, is a conception of phrases made by jugglers using the phrases of Socialism to mean all sorts of things.

It must not be overlooked, also, that the mere expression of revolutionary phrases is at times the very essence of revolutionary Socialism. An illustration which clearly emphasizes how much the Party gained by not being afraid of nothing is the adoption of the Socialism of Karl Liebknecht to a street meeting in Berlin calling upon German workers to rise against the Kaiser's government. Another illustration which commanded world-wide attention and which will find its place in the pages of universal history was the revolutionary expression of Eugene Debs in the Cleveland courtroom.

It is we who revolutionize the phrases seize the mind of the masses and become translated into revolutionary action that the proletariat wins its triumphs. The critical who flout the revolutionary phrases with rare exceptions, is really the "Socialist" who is against the proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary phrases of Socialism have to do only with the mass power and mass action of the proletariat, and scorn the futile acts of individual terrorist violence which belong to the organized political movement. Nobody ever was or could be urged to individual acts of violence or sabotage through the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism.

Object: But the workers of the United States do not yet want a revolution.

Answer: That is the misfortune, because the United States is grievously in need of the Socialist revolution.

This is the master-phrase of the opposition to the Left Wing, calculated to work upon the nervous fears of the timid and cautious. And though timidity and caution have their complete justification, there is no justification whatever for making this objection to the Left Wing.

We say that the conditions for the social revolution are here: the high concentration of wealth and the advanced centralization of industry, to such a point where its further progress carries with it the overwhelming element of the population; the adaptation of the entire national life to the military adventures of extra-territorial finance-exploitation, with a gigantic expenditure of materials and life (this expenditure being in itself the most fruitful source of finance-exploitation); the complete negation of the parliamentary democracy by open control by the financial masters, as during the war and since, and as emphasized by the agreement of the different capitalist parties on all essential economic matters, such as tariffs, banking and currency, control of public utilities, suppression of effective labor organization and yielding up of former concessions to special private interests.

On the side of the working class there can be seen the dissatisfaction of the masses with the political and social conditions, which as the years go on is likely to increase, if the situation is not corrected.

(Continued on page 11)

July 12, 1919
The Revolutionary Age


Aspects of the Russian Revolution

1.—What is Bolshevism? 

BOLSHEVISM is the Social Revolution to which Socialists have looked forward for more than half a century. It is the inevitable struggle which must accompany the transition from Capitalism to Socialism. It is the final battle of the workers of the world for power to end forever the tyranny of class rule, and the misery of exploitation. 

History is a chronicle of the slavery of the working class in many forms—slavery, serfdom, wage slavery. At various periods one group of exploiters has wrested the power from another—kings from priests, barons from kings, merchants from barons, plutocrats from them all; but always the workers have toiled, and always the product of their labor has been taken from them. 

More recently have been made by the workers to overthrow their exploiters, and to enjoy the fruits of their labor, in the words of John Ball, "without money and without price." Every attempt to do so has been crushed in blood and fire—the slave insurrections of Rome, the Communist risings in the Middle Ages, the Paris Commune of 1871, and the Russian Revolution of 1905. 

In Socialism the working class for the first time based its aspiration to freedom on scientific fact. Bolshevism is Socialism put into practice. Today the workers are becoming conscious of their power and ability to win the world for Labor. They always had the power, in the words of John Reed, but they lacked the will and the knowledge of the way. Bolshevism is the will and the way. 

The word "Bolshevism," which can be freely translated as "program of the majority," originated at a convention of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903, which split into two factions—the majority (bolshevists) adopting the principles which, after the actual experiences of the Revolution of 1905, developed into what we now call Bolshevism. The main idea of the Bolshevists at that time was that the present is a revolutionary period—a period when the struggle of the working class turns into revolution; that the power of the Army of Capitalism lies in the fact that its organization is centralized, and commanded by a General Staff; and that in order to overthrow Capitalism, the Army of the Working class must also be centrally organized, with its General Staff. The Staff of the Army of Capitalism is directed by capitalists, in the interest of the few. The Staff of the Working Class fights under the direction and in the interests of the many—the workers. 

In this Convention the minority (menzhinists)—afterward known as Mensheviks—held that the working class as yet had neither the knowledge of how to overthrow Capitalism, nor the ability to create a new social order; and that therefore Social Revolution was impossible for a long time to come. Moreover, they believed that Socialism was to be achieved by "education" and "democratic" political action. 

Bolshevism is practical. It does not assume that the present is going to be legislated out of power without a fight. Power is based on private ownership. In order tosecure it must control capitalist property, and abolish ownership. This they can do only by force—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. 

By John Reed.

revolutionary thinkers, who must point out the way, and lead the workers along it. 

As Lenin says, "If Socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all the people is such that then we shall need Socialism for at least five hundred years . . . . The Socialist political party—this is the vanguard of the working class; it must not allow itself to be held back by the lack of education of the mass average, but it must be the masses using the Soviets as organs of revolutionary initiative."

The Soviets are the representative bodies of the vast majority of the organized working class. Without the unhesitating support of this vast majority, revolutionary leaders could accomplish nothing. Bolshevism in Russia conquered only because the people were ready to follow it. Bolshevism is established today in Russia because it is supported by the great part of the Russian people. 

