Guaranteed to cure all Wars, Corns, Bugs and Protect Capital
The Revolutionary Age

No to Work

CAPITALISM plunged the world into war. It made work for death instead of life the normal occupation of peoples. It divided industry, encouraged destruction and idealized death. Capitalism did all these things in order to extol the supremacy of Capitalism. The terrible tragedy of the world was a product of the terrible tragedy of peace. Capitalism is latent war and destruction, becoming actual and all-consuming at a particular moment. The necessity of war and destruction creates its own ideology: Capitalism makes a litany to war and destruction—necessary work. It is necessary to die and destroy Capitalism, in order to realize one's ideals.

But the workers did not realize any of their ideals during the war—they simply realized destruction and oppression. It was to the workers a tragic teacher; it taught them that it is necessary to fight and destroy to realize ideals, but in a particular way. The masses of Europe, accordingly, are reactive; they have accepted the ideology of power; they propose to fight and destroy in the struggle against Capitalism in order to realize their proletarian ideals.

But now Capitalism, realizing the menace of its own teaching, is speaking piously against war and destruction. It now sings a litany to peace and work.

The statesmen of the world, until recently idealizing war and destruction, are now idealizing peace. The capitalists are at last ready to do the thing necessary for Capitalism.

But this means work under the old conditions. It means work under the old conditions, it will mean redemption for the workers. The proletariat is always urged to do the thing necessary for Capitalism.

The statesmen of the world, until recently idealizing war and destruction, are now idealizing peace. The capitalists are at last ready to do the thing necessary for Capitalism. Now to Work.

It is necessary to struggle against oppression, against injustice, against the dominant class and its old order. It is necessary to destroy this order of Capitalism. Social peace is realizable only after the struggle against Capitalism ends in the destruction of Capitalism. Life must destroy in order to realize life.

Work is necessary. But work under Capitalism means drudgery and oppression. It means that man lives to work, instead of working to live.

"In work alone is redemption," says that Capitalism which just a year ago urged the redemption was in war. There is redemption in work,—under new conditions. If the workers are to have work under the old conditions, it will mean redemption for Capitalism.

It is necessary that the workers should struggle to end Capitalism, after which alone work under Capitalism will mean redemption for the workers. Work to work! Yes! To work in the struggle against Capitalism, to destroy the old order. Work to work! To work in man redemption—a new life and a new world.

The Revolutionary Age

The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

National Organ of the Left Wing Section
Socialist Party

L. C. Fraina, Editor

EDMUND MACALPINE, Managing Editor

 Owned and Controlled by the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party
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Unions Bureaucracy

WHEREVER militant labor gets in action, it meets the obstacle of the bureaucracy of the old unions. The American labor movement is familiar with the contemptible intrigues of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy against I. W. W. strikes, and particularly during the break the workers' struggle. This tendency is becoming even more pronounced in Seattle.

The union bureaucrat is particularly against industrial unionism, since industrial unionism endows craft divisions and craft disputes, which constitute the power of the union bureaucracy. In Canada, the One Big Union—industrial unionism—has captured the imagination of the organized workers. The One Big Union directed the great general strike in Canada; but, says an observer, "the International Brotherhoods have come out against the strikers, shrewdly foreseeing in the One Big Union the destruction of their organization. This is a damming indictment of the old unionism."

One of the chief functions of the Communist is the union, in process of formation will now be to wage unrelenting war upon the old union bureaucracy, to encourage and rally the militant mass movements in these unions, to construct a revolution union movement.

July 14—November 7

JULY 14, symbol of the conquest of the Bastille by the masses of Paris, was this year in France officially a celebration of the victory over Germany. The July 14 of 1870 symbolizes revolution and progress; but the official "Victory" celebration of July 14, 1919, symbolizes reaction. Yet among the masses there was a revolutionary thrust! It marks its tribute to July 14, and the French Revolution, greeting these events as real contributions to the progress of the whole world. Simultaneously, the press heaps slander and abuse upon the Russian Revolution.

One hundred years ago, the French Revolution was slandered as an orgy of assassins and beasts. The whole of privileged Europe was outraged against the Revolution, precisely as it now intrudes against the Russian Revolution. But the ideas of the French Revolution

conquered; and now, the world greets the French Revolution as a great event.

November 7 symbolizes the proletarian revolution; for it was on that day in 1917 that the Russian proletariat conquered power. Abuse and slanders are the portion of the men and women of this Revolution; the whole world of bourgeois reaction is arrayed against the Soviet Republic, the Bolsheviks being stigmatized as beasts and assassins,—precisely as during the French Revolution.

When the world accepted democracy, it reversed the original opinion of the French Revolution; when the world accepts the Communist collaboration, it will reverse the prevailing opinion of the Russian Revolution, and greet it as the greatest event in all history, since it initiated the final struggle against class privilege and class domination.

The Small Nations

Before the Allies secured the services of Woodrow Wilson in creating an ideology for the war, they conceived the war as a war to protect the small nations. But this notion was not "protected" at the Peace Conference, being used by the great powers in making the world safe for Capitalism.