If the Provisional Government had not been crushed, Bolshevism would have ceased to lead the Russian Revolution long ago. Their power is based upon the Soviets, for whom all persons who live by work are members. In the delegate bodies to which are subject to instant recall. Local Soviets meet frequently, and may be summoned in extra session on short notice by a minority, for the voters, peasants, and workers, are always gathered together in the fields and factories. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets, consisting of 10,000 members, meets every three months, at which time the Government automatically resigns and a new Government is elected, responsible to the Congress and its Central Executive Committee. And between times, any or all members of the Government may be easily recalled from office. 

The Socialist Commonwealth is not born without fearful birth-pangs—the Proletarian Dictatorship. Russia today is not a Socialist Commonwealth. The Peter the First Coalition Cabinet was formed—which, if it had not been diverted by the "moderate" Socialists, could have become the Government of Russia early in the Revolution. 

This was what the Bolsheviki never ceased to urge, with their slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!" 

The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Soviets; at first they announced that the Soviets would be "a pistol at the head of the Provisional Government, to prevent it from doing what it is trying to do.

The "moderate" Socialists held that owing to the economic backwardness of Russia, the Revolution could only be a political Revolution—not a social Revolution. Therefore, naturally, a capitalist state must first be established in Russia. Distrusting both the masses and themselves, they refused to take the power for the Soviets. 

The capitalist Ministers, aware of their weakness, threatened to resign unless the Russian people would enter the Government. The "moderate" Socialists complained on May 9th that the first Coalition Cabinet was formed—which, with the economic life still controlled by the capitalists, made the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries defenders of Capitalism in Russia. 

To the Russian people the Revolution meant Peace, Land to the peasants, and workers' control of Industry. The properied classes were not to render their property; and the "moderate" Socialists, who compromised with the land-owners and capitalists, could not accomplish the will of the people. Only a government exclusively of and for the workers and peasants could satisfy these demands. 

The Bolsheviki advocated such a Government, and made these popular demands the basis of their program. And the history of the Russian Revolution is the chronicle of the awakening of the masses to the political realities of the situation. 

The overthrow of Caroand, in March, 1917, was accomplished by a bold and audacious action of the popular masses. The bourgeois Liberals did not participate in the Revolution. Only after the Revolution was accomplished did they step into the Government, and try to bridle it for the purpose of perpetuating Capitalism. 

Meanwhile the Soviets were themselves organizing. On March 14th the newly-formed Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies proclaimed: "All together we will fight for the removal of the old Government." 

The Soviets, representing truly the masses of workers, soldiers and peasants, thus appeared as the real Government of the people—which, if it had not been diverted by the "moderate" Socialists, could have become the Government of Russia early in the Revolution. 

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For the "moderate" Socialists needed the capitalists worse than the capitalists needed the "moderate" Socialists. 

Impelled by the attitude of the masses, the Socialists called for a new Government in terms: "No annexations, no indemnities, the right of self-determination of peoples." But the Provisional Government had ratified the annexations and indemnities. In Russia today, half the strength of the proletariat dictatorship is employed in defending itself against the assaults of International Capitalism. But both in its external and internal policies, the Russian Soviet Government is supported by the great majority of the people—peasants as well as industrial workers.

2.—Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution 

Bolshevism saved the Russian Revolution. To the Russian people the Revolution meant Peace, Land to the peasants, and workers' control of Industry. The properied classes were not to render their property; and the "moderate" Socialists, who compromised with the land-owners and capitalists, could not accomplish the will of the people. Only a government exclusively of and for the workers and peasants could satisfy these demands. 

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had denounced as a "senseless imperialist slaughter," the Allied Powers and the Russian imperialists, they countenanced the July offensive, which was contrary to the very principles of the Revolution, and resulted in the criminalization of the Russian army. Depending on the capitalists, they were reduced to begging the Russian and Allied imperialists to assist them. The imperialist aims—and were contemptuously ignored.

On the other hand, the "moderate" Socialists in the Government could not accomplish anything. Their appeal to the popular classes of Land and Industry. In fact, their dependence on the capitalists forced them to act against the masses: "Socialist" Minister Kerensky re-introduced capital punishment in the army; "Socialist" Minister Akvastevich sent Cossacks to suppress agrarian revolts against the land-lords; "Socialist" Minister Njkin broke the railway strike; "Socialist" Minister Skobelev tried to dissolve the Workers' Committees.

Thwarting the will of the popular masses, the "moderate" Socialists gave the capitalists an opportunity to organize and attempt the overthrow of the Revolution by force—the Kornilov counter-revolution.

This destroyed the last faith of the masses in the Provisional Government. The latter was plainly visible the mail fist of the proper classes; and yet, in the face of the bitter resentment of the whole country, the "moderate" Socialists continued to form a new Government with the same proper classes! When the Bolsheviks seized the power in November, the"moderate" Socialists, instead of giving up real power, there was no food in the cities; transportation had practically ceased; strikes, lock-outs, and agrarian troubles were everywhere; the capitalists, in the Council of the Russian Republic, were stronger than before; and the "moderate" Socialists were telling the people: "We can't do anything—but wait for the Constituent Assembly!"

The Bolsheviks said to the people: "The Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionaries promised you Peace, Land and Industrial Control eight months ago. Now they tell you to wait for the Constituent Assembly. "Like the Provisional Government, the Constituent Assembly is an expression of existing class-relations. If the capitalists control Russia, the Constituent Assembly will do their will. If the working class controls Russia, the Constituent Assembly must do our will."

"If a violent governmental structure is built to serve and protect Capitalism; it can do nothing else. "You must seize the power, destroy the entire political edifice, and build a new one, controlled by yourselves alone, and fit to serve the working class only. Fortunately you have one ready to hand—the Soviets. All power to the Soviets!"

On November 7th, 1917, the Soviets—which in the meanwhile had developed a Bolshevik majority—took over the Government. And the Provisional Government, supported by the "moderate" Socialists, was unable in all Russia to rally to its aid more than a handful of Cos­sars, little more than a token force.

The Constituent Assembly, elected from lists of candidates made up four months before, apparently reflected the "coalition" of capital­ists and "moderate" Socialists which was in power at that time. It refused to ratify either the Brest-Litovsk Government of Soviets, or the popular demands. So the people clapped in and the dissolution provoked not a ripple of protest among the Russian masses; only the "moderate" Socialists and the New York Times objected.

Several months ago the seventy Constituent Assembly met in the shadow of the President, Victor Tchernov, joined the Soviet Government. No opposition to Bolshevism based on the Constituent Assembly is valid any more.

Bolshevism is sweeping Europe. In every country in the world it has captured the imagination of conscious workers. It smashed the old order. Labor is a Bolshevik force—and were contemptuously ignored.

On the other hand, the "moderate" Socialists in the Government could not accomplish anything. That was the appeal to the popular classes.
The Treaty of Versailles

By G. Chicherin

Russian Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs

The Versailles peace treaty signifies not peace but a further continuation of war. It creates a condition that can produce nothing else than a continuation of the war. Besides, this is the purpose of the framers of the treaty, namely, to make the war conditions lasting in working class movement. The present pligarchy keeps itself in power by inciting workers of different countries against one another. It is obvious that the capitalist governments formulated such a peace as signifies a continuation of war. It is a war in so far as it drives certain workers into conflict with others; it is a peace in so far as, by the continuation of blocked roads, it does not kindle revolutions. Thus, in the last analysis, calculates the oligarchy. Whether their calculations are correct—that is another question.

One instrument of the thorough warfare seems to be the League of Nations, which, under the Treaty of Versailles, implies a continuation of the coalition, not a possibility. The foundation Imperialism is clearly not fitted. But even this coalition cannot exist for long; on the first contact with realities, it breaks up into pieces.

The only purpose of the League of Nations is to serve as a demagogic cover under which the bourgeoisie conceals its real ends. Universal military obligation prepared the masses for revolution. The workers used the arms put into their hands to threaten their rulers. Therefore the oligarchy is obliged to turn to the system of voluntary service and, instead of the national militia, there are organized bands of White Guards.

This program of disarmament is also a new demonstration that the Treaty of Versailles is hurrying to reconcile not only national but class antagonisms. Germany is brought to such financial exhaustion that the German people even if they worked day and night, could not recover from this condition. As to the other nations, preparation for a new international field will take on a most lingering, sharp, and serious character.

Lorraine and the Sarre Basin constitute a prize of war, and, through this acquisition the French hope to gain a large stake for their own pocket. The working class has nothing to gain on this, but it is a fact, on the contrary, that French capital is afraid of the revolutionary traditions of the French workers, and therefore frequently shows the inclination of fastening itself on a foreign labor market.

In the department of Meurthe and Moselle, French capital has to deal not with the French working class, but with a motley mass of workers from all sorts of nationalities. The French capitalists thus strengthen their class condition and still less than before reckon with the workers and their revolutionary inclinations.

In general, what is done at Versailles is not in a position to bring a condition of quiet; it only drives the workers into the street. This still-born treaty of the Allied powers turns over a new leaf in history for mankind: a revolutionary period of "storm and attack."

Aspects of the Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 9)

of their own class. This Government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will take away capitalist property and disfranchise all who do not work. When the capitalist class is eliminated, the war between the workers and the capitalists will be over, classes will have disappeared, and democracy will follow, based upon equality and the liberty of the individual.

Real democracy must act in accordance with the interests of society as a whole. One of the best means for this is a Government designed to uphold the interests of a minority—the capitalist class. Apparently democratic in form, the Constitution of the United States was deliberately framed, by landowners, traders and speculators, to establish and maintain their property rights and to throttle the will of the majority of the people.

The revolutions are never precipitated by the majority of a people—even the American Revolution was not begun by a majority—but they must possess the power to overthrow the ruling class. In the past, successful revolutions have always replaced one minority class by another minority class. The characteristic of the Social Revolution now in process is that it does away with every form of dominance.

But even the Social Revolution will not be begun by a majority. It is begun by a mass of class-conscious and resolute proletarians and the course of the Revolution itself awakens ever greater and greater masses of workers to an understanding of their interests, and draws them into the vortex of revolutionary struggle.