Under the conditions of Imperialism, there can be no real independence for the small nations; they may have their own governments, but these must act in accord with the Imperialism of the great powers. The small nations, moreover, become means for the great powers directly to promote their own predatory policies.

New nations are being created in Central Europe,—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia; and others are in process. No carrot is offered these nations, the Allies have one general purpose: to erect a barrier against Bolshevism. It works this way: the Allies decided that Soviet Russia must be crushed; accordingly, they bargained with the Czecho-Slovak that, in return for national independence, they should fight against Soviet Russia. This bargain has been agreed upon also with Finland. Now comes the news that the Allies have decided that Soviet Russia must be crushed, but the Czecho-Slovaks have dissolved their own. The masses, in 1917, were not impressed by the idea of a peace after the war. These nations were not impressed by the ideas of the French Revolution as a great event.

The workers, when the A. F. of L. decided to use its power to destroy the workers and to prevent the workers from engaging in the war, they conceived the war as a war to destroy capitalism and oppression. It was to the workers a tragic teacher; it taught them that it is necessary to fight and destroy to realize ideals, but in a particular way. The masses of Europe, accordingly, are reactive; they have accepted the ideology of power; they propose to fight and destroy in the struggle against Capitalism in order to realize their proletarian ideals.

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Political Mass Strikes

The proposed general strike to compel the release of Tom Mooney and other class war prisoners has not, as yet, materialized. Sabotaged by the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and necessity dictated by the liberal—"Socialist"—campaign for amnesty, the proposed mass strike is now a thing of regrets. The bourgeois press is jubilant since a strike to compel the end of intervention in Russia. The proletariat of Italy is using the political strike to further the anti-German revolution; while the Seamen's Federation at Naples prevented the steamer Cablons, bound from London to Vladivostok, from leaving the port because it carried munitions to murder the Russian people. Realizing these fruits of democracy, the workers are concluding: To hell with democracy!

But as economic pressure and revolutionary agitation proceed, the political strike will become familiar to the American proletariat, since class antagonisms and class struggles are being emphasized, necessitating emphatic action.

In Europe, where the political strike is a familiar form of proletarian action, the workers are preparing for the mightiest of all political strikes—a political strike simultaneously in France, Italy and England on July 21 to compel the end of intervention in Russia. The proletariat of Italy is using the political strike to further the anti-German revolution; while the Seamen's Federation at Naples prevent the steamer Cablons, bound from London to Vladivostok, from leaving the port because it carried munitions to murder the Russian people. Realizing these fruits of democracy, the workers are concluding: To hell with democracy!

The political strike, according to Collier's, "is hostile to democracy, . . . Their legitimate instrument is the citizen's vote, not economic civil war." Democracy is hostile to the political strike, for the reason that democracy is to reconcile the workers to their oppression and assure the supremacy of Capitalism. Economic civil war is the their instrument of democracy but capital uses this civil war to impose its will equally upon the workers and the state. Capital threatens the workers with unemployment and the workers are prepared to defend their supremacy and defend their state; and capital threatens the state that the state act contrary to its will. Capital imposits its will upon the state by means of its assertion of economic power; labor must impose its will upon the state by means of its assertion of economic power in political mass strikes.

The political strike is conscious of its purposes and does not demand the economic might by means of political agitation. Instead it is to dictate the pay of a group, it is to dictate the policy of the bourgeois citizenry. James Sexton, Labor Party member of Parliament, "favors" a revolution social in character, but opposing the revolution, he states: The object of the mass struggle itself the tendency toward unity, since the Michigan delegates repudiate the Left Wing Manifesto and Program while the Federation delegates are in favor. To hell with consistency and revolutionary integrity!

The Left Wing is not after "the stag­nant elements have been un­guaranteed for a false unity" in the Socialist Party. The revolutionary elements in the party are not stagnant; the intensity of their struggle is not the state of Michigan nor the Central Committee of the Russian Federation which has made a national issue of revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party, but precisely the masses who are not the state of Michigan nor the Central Committee of the Russian Federation which has made a national issue of revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party, but precisely the masses who are being agitated by the issue of the Left Wing.

The character of the Left Wing struggle within the Socialist Party is determined equally by means and by purposes. The pur­pose, the means, the Socialism: the means, at the immediate moment, must consist of a struggle to secure the masses in the Socialist Party. In other words, a Party of Communist Socialism must issue either out of the conquest of the Socialist Party, or out of a mass se­cession to organize a completely new Party. This policy has characterized the struggle of the Left Wing within the Socialist Party.

The Left Wing Manifesto and Program for a Party of Communist Socialism, in its present form (that of the National Left Wing) is one of endeavor to capture the old party machinery and the stagnant elements who have been struggling for "false unity" and who are only ready to abandon the ship when it sinks beneath the waves of reaction.

The amount of misrepresentation in this short paragraph is truly astonishing:

1) The policy of the National Council of the Left Wing is not "to capture the old machinery. The Left Wing struggle is to get the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party.