There is no reason why the revolutionary forces should represent an absolute majority. Even when they embrace the vast majority of the working class, the acts and decisions of the Proletarian Dictatorship will not be based on democracy, but on the class position of the proletariat against the capitalist class position.

In Russia the Proletarian Dictatorship could not last an hour unless it kept continually in touch with the revolutionary masses through the Soviets, leading yet controlled by the great popular will.

Moderate Socialists—and the bourgeoisie—accuse the Bolsheviks of advocating immediate, complete and perfect Socialism. What an absurdity! The Dictatorship of the Proletariat will last until Capitalism is abolished. Capitalism in its later stageuniversal Capitalism must disappear before the Proletarian Dictatorship of any one country is ended.

"Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie cannot seize the ready-made machinery of the State and use it for its own purposes." It must build new organizations, based not on the government of men, but on the administration of things.

In Russia it is undeniable that the great masses of the people, without Party, Land, and Workers' Councils of Industry. In the sense that it has no other purpose than to give the people their desires, the Proletarian Dictatorship is profoundly democratic. In the sense that it refuses to ask the opinion of militarists, landlords and manufacturers upon these matters, the Proletarian Dictatorship rejects "democracy."

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is "political power." Its purpose is simply to abolish the capitalists. It is political power of the capitalists cannot abolish the workers—for the workers are essential to society; but the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can abolish the capitalists, for they are unnecessary.

Foiled in their game of tearing Marxian phrases from their context, the moderates, whenever they come across something in Marx that doesn't agree with their theories, explain that the old gentleman wrote it in a moment of aberration. "Dictatorship of the Proletarians" was, for example, written in a moment of aberration; "merely a phrase;" Marx really didn't mean it. Apparently the moderates don't know where the phrase occurs, so they hint that it is part of the Communist Manifesto, written in 1847. They may quote some sentences—torn from their context, by the way—from The Civil War in France, written in 1870, to prove that Marx changed his mind.

As a matter of fact, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" occurs in a document five years later—Critique of the Gotha Program of 1875. Marx was then tolerably mature; he was not searching for "strong idioms." He wanted to express himself clearly and definitely—and he did, as follows:

"Between the capitalist society and the communist lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the State cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat." This exactly defines the Russian Soviet Government.

As Marx says: "They (the proletarians) have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for and insurance of individual existence." "In one word you (bourgeois) reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Property of the proletariat is just what we mean by the "abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at .....

And also bourgeois "democracy"
The Left Wing Answers

(Continued from page 7)
only a constant swarming of the ranks of unskilled, transit labor, in correspondence with the progress of the machine and the specialization of the market demands. Capitalist mastery tends rapidly to a stage of military feudalism, turned to ruthless labor suppression and regimentation of the entire national life on the basis of a universalized militarism. The labor revolt rapidly acquires the desperate nature of combat, and of the futility of all processes except its own mass defiance.

The Socialism which proceeds in consciousness of this process—the Socialism of the living class struggle, not of the illusionary game of capitalist parliamentarism, a play of words while the real decisions are made in the Star Chambers of finance,—this Socialism must be supremely aware of its own function in relation to this cataclysmic social conflict. The correct statement of the proletarian policy and tactics in relation to this crisis, whether abrupt or prolonged (which depends on the development of revolutionary class consciousness for the forma tion of the Socialist movement. The mass expressions evolving out of the Socialist organization itself should take a form of the general mass action which will assert upon which the revolution itself.

In other words, the school of revolutionary understanding and revolutionary activity cannot await the morning of the social revolution, else the proletarian mass protest against imperialistic exploitations will yield only blood.

**Objection:** The Left Wing wants to substitute violence for political action.

**Answer:** Violence, in the labor movement, arises either by capitalist provocation or by individual act unrelated to the organization propaganda or tactics. In the United States, today, we find the illustration of brazen capitalist efforts to incite desperate workingmen to acts of violence, by fake examples and by constituting violence for political action. The individual act unrelated to the organization of violence as the answer to protest or resistance on the part of the workers.

The Left Wing wants to make the political action of the Socialist Party of the character of revolutionary Socialism. That is, the platform of the party and the role of its members in the general public movement take a leading place in the entire propaganda of the party; all in the direct line of the revolutionary class struggle.

Our conception of political action must not be based on the rules and models of bourgeois politics, but must be in adaptation to the proletarian conditions of mass functioning. That is, the proletariat develops modes of power peculiar to its own circumstances, as its power to check the industrial processes by means of strikes, and its right to non-refusal of service. Whatever the method of expressing the proletarian mass power, everything comes within the terms of political action as soon as it is turned to a political object, that is, the object of winning the state power, or of coercing the state power in the service of the workers.