2) The Left Wing is not after "the stagnant elements have been unguaranteed for a false unity" in the Socialist Party. The revolutionary masses in the party are not stagnant; the intensity of their struggle is not the state of Michigan nor the Central Committee of the Russian Federation which has made a national issue of revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party, but precisely the masses who are being agitated by the issue of the Left Wing.
THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

July 19, 1919

Bolshevikjabs

The Right Wing in Local Kings, N. Y.

at a meeting the other night decided to form an English Branch in one of the districts—"Comrades Oshinsky, Shitjakoff, Weil, Pavlov and Sheinblum were elected.

We understand that the formation of a foreign speaking Branch is contemplated and that the election of Comrades Linda Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Hancock.

* * *

A delegation of merchants, teachers and students visited Peking palace the other day and attempted to commit suicide in the presence of President Hsu Shih-chang as a protest against the transfer of Shantung to Japan by the Peace Treaty. This method of protest is said to have the unqualified approval of Japan.

* * *

Judging from the speeches which the President has delivered since his return from abroad the chief purpose of his visit to Europe was, not to make peace, but to find out how long the length of the Europeans were going in their admiration of America.

* * *

The chief advantage of this interpretation of his mission lies in the fact that even the most carping senator cannot very well find fault with being told that the Europeans are prostrating themselves in adoration before America.

* * *

It is said that President Wilson has a penchant for the number "14," and that he considers it his lucky number. Perhaps this is one way of telling us that he does not consider "14" particularly fortunate.

* * *

Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemal Pasha, Turkish leaders during the war, have been sentenced to death by a Turkish court-martial. We hope that the Allies will found on the establishment of any such dangerous precedent.

* * *

Physicians plan to make New York the medical capital of the world—and the New York City administration will do its best to keep the physicians well supplied with material.

* * *

We notice that Senator Moses is among those who oppose the League. Apparently he is not satisfied that it leads to the promised land.

* * *

Samuel Gompers has left for Europe—going back for more, we understand, that he does not contemplate visiting Italy this time.

* * *

"Wilson cited as the only friend Chinese had at Paris Parley" says a headline. Now the Chinese will understand the import of the Caucasian saying: "Save us from our friends."

* * *

"France is curbing big labor strike" says the papers—which merely goes to show how important it was that democracy should emerge triumphant in the world war.

We...

If autocracy had been victorious, it is practically certain that labor strikes would be suppressed.

Here and There

In an editorial under the caption "The American Defense Society," The New York Call emits a whine about the way in which the American Defense Society quotes Hillquit. "One item listed is a small pamphlet, entitled 'The New York Call,' which is a reprint from The Call," says the editorial. "From this pamphlet these patriots draw the following: 'Shall the socialization of industries and national life be attempted by one master stroke, or shall it be carried out gradually and slowly?'

'This article appeared a few weeks ago in the columns of this paper, and the extract quoted is taken from it. It started a controversy within the Socialist Party and answered the question by affirming that no great social change is possible in this country by 'one master stroke' (Call's italics). It is an answer to some heated individuals who think that a social revolution is imminent in this country."

The Call then becomes indignant at what it terms the mendacity of the American Defense Society. It goes on to say that the methods pursued by such organizations and assures the world that Hillquit is very much against "master strokes."

The correct title for this editorial would be: "Please, Mr., it wasn't me, it was the other fellow." The Call denounces the American Defense Society's methods in one line, and in the next commits an offense a thousand times worse—trying to save its own skin by blaming someone else. It objects to the article was directed against the Left Wing without intended, and then it deliberately lies specifically and so the 'heated individuals' can anybody is at least mentioning democracy, rule of majorities, and plebiscites even in the drawing-rooms.

In the last issue, The New Republic, in a burst of indignation, announces to the world the enormity of her betrayal. The alliance with France, Blow, blow to the leninists of Nations to atoms, proves that Mr. Wilson did not always mean what he said, or say what he meant, lays the foundations for new wars, and shows that peace and England is scheming for what got Germany into trouble—the domination of the world.

We are inclined to think that all the things The New Republic attributes to the alliance with France are exactly what those who framed the pact intended. France is dreaming of the rebirth of the First Empire and undoubtedly England never had any idea of forewearing her taste for salt water. But what did The New Republic expect? Surely she knew that statesmen never did wage wars for slogans—that has always been the special privilege of the hoi-poloi. One would think she really believed in Santa Claus! These are hard days for the liberal bourgeoisie. All the returning soldiers tell us that No-man's-land was the worst place in the whole war—one got it from both trenches.

Special Convention Stamps

The National Executive Committee provided for payment of the expenses of the National Emergency Convention by issuing voluntary assessment stamps to be sold at 50 cents. The Left Wing members and locals still within the regular party organization will neither want to evade responsibility for their portion of the Convention expenses, nor will they want to finance the old N. E. C. in their deliberate attempt to wreck the party.

In this situation the National Left Wing Council has adopted the following motion: That we advise all party members who support the Left Wing to pay this Convention assessment in trust to the State Secretary of Ohio, at 2097 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, the Convention funds accumulated to be finally disposed of by the National Left Wing Council on September 1st, 1919.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, LEFT WING

I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary

The New Republic is in a terrible state. She feels that she has been betrayed, that her character is gone. She feels that her very name is in itself a jeer at her proud announcements of yesterday; the building of a new world, the safeguarding of democracy, the war to end war and the beautiful vision of a Capitalism wherein the soldier, the machine gun, the bombing plane, the battlefield and the submarine would be as rare as a prohibitionist on Broadway. She is gradually awakening to the fact that there is no New Republic, but only the old republics, up to their old tricks—under new names. That is excluding Russia and Hungary, and our once proud contemporary could not, of course, have anything to do with them. Why, she has not even been introduced. Besides their language is coarse and plain. They talk of dictatorship, iron discipline, and proletarian might, when everybody who is anybody is at least mentioning democracy, rule of majorities, and plebiscites even in the drawing-rooms.

No Man's Land was the worst place in the war—once it was the other way around. The chief advantage of this interpretation of his mission lies in the fact that even the most carping senator cannot very well find fault with being told that the Europeans are prostrating themselves in adoration before America.

It is said that President Wilson has a penchant for the number "14," and that he considers it his lucky number. Perhaps this is one way of telling us that he does not consider "14" particularly fortunate.

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If autocracy had been victorious, it is practically certain that labor strikes would be suppressed.
The One Big Union in Canada

By Ben Legere

had been striking for two weeks previously. The subsequent extension of the general strike to practically every industrial community in Western Canada and to many of the important eastern cities as well was carried out as a normal tactic of a new kind of labor movement, and I did not find that the workers anywhere regarded the general strike as a prelude to revolution nor as a serious crisis in the constant conflict which they recognize as existing between them and the employing class.

In calling off the strike and returning to work without fully achieving the definite immediate demands they were fighting for, they were also following a simple rule of procedure of the new unionism which they have embraced. Anyone who conceives the idea that the Canadian general strike was a failure will have to admit that Labor organized as is the One Big Union in Canada is little concerned with the nominal success or failure of its strikes. It is simply part of the business of the day and will be repeated as a matter of fact part of the program whenever the occasion seems to require it. And from the point of view of those who see the only success or failure possible is measured by the threat of their own Capitalism being swept aside and supplanted by a worker's democracy. From a Soldier

Dear Friend:-

I noticed in the daily press that you are held over for trial. I heard you speak in Calgary and I cannot understand why it should be so, since we are living in a free and enlightened country. I am the ex-soldier that spoke to you outside the Allen Theatre in Calgary, after the meeting.

As a soldier and ex-sergeant I fought for three years that Battle of Freedom and democracy on the battle fields of Flanders and France, I fought the monster of militarism, faced the screaming shells, the rattle of machine guns and inhaled the poison gas.

The remainder of my life I will devote to fight the spirit of Prussianism in our own country. Great was my zeal when I marched into battle to the sound of drums. Greater today is my zeal and spirit fighting the battle of the working class.

Take heart, friend, your friends are today numbered by the millions; thirty-five thousand are today protesting in Winnipeg against the forces that oppress us.

Ten times that number is this day ready to aid them.

The clarion call is sounded; eager thousands are anxiously waiting to down tools if it be necessary. At last the workers are beginning to realize that an injury to one is an injury to all.

So we see the dawn of better days. Liberty will not for a moment but a fair vision on the distant sky. It will come and take up its abode among the children of men.

On with the fight, upwards and onwards for ever humanity is striving.

All our petty prosecutors will some day be forgotten, buried in the cemetery of oblivion. And the memory of this union of freedom, of a better day, will be inscribed in the loving memory in the great red heart of humanity.
"Criminal Syndicalism"

The onward sweep of world revolution has not left this country unmoved. In spite of the A. F. of L. Convention, the failure of the Mooney-Wilson Case and the other factors which, according to the socialist newspapers, warning that "this country is not Russia," the events that have been remolding the old world have made a deep and lasting impression in America. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the attitude of the powers that be towards all forms of radicalism. The forces of "law and order" are suffering from a bad case of nerves. In the fury of fear they are rushing headlong towards that which they desire to avoid. "This country is not Russia," they cry, and are about making it as like the old Russia as possible, with the result that the tendency to make it like new Russia grows by leaps and bounds, among the working masses. All over the country the legislatures are framing new laws, which are modelled on those of the Czar's regime. The "rulers" American-style handwriting on the wall but they have "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." They desire to avoid the fate of the European autocracies, and so they adopt a few statute books of the old autocracies and model new laws on those that contributed to the downfall of these autocracies, in the belief that they will save the new autocracy from the same fate.

One such measure which is enjoying great popularity among budding czars is the so-called Criminal Syndicalism Law. No one seems to know exactly what criminal syndicalism is, none of the laws attempt to define it, but it sounds pretty bad and so it is hoped it will pass unchallenged. The average worker in America knows little of syndicalism, as such. It is not practiced by his union, he does not expect that in the course of his struggles with the boss he will ever be called upon to invoke its aid, and when he hears about a law to punish it his interest is not excited. When he hears that the law is designed not against syndicalism but criminal syndicalism he begins to be somewhat in favor of it. That is what laws are for: to punish criminal acts, and criminal syndicalism is probably one of those European imports, in which bombs, stilletos, Black Hand work, and other conspiracies and deadly poisons play an important part.