The Reformists conceive of political action in terms of a modification of the political and economic regime of Capitalism. The Left Wing, on the other hand, regards political action from the angle of array of the revolutionary proletariat outside the capitalist state to coerce its actions, and, in final terms, to capture the state power in its entirety. This difference is crucial. If the objection is that the Left Wing is not seriously concerned with the system of capitalist politics as a system, ranging in detail from the most aristocratical conservatism to the most radical Liberalism, that is correct. Within this play of capitalist politics, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other. That consciousness can be affected by the use of the capitalist parliaments, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other. That consciousness can be affected by the use of the capitalist parliaments, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other. That consciousness can be affected by the use of the capitalist parliaments, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other. That consciousness can be affected by the use of the capitalist parliaments, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other.

**Unionism and Mass Action**

(Continued from page 14)
that it frees the energy, while it co-ordinates the forces, and the proletariat, compels the proletariat to act uncompromisingly and reject the rights of any other class; and action destroys hesitancy and a paltering with the revolutionary task.

The great war has objectively brought Europe to the verge of revolt. Capitalist society at any moment may be thrust into the air by an upheaval of the proletariat,—as in Russia. Whence will the impulse for the revolutionary struggle come? Surely not from the moderate Socialism and unionism, which are united solidly in favor of an imperialist war; surely not from futile parliamentary rhetoric, even should it be revolutionary rhetoric. Rather, it will come out of the mass action of the proletariat. And it is this mass action alone that can sweep aside the luxury and incapacity of the bourgeoisie. Capitalism, by its compulsions of quiting or resistance on the part of the workers.

The Left Wing declares that the first constructive step is the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Only after this step can there be proletarian democracy and socialization of industry.

The thing to construct today, in the United States, is an accurate understanding and consciousness of the part of the millitant proletarians of the character of the struggle in which they are engaged and of their organization requirements in relation to this struggle. An accurate understanding of the class struggle of itself indicates the general character of the Socialist transformation by which private-property exploitation is to be ended.

**Objection:** The Left Wingers are mostly "November Bolsheviks." They are emotion­ally carried away by the Russian Revolution.

**Answer:** Yes, many of the Left Wingers are "November Bolsheviks." None the worse, if they are Bolsheviks.

There has never been such a lesson in Socialism as that of the Russian Revolution, a lesson made universal through the experience of Germany in November 1918 and afterwards. It is a lesson that is being intensified every day and in all countries. It is neither transient nor unique. Even the Opportunists are willing to admit its appropriateness for practically every country—except their own! And this is true of the Opportunists in each country! (Even in Russia!) Naturally the new life of the Socialist movement comes as a direct response to the immediate revolution of the generalpolitical state must be given increasing consciousness and effective organization character.

Fortunately there is a large element of emotionalism in the response to the Russian Revolution, and emotionalism which is not harassed to understanding is apt to prove ever­resent. But such emotionalism is the very life of our movement. It must be tempered and tested. But without it we would not be making a flood of flesh and blood, but a sectarian creed of abstract dogma.
Unionism and Mass Action

By Louis C. Faina

From "Revolutionary Socialism"

THE working class, as every revolutionary class, passes through a process of material and ideological development, in which its characteristics, determined by the prevailing historical conditions, are transformed and adapted to new circumstances as these arise. The development, roughly, consists of three phases:

1. Isolated economic action, through craft unions and sporadic strikes, with a gradual development of the idea of independent political action as a revolutionary means of struggle.

2. Political action, in its parliamentary sense, dominant in the proletarian class movement, becomes conservative and incompatible with the development of the proletariat, determining the development and revolutionary movements arise, industrial in character, that repudiate all politics.

3. The third phase, the phase into which we are now emerging, adjusts itself to new circumstances and the increasing development of the proletariat, recognizing industrial and political action as synthetic factors in the general mass action of the proletariat, as phases of the dynamic struggle of the new social-revolutionary era.

The proletariat steps upon the stage of history as a revolutionary class. It was the still immature class of workers that saved the French Revolution, that established a bourgeois revolution in spite of all the hesitations and compromises of the bourgeoisie. In all subsequent revolutions in France—and France is the classical exemplar of the period in the development of the proletariat—the workers were a dynamic factor; they made the revolution, but they could not retain control because of the immaturity of their class development. The great struggle of the Paris Commune was the final heroic act of this period, and at the same time a premonition of what was to come. In the historical sense, these revolts were not revolution but insurrections, revolts against the rulers, and determined largely by its ideology. With the downfall of the Commune and the collapse of the social-revolutionary First International, the worker party, fraternity, upon a new period, the period of systematic, peaceful organization and struggle, along national and moderate lines, and not international and revolutionary. The value of these early revolts lay in impressing the workers with a sense of their own class immaturity and driving out of their consciousness the surviving ideology of the bourgeois revolution.

The workers, when they organize against Capitalism, adopt a struggle for more wages and better conditions of work generally. Largely because their skill is still an important factor (and these early movements are dominantly movements of skilled labor), the workers win certain concessions. But because they are skilled workers, and equally because Capitalism has not yet integrated industry and the proletariat, these movements do not assume revolutionary proportions, so that they conquer material concessions. The economic action is isolated; there is no general contact of the working class with the capitalist class, and the conception of a more general class struggle arises, developing into politics and parliamentary activity. Through the advent of the party, the economic struggle is extended into a general struggle to Capitalism, a struggle that cannot develop out of isolated economic action. At this period the concept of the workers engaging in independent class politics begins to emerge; the consciousness of class and establishes class contact with the ruling class.