In Massachusetts, Indiana, California and several other states the criminal syndicalism law is already in effect, while a Criminal Syndicalism Bill is pending in Congress. At the present time several arrest cases have been made under these state criminal syndicalism laws, and their true nature is being brought to light. From the facts in the cases which is before the courts of California it is clear that anything that the intellectual barons of this country do not like can be construed as criminal syndicalism. The absence of a definition of what criminal syndicalism really is, gives the law practically a universal scope. No overt act is necessary in order to bring one within the scope of this law and the written or spoken word would constitute criminal syndicalism through the District Attorney's interpretation of what some unknown person or persons might think as a result of reading an article or listening to a speech.

The various state laws dealing with the subject differ somewhat in the wording but in effect they are practically the same. Under these laws anyone is guilty who advocates the changing of existing conditions by a general cessation of industry, by force, or by any method that stands a reasonable chance of success. It is not necessary that the guilty person should actually suggest the overthrow of the government or even desire its downfall. If all that is required is that someone should think, as a result of hearing a speaker or reading an article, that it wouldn't be a bad thing if the government was overthrown. In effect the criminal syndicalism laws are a revival of all the old laws of suppression. To differ from the king is crime.

In the California case which is at present before the courts, Emanuel Levin is charged that he did "wilfully and unlawfully and feloniously circulate and publicly display books, pamphlets or other printed matter... containing and carrying written and printed advocacy, teaching and advising criminal syndicalism." The criminal citation is a copy of The One Big Union but later in the case other pamphlets and newspapers were introduced. Along with Socialist, and I. W. W. papers—The Revolutionary Age and The Red Letter in revolutionary papers as The Dial and The Nation are cited while among the pamphlets are a reprint of a speech delivered in the English parliament by Philip Snowden, Justice Labor and the Money Case. The Old Order in Europe and The New Order in Russia, by M. Phillips Price.

When the court was informed that the public libraries circulate books of even more radical tendency the police judge said that "all such books should be burned, these books were written before these times, and since the times are now changed, we must adapt ourselves to the new conditions."

This gives some idea of what is meant by criminal syndicalism and the case incurred wide-spread interest among labor organizations. The workers are beginning to understand that the present tendency of the courts is not to prevent workers from learning anything that might be of disadvantage to their masters. And that any worker who takes an intelligent interest in the affairs of the world or of his own relation to society is guilty of criminal syndicalism and is liable to suffer a long term of imprisonment.

Labor is beginning to examine these laws and to wonder just when a strike is criminal syndicalism and when it is not. Faintly it is dawning on the worker that anything that tends to make life worth living for those who labor is against the law. The workers of Russia were well aware that the laws of the czar were designed against them, they knew that they had no part in their making and that the czar's will alone was law, So they rose up and swept the czar out of the way.

But "this country is not Russia." Here the workers make the laws and elect the government!

The N. E. C. Mobilizing Slanders

The press service in behalf of the rump N. E. C. is a shameless fabric of outright lies, half-truths which are worse than lies, and degraded personal slander. The Oneal statement of June 30th is of this caliber.

Left Wing criticism of party actions and activities that he was of the Left Wing that the New York office was not a support of Wilson, which was known to them all the time. The point is that John Reed has, learned a great deal during the past three stirring years, with most exceptional opportunities for observation and intensive study. Where is the evidence that this criticism of the Right Wing have learned anything out of the cataclysmic developments of these years?

What did Comrade Reed do to entice the party members to give their votes to each Oneal? Perhaps the party membership is not quite so stupid as Oneal imagines; perhaps there was a large element of discriminating judgment as between these two individuals as representative of present-day socialism in the United States. From every point of the country the results are very much the same, so the camouflage about election frauds does not help solve the riddle of the enormous vote for Reed and the mysterious votes for Oneal. The Right Wing might think that the most safe and honest vote was at least a hint to Oneal, but there are some people whose vanity cannot be sustained by the taint of the Socialist Party. They measure the intelligence of the party by its appreciation of themselves. If the members give Reed ten times as many votes as they give Oneal, it is a clear case of emotional insanity (the Oneal explanation for everything which differs from his own absolute wisdom).

Again, Oneal refers to "that queer combination of phrases known as the Left Wing program." This is curious, indeed. At Chicago, during the recent N. E. C. deliberations, the Oneal Carefully review the New York Left Wing program in order to demonstrate how near he came to accepting it in its entirety. He asked only for a few modifications, but his main point was that there was no legality or reason in such a program being adopted until Oneal and his associates were ready to make it a part of the membership. For a "queer combination of phrases" as an evasion of all principles, we need only refer to the N. E. C. "statement of principles" of May 1917. Oneal therefore reviewed in The Revolutionary Age.

The Left Wing program seems to mean much to most of the members of the Socialist Party, and the Left Wing poses a much more important threat to the conservatism of the N. E. C., the storm, according to the Oneal analysis. Is there anybody in the United States who is (Continued on Page 13)
All Power to the Left Wing!