Socialism, with its program of class politics, offers the workers a class conception and class activity that are historically revolutionary. This development marks an epoch in the history of the working class. It arises, ideologically and potentially at least, the workers' consciousness of class; and without this consciousness of class the proletariat is doomed either to futile insurrection or being an instrument for the promotion of rival bourgeois interests.

Accordingly, Socialism develops along the lines of politics, in the parliamentary sense. But a means of action may be revolutionary or conservative according to historical conditions and requirements. At one period, a particular means may be revolutionary; at another, considering new conditions which require new or different means of action, it may become conservative, even reactionary. This is precisely what happens to Socialism in its parliamentary phase, which is its dominant phase. Where previously Socialism developed the consciousness of class and potential revolution in the proletariat, within the limits of its economic, social revolutions becomes a force that hampers this development.

Socialism in its early activity as a general organized movement was compelled to emphasize the action of politics because of the immaturity of the proletariat. The workers are scattered, and these struggles are largely directed against the individual employer: large scale industry has not developed sufficiently to make large masses of workers engage in a general, struggle against Capitalism and the state. The workers, subjectively and objectively, find it difficult to adapt themselves to new requirements, the parliamentary Socialism, sees in the unions simply the instrument with which the proletariat may become a political force, a political mechanism with which the unskilled proletariat turns to mass action, a mass action that emphasizes the futurity of Capitalism.

This development, coincident, it must be emphasized, with the rise of Imperialism, arouses the workers to a new spirit and gives a new direction, which are unable to cope with the new developments, and in which the unskilled become a more and more influential factor. But even more significant are the great strikes involving large masses of unorganized unskilled workers, strikes that shake the very fabric of capitalist society, and the influence of which stimulate revolutionary currents within the Socialist organisations. Instead of recognizing revolutionary vitality of these new developments, the dominant Socialism tries to compress and stultify them within the limits of the old tactics, tries to maintain the ascendancy of a Socialism expressing the non-revolutionary elements of skilled labor and the petty bourgeoisie. In its struggles against Capitalism and the dominant capitalism the unskilled industrial proletariat turns to mass action, a mass action that emphasizes the futurity of Capitalism.

The reactionary character of the dominant Socialism is expressed not simply in the failure to accept the new developments, but in the fact that it has frequently condemned and opposed manifestations of the new proletarian action, occasionally even actively betrayed the unskilled proletariat while it was in the midst of gigantic struggles against Capitalism.

The dominant Socialism maintains its influence because of the prestige, the conservatism of organization, and the insufficiently developed consciousness of the unskilled proletariat; but it is gradually undermined by the upsurge of revolution, the growth of Capitalism, and the pace of industrial development. The industrial proletariat is "organized by the very mechanism of capitalist production. The worker becomes co-ordinated, integrated, and the strikes of the industrial workers assume revolutionary significance, antagonizing the dominant craft unions and parliamentary revolts in the craft strikes, directed at Capitalism through the industrial source of capitalist supremacy. While antagonism between the "proletariat" and the "petite bourgeoisie" as against the capitalist class is softened, the antagonisms between the industrial proletariat and Capitalism are sharpened. Industrial struggles become more and more general, larger in scope and intensity; a new epoch of class war emerges, and the struggle for a new social political and economic order, which in purpose—a class war having as its driving
force the mass action of the industrial proletariat of average labor. The new movements of the proletariat, struggling within the framework of capitalist production itself, and it becomes the tool of industrial unionism. The unskilled proletariat organizes its unions industrially, in accord with the facts of industry, in accord with the conditions of its work and existence. Industrial unionism in form is an expression of the integration of the industry and the proletariat by the mechanism of capitalist production itself, and it becomes peculiarly the unionism of the revolutionary proletariat. All groups of workers in an industry struggle for wages, conditions of work, and grievances. This is the integrated movement of the proletariat. Collective bargaining, action becomes the mass action of the mass action of the proletariat in the general class fight against Capitalism, as parliamentary Socialism weakens under the pressure of revolutionary events, each in itself and even more so is complete, and the two aims of action become merged in the general action of the proletariat, centralizing and energized by the revolutionary mass action.

What are the limitations of industrial unionism and parliamentary action in their particularized activity?