By Louis C. Freina

An Answer to the Michigan Federation Call for a New Party

Call For Delegates

Pursuant to the actions of the National Left Wing Conference, the following call is made to Left Wing Socialists and Locals throughout the country:

Act at once to win the allotment of delegates to your State for the Emergency Convention of August 30th for the Left Wing. Proceed at once in a regular official way, to instruct these delegates to join themselves with the National Left Wing Organization in its plans to transform the Socialist Party into a Communist Party, or to establish a new Communist Party. Where the Left Wing has failed to make nominations on the regular ballots for election of delegates, or where the Left Wing elements were decisively beaten, to organize the Left Wing membership provisionally for the purpose of electing delegates to go to Chicago on August 30th to work with the National Left Wing. The election of the Left Wing outside the regular party machinery should however, be on the same ratio of delegates to members as in regular election, although the requirement of three years party membership would not apply in this case.

Where the Left Wing is to be built upon the basis of a Communist Federation, or where the Left Wing, acting outside the regular party machinery, should however, be on the same ratio of delegates to members as in regular election, although the requirement of three years party membership would not apply in this case.

In the formation of a new party these Left Wing delegates will constitute the only representation of their respective States, so it is all-important that such delegates be sent to Chicago on August 30th.

Notify the Left Wing Council early and fully concerning your actions.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, Left Wing
I. E. Ferguson, Natl Sec'y

The Convention is called by a “National Organizing Committee” consisting of Dennis E. Batt, D. Elbaum, O. C. Johnson, John Keracher, S. Kopnagel, J. S. Stillinger and John Thompson. The committee represents a small group which, emphasizing its own plans and purposes as against the considered opinion of the Left Wing Conference, is actually sabotaging the Left Wing.

This development was initiated at the Conference. A group of comrades, of which the most consisted of the delegates of the Central Committee of the Russian Federation and four delegates from Michigan, together with three utterly unrepresentative delegates from New York City, appeared at the Conference determined upon one thing: to force the immediate organization of a Communist Party. All their actions were colored by this determination. The Conference itself did not interest them. The task of laying the theoretical and tactical basis for our movement did not interest them. All was secondary to their preparations for a coup d’etat; and when their coup met miserable disaster, they practically abandoned the Conference.

The Left Wing Conference laid down the theoretical and tactical basis for a party of the Left Wing Conference, the following call is made to Left Wing Socialists and Locals throughout the country:

The Conference was not against a Communist Party. The majority favored a Communist Party in principle, but decided that the fight within the Socialist Party should be waged for two months more, to completely rout the moderates and to rally the revolutionary forces in the party, and that the final decision should be in Chicago at the Emergency Party Convention.

The issue in dispute was not one of principle. It was one of judgment whether to organize the party immediately, or wait two months.

This is not a fundamental issue. But the minority deserted, at the moment when the concentration of our forces was absolutely necessary.

They are comrades who, at the moment when revolutionary unity is indispensable, place their politics above the fundamental interests of the movement. Seccionism on principle is justifiable; but secession where there is agreement on fundamental principles is desertion.

Consider the facts:

The problem of whether a Communist Party should be organized immediately at the Conference was discussed at several sessions. The proposal was decisively defeated. The proposal being decisively defeated, the minority delegates who favored a Communist Party immediately should have withdrawn and organized their party. That alone would have constituted consistency, consistent and uncomprising procedure. But they stayed.

At a subsequent session, the “Communist” minority, in violation of a Convention called by the State of Michigan for Chicago on September 1 to “organize a new party.”

The call for a new party issued by Michigan was not a “Communist” or Bolshevik call—that is admitted by the delegates of the Central Committee of the Russian Federation who are the heart of the secession group. Yet they rallied around this call at the Conference—a miserable compromise. This compromise is to be deplored.

But still the “Communist” minority stayed in the Conference. At another session, Delegate Hourwich (who was elected by Local 47 to represent the Chicago Federation) proposed this name. This manouvre was decisively beaten.

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This is not a fundamental issue. The Conference, moreover, issued a call for a Convention in Chicago, September 1, for all revolutionary elements that would unite with a new revolutionary Socialist Party or with a new Communist Party.

These decisions provide an ample basis for the unity of all uncompromising Left Wing forces. A small clique of deserters issue their own call, as against the Left Wing.

What is this call issued “to organize a Communist Party”? In the first place, it says: “Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the ‘right’ and the ‘centre’ to sink together with their ‘revolutionary’ leaders... Rendered impotent by the conflicting emotions and lack of understanding present (the Left Wing Conference) continued to mark time as centrists in the wake of the right.”

In other words, the Conference and its National Left Wing Committee issued a call for a Communist Party, or a new Communist Party. Where the Left Wing has failed to make nominations on the regular ballots for election of delegates, or where the Left Wing elements were decisively beaten, to organize the Left Wing membership provisionally for the purpose of electing delegates to go to Chicago on August 30th to work with the National Left Wing. The election of the Left Wing outside the regular party machinery should however, be on the same ratio of delegates to members as in regular election, although the requirement of three years party membership would not apply in this case.

Where the Left Wing is to be built upon the basis of a Communist Federation, or where the Left Wing, acting outside the regular party machinery, should however, be on the same ratio of delegates to members as in regular election, although the requirement of three years party membership would not apply in this case.

In the formation of a new party these Left Wing delegates will constitute the only representation of their respective States, so it is all-important that such delegates be sent to Chicago on August 30th.