Parliamentary action in and of itself cannot realize the militant independence of the proletariat, and its unionism and mass action. The peaceable parliamentary action makes the state a vital issue of the class struggle, but which, being a solid, industrially incorporated into the universal power of the proletariat, out of its strikes, strikes, and struggles and the development of an economic and political majority under the forms of State Capitalism. The proletariat must insist in all the issues that maintain its ascendancy. Parliamentary action centers attention on all these issues; if revolutionary, parliamentary action realizes the futility, however, of solving issues of the class struggle in action. It is not a single issue, but the totality of issues of the class struggle, and struggles and the development of an economic and political majority under the forms of State Capitalism. The proletariat must insist in all the issues that maintain its ascendancy. Parliamentary action centers attention on all these issues; if revolutionary, parliamentary action realizes the futility, however, of solving issues of the class struggle in action. It is not a single issue, but the totality of issues of the class struggle, and struggles and the development of an economic and political majority under the forms of State Capitalism. The proletariat must insist in all the issues that maintain its ascendancy. Parliamentary action centers attention on all these issues; if revolutionary, parliamentary action realizes the futility, however, of solving issues of the class struggle in action.
tariat before Socialism can be established, the
construction of a general industrial organiza-
tion that may seize and operate industry. In
terminable, it may be conceivable that some
today, some how, the majority of the prole-
tariat, or an overwhelming minority, may
become organized into industrial unions un-
der Capitalism. A few data on actual practice, 
is this incomprehensible. The proletariat of un-
skilled labor, which alone may accept indus-
trial unionism, is difficult to organize; its condi-
tions of labor discourage co-ordinating or
mation and make it move and act under the
impulse of mass action. The conditions of Cap-
italism have made it impossible to organize
the parliamentary Socialist conception of the
peaceful "growing into" Socialism; it evades
the dynamic problems of the Revolution, sub-
stituting theory for reality and formulas for
action. It is fantastic as a general proposi-
tion; it has particularly fantastic considering
the period of violent politics and social move-
tion in which the world is now emerging, to
consider that the proletariat under Capitalism
cannot act upon its own initiative and organi-
ture of the new society. The structure of in-
dustrialism, the form of the new Communist
society, can be organized only during the
transition period from Capitalism to Commun
Socialism acting through the dictatorship of the
proletariat; all that can be done in the mean-
while, is to develop a modern interior organi-
zation and its ideology of the industrial
state, which may constitute the starting
point that makes mass action the method of
proletarian mass action the method of the
new proletarian modes of struggle. All
necessarily is to act upon their
systematics and consciousness, allowing it to seize
and temporarily succeeding in softening
antagonisms, actually and fundamentally mul-
tiplying the antagonisms and contradictions in-
hert in Capitalism. It is a violent form, equally
between na-
ions, and between the proletariat and
bourgeoisie. This crisis in antagonisms con-
stitutes the social-revolutionary era, in which
the proletariat is driven to violent struggles
against Capitalism through mass action. The
social-revolutionary era and its tactic in mass action: this is the great
fact of contemporary proletarian development.
The process of revolution consists in a
revolutionary conquest of power.

The Revolutionary Age
July 12, 1919

(Continued on page 11)
Official Left Wing News

ALL efforts should now be concentrated on the nomination and election of Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Convention of August 30th. There are practically no States in which the Left Wing could not carry the elections, without expulsions and suspensions. Several of the most important states have outlawed, or become outlawed, as State organizations, and the State Conventions have appointed delegates to attend the National Convention in Chicago, August 30th, and to pass a convention of delegates in every State. It is still possible to carry the primary elections in these States by combined vote of regular and suspended or expelled. Several of the most important states have outlawed, or become outlawed, as State organizations, and the State Conventions have appointed delegates to attend the National Convention in Chicago, August 30th, and to pass a convention of delegates in every State. It is still possible to carry the primary elections in these States by combined vote of regular and suspended or expelled members. Where the State organization is recognized, expelled and suspended organizations within the State should provide themselves with the regular ballots (printing copies where necessary) and vote for the Left Wing nominees. These votes, added to the others, will show the real vote of the members of the State and will entitle the Left Wing nominees, if they win on the combined vote, to claim seats at all elections on August 30th. Failing the August 30th Convention, delegates thus elected for Left Wing representation will be ready to take part in the Convention to organize a Communist Party.

If the Left Wing candidates are not nominated under the regular party methods, or if there is a State in which these candidates cannot win at this time by combined vote of regular and suspended or expelled members, it will be necessary to form a provisional Left Wing organization for the purpose of making nominations and balloting for Left Wing delegates on the same ratio of delegates to members as in regular party election, but counting only those branches which affiliate themselves with the Left Wing. These delegates, if elected by a minority of the membership, can have no claim to seats in the party convention, but can act as fraternal delegates and claim full participation in the Convention to organize a new party, if this becomes the program.

We call on no rule which covers all the varieties of local complications, but the main thing is to get the Left Wing candidates at once to work out the problem of bringing together at Chicago, August 30th, a full and fair representation of the party membership as and at the time of the alternative. If the party convention is called off by the rank and file of the party, the problem is to bring together a proportionate representation of the revolutionary Socialists throughout the country.

There is not a day to lose on this all-important matter. We issue the above notices immediately.

The Revolutionary Age will carry local Left Wing activities. Branches should send in the date and address of regular meeting place to Maxmillian Cohen, 43 W. 39th St.

NOTICES as to special activities should be in the office by Tuesday morning every week.

Branches wishing to hold open-air meetings and desire Left Wing speakers should send in notice a few days ahead in writing, if possible.

Speakers wishing to be booked in New York City should communicate with Maxmillian Cohen, Executive Secretary, 43 W. 39th St. stating terms and dates they can fill.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JULY 14


FRIDAY, JULY 12


TUESDAY, JULY 16


THURSDAY, JULY 18


** THE PARTY EXPULSIONS **

Statement issued by instruction of Local Boston

Socialist Party, in General Membership Meeting assembled, June 26, 1910.