Notify the Left Wing Council early and fully concerning your actions.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, Left Wing
I. E. Ferguson, Natl Sec'y

Committee of the Russian Federation should elect one member each in addition—which means to add a new minority federation membership control of the Council.

This proposal was decisively defeated. And then, at another session, 31 delegates, representing mostly the Federation delegates, read a declaration ‘withholding further activity in the Conference’ because the Conference rejected the proposal for a Convention to organize a Communist Party.

But these delegates stayed in the Conference and participated in its acts after the defeat of the ‘Immediate Communist Party’ issue. They did not withdraw until the proposal to control the National Council was defeated. In addition, the ‘Communist’ minority did not secede until its proposal to allow the small clique of deserters represents the Left Wing.

But now consider: The call to ‘organize a Communist Party’ says: “This party will be founded upon the following principles,” and then comes the program of the proposed new party, every single word of which, except one short sentence and the excision of certain unimportant passages is the program adopted by the Left Wing Conference, and appropriated by these deserters.

Either—

—the Left Wing Conference adopted a revolutionary program worthy of being used as the basis of a Communist Party, in which event the crime of the small clique of deserters in bolting the Conference is momentous;

Or—

—the Left Wing Conference was a “centre” Conference adopting a “centre” program, in which event the proposed Communist Party is to be built upon the basis of a “centre” or non-Bolshevik program.

Either contingency is a terrible commentary on the acts of the seceding committee.

The small clique of deserters stigmatizes the Left Wing Conference as reactionary. But they adopt its program. By this adoption, they admit that it is a revolutionary program representative of fundamental Left Wing principles and tactics. They admit, moreover, that the Conference, in its formulation of theory and policy, was in accord with Communist Socialism.

In opposition to this, apparently, in the judgment of the small clique of deserters: if you favor the immediate organization of a Communist Party, you are Left Wing; if you favor a Communist Party being organized two months later, you are a “centrist.” It makes the test of revolutionary integrity, not one of fundamental principles and tactics, but one of time and judgment—which is nonsense.

But all who favor an immediate organization of the Communist Party are Bolsheviks.

Three of them signed the call to a new party and are not (Continued on Page 8)
The Bolshevik Sweep

Bolshevism in the French Army, and in the French and British Navy

A report from Helsingfors recently stated that the French Baltic Fleet, which flaunts the flag of the English Baltic fleet, with a base at Helsingfors, has returned home, after a minor explosion which produced some damage. Our correspondent, however, learns that there is a report in Finnish military circles to the effect that the cause for sending the Cazac home, was not an explosion but a mutiny among the crew on board, who refused to operate against their beloved Russian Workers' Republic at Kronstadt. As the mutiny threatened to spread to other ships the battleship was sent home.

Mutiny in the French Baltic Fleet.

Reports from Tilsit are that the crew of the French squadron at Libau recently raised the Red Flag. The crews of the warships demanded of their officers that they be returned to France immediately.

The French vessels were immediately sent home and an English squadron steamed in to occupy their positions at the port of Libau.

Friesian delegates to Odessa Soviet.

According to a Soviet wireless message, mentioned in Avanti of May 4th, General d'Asseime admitted in a conversation with representatives of the Odessa Soviet that the Bolshevik propaganda had "demoralized" sixty per cent of his soldiers.

The Left Wing Conference repudiated the appeal which is so thoroughly Bolshevik that they adopt it as program as the basis for their proposed new party.

The most miserable compromise lurks in this whole French lark. At the Conference, the Russian comrades rallied around the Michigan Call, which they admitted was not Bolshevik; now the Michigan delegates accept a program which they opposed at our Conference and which they repudiate in fundamentals. This is petty politics, unworthy of men in the revolutionary movement.

A Communist Party must adhere to fundamental revolutionary principles. It must be uncompromising.

But the proposed new Communist Party starts with the most miserable compromise imaginable. It starts with elements which do not agree. It compromises in caucus, and starts as a swamp. It is this compromising comrades who at this moment are playing the "centre" role.

The Left Wing Conference repudiated compromise. It decided upon an uncompromising policy and adopted an uncompromising program.

The compromisers of the proposed "Communist Party" must be disciplined. They must be repudiated. They must realize the necessity of revolutionary discipline in the Left Wing.

At the Conference the Michigan delegates (who had not adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program) issued an ultimatum, that the Conference must either adopt their call for a proposal for a Convention in September, or they would withdraw and proceed with their own plans. They acted directly against their own principles.

There is danger ahead, comrades, and particularly comrades of the Russian Federation. The vanity and the lust for power of leaders must be crushed. We must have revolutionary discipline. We must have a mass movement. There is only one Left Wing, organized in the National Council. All power to the Left Wing!

All Power to the Left Wing!

(Continued from Page 7)

Bolsheviks at all—Dennis E. Batt, O. C. Johnson and John Keracher. The program adopted at the Left Wing Conference (which the Call for a Communist Party adopts as its program) was opposed in fundamentals by these three Michigan comrades.

At the Conference, I challenged the comrades on the Central Council to come out in fundamentals of the Russian and Lettish Federations to deny that the call for a new party issued by Michigan (around which they rallied) was not Bolshevik—but there was no answer to the challenge.