1. We refuse to recognize the expulsion by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the State Organization of Michigan and Massachusetts and the suspension of the Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, South Slavic, Russian and Ukrainian Federations, if any. We call upon the National Executive Committee to offer to proceed with their elections as if they were still within the party, using the regular rules and methods.

2. We note that the members of the Executive Committee resist the action of the language federations. Therefore we declare that the five federations made plans to vote for a "late". Such procedure has always been recognized within the Party as a legitimate means of giving effect to majority opinion. As a matter of fact, it is now too late to prevent these votes, if himself elected on a "late" as State Secretary of Massachusetts in a few days. Even in capitalist courts, any officer who attempts to deprive the accused comrades of rights such as to interfere with the processes of the membership. Therefore we declare that the five federations were entitled to full participation in the Convention of August 30th. Failing the August 30th Convention, delegates thus elected for Left Wing representation will be ready to take part in the Convention to organize a Communist Party.

3. Another charge is that five federations issued a statement that they would not assist in the socialist • • party methods, or if there is a State in which these candidates cannot win at this time by combined vote of regular and suspended or expelled members, it will be necessary to form a provisional Left Wing organization for the purpose of making nominations and balloting for Left Wing delegates on the same ratio of delegates to members as in regular party election, but counting only those branches which affiliate themselves with the Left Wing. These delegates, if elected by a minority of the membership, can have no claim to seats in the party convention, but can act as fraternal delegates and claim full participation in the Convention to organize a new party, if this becomes the program.

The mass meeting scheduled to take place in Manhattan Lyceum last Monday evening had to be postponed at the last minute due to the fact that the Revolutionary Age carrying the advertisement did not arrive in time. The meeting was held, but came out on Monday which made it manifestly impossible to advertise the meeting in time to fill the Lyceum. There is not a day to lose on this all-important matter. We issue the above notices immediately.

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Greater New York News

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Massachusetts Expelled

Another State gone. Massachusetts is expelled for adopting the Left Wing program at its State Convention and for refusing to recognize the N. E. C. act of suspending the Federations. For this ter offense, Pennsylvania is now threatened with expulsion, and very likely Ohio will meet the same sad fate.

It is a race against time: will there be anything left for the N. E. C. to expel by August 30th? Even Milwaukee is slipping. Think of it: Millwau­kee! The sanctum of smug petty bourgeoisie re­formism which perverts the name of Socialism for the winning of a few public offices. Yet, in spite of The Leader and the Berger cohorts, if all the members of the party were allowed to vote in Mil­waukee, very likely Ohio delegates to the Emergency Conference could be Left Wingers.

The party-splitters will succeed only in splitting themselves off from the mass of the membership. But every precaution must be taken to offset this program of destruction by definite alignment of the Left Wing forces.

Ohio State Convention

The most important event in the party history since the National Left Wing Conference was the Ohio Convention of June 29th-30th. This Conven­tion lined up Ohio absolutely in accord with the program and policies of the National Left Wing. The delegates from Ohio to the Emergency Convention of August 30th stand instructed by the State Convention to insist upon the seating of all delegates elected by the votes of all the membership. Ohio itself refusing to recognize the N. E. C. orders of the last days, these delegates to the Emergency Convention, by carrying to the final ex­tremity the tactics of bring around, the Ohio dele­gates will go into the convention to organize a new party.

I. E. Ferguson, National Sec'y.

Schedule of Open-Air Meetings in the 17th A. D. Party Convention

Monday night—110th St. and 5th Ave.

Speaker: I. A. Goldstein

Tuesday night—100th St. and Madison Ave.

Speaker: Alex. Goldstein

Wednesday night—1043rd St. and Madison Ave.

Speaker: A. Rybkind

MASS MEETING

Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street.

FRIDAY JULY 14

New York delegates to Left Wing Convention will report. All comrades invited. Admission by Party Card only.

Friday night—Mass Meeting on 10th and 5th Ave.

Prominent Speakers

A regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the Branch to be held Wednesday, July 16.

All New York State communications should be ad­ressed to Edward Lindgen, 300 Halsey St., Brook­lyn, N. Y. New state secretary of the Left Wing State Committee.

All Bronx Left Wing Branches are requested to elect delegates to the Left Wing Central Committee of the Bronx on the basis of one delegate to every twenty members or fraction thereof.

Members of the Left Wing of the 3rd, 4th, 6th and 8th Assembly Districts, Bronx, are urged to send their names and addresses to the organiser of the Bronx Left Wing, care of the Executive Secretary of the Left Wing, Locals Greater New York, 43 West 20th Street.

These members of the Bronx Picnic Committee who are not members are invited to send the names of the members elected by the various branches to this Committee to the Assistant Manager of the Picnic.

Bronx Branch Secretaries should file membership lists immediately with the organiser, R. Blueglass, 710 East 140th St. Bronx, N. Y.
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. In every industrial centre, the Left Wing is a power.

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, or organize a new Communist Party.

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.

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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<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>New York (greater city)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
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<td>Buffalo, N. Y.</td>
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<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
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<td>Pittsburg, Pa.</td>
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<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
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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 of the Left Wing—act now.

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