The Michigan comrades (I mean the "leaders" are more than ever) are in fundamentals antagonistic to Left Wing principles and tactics; they never adopted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing; they are, in fundamentals, Mensheviks.

In other words, Stolitsky, Stilson, Hounich & Co. are willing to unite forces with comrades who they assert are in fact actually antagonistic to Bolshevism; but they split away from the Left Wing Conference which is so thoroughly Bolshevik that they adopt its program as the basis for their proposed new party.

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July 19, 1919.
The Revolutionary Age

Soviet Hungary and the Allies

By Bela Kun

Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs—
Address Delivered to the Budapest Workers' Council

Comrades: I will not utter a single beautiful word, and I beg that you will listen in deadly seriousness to what I say. The dictatorship of the proletariat is—I define it once more—the self-government of the proletariat. The proletariat itself decides how it is to work and thereby really does work. Proletarian discipline means, break with all secret diplomacy, it means a break with every policy that requires being pursued behind the back of the proletariat. And I will here say, without exaggeration and in concrete form, that one can and must say today about the military and foreign situation. When I say the word "can" I do not mean that I will conceal anything. When I say "can" I will tell you everything that we know, all the knowledge we can gather from the signs and symptoms.

From Comrade Kun's speech it is clear—we all know it—that two world forces are fighting over Hungary, over the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The coming together of imperialistic capital and Bolshevik Socialism is taking place before us, and we are participating in it. The Comrades! The exchange of notes with the representative of the Entente, Gen. Smuts, who was here. It was not if she stood on the principle of territorial integrity, not as if we wished to establish the oppressive policies of the old Hungary against the deeds of the nationalists, but because the Hungarian Republic of the working masses wishes to live and exist that we do not favor the pushing back of the demarcation zone to bend anew Capitalism.

For the new boundary line, for we do not wish to lose our freed proletarian brothers in the neutral zone to bend anew under the yoke of Capitalism, to suffer again from the exploitation of Capitalism. For this reason we are not willing to submit, for submission would mean depriving the Hungarian proletariat of the possibility of physical life. We will not accept the new boundary line, for we do not wish to lose the territory under the rule of the proletariat, the territory over which the dictatorship of the proletariat has full sway, and we are willing to make any sacrifices rather than submit.

The Rumanian Boyar Army Offensive

What had happened in Paris in the meanwhile is not known to us in detail. We know, however, that the offensive was started by Rumania, and that that offensive was started with the whole force that the Boyars can today muster against the Hungarian Soviet Government. (Cries, shame!) We cannot expect any thing from them. It is not necessary in the other words, the Hungarian proletariat—exploitation by the Entente and by the Hungarian capitalists—it may call itself Socialist exploitation by the Entente imperialists are building our freedom with the Central Dictatorship is in good hands at the front. (Calls: that we will never permit.)

Comrades! The Czech front has not yet been set moving, nor is the Southern front yet in action. I do not know, however, whether at this moment the advance has not already begun. Possibly it has, but it is also probable that it has not. If not today then perhaps it will start tomorrow... (interruption: mobilize.)

To cry "mobilize comrades is an easy thing, I also can cry "mobilize," still it is necessary to delay the decision until I point out the consequences, till everyone has perceived the whole situation.

No one must doubt that on the question of armament and equipment we are badly placed. But the task of the Comrades is to maintain the war situation and to develop any sort of great military action during the time when we were forced to build up the new state we were, impossible. That is why we must first think

The case is this, comrades. If we do not wish for private property, the return of Capitalism, if we wish, on the contrary, to uphold the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, then we must act. We must consider immediately which forces we can use as a defense against the hostile imperialist powers. We must bear in mind that the territory of Hungary is small, not so immeasurably big as Russia, and having no such unlimited possibilities for defense, still the forces of the International Proletarian Revolution are at our service. If we have considered that, then we have thrown in our lot with the International Proletarian Revolution. I say it now, and will always say so, comrades, even though the Entente succeeds in instituting mandates here, if we have united our freedom with the International Proletarian Revolution. (Great acclamation.)

But first of all, comrades, we must reckon on our own power. While the International Proletarian Revolution is on our side, coming, is developing, still it is necessary that we hold out until we gain the active support of the International Revolutionary Proletariat.

Our first task in this case is that everyone in Budapest, who is not necessary in the Central Administration, every proletarian and every representative of the proletariat who can be spared, under any circumstances, must go to the front. Unity is necessary now. At this moment all factions must disband and we must establish an iron unity that nothing can destroy or dissolve. (That's it, that's it.) Who goes to the front, must go with the knowledge that we are on the two good hands; who remains at his post, must believe that the fate of the Revolution is in good hands at the front. If this is so, if the proletariat, Budapest's proletariat, when our representatives, whose deputies you are, will not be lethargic, but will advance, happy in the sacrifice, everyone, then (Continued on Page 12)
The Communist Party

BY N. Bucharin

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The workers must establish a system for organizing the business concerns which have been taken over from the manufacturers; they must see to the transport of the crops produced by the peasantry; and secure a fair distribution of corn, manufactured goods, agricultural implements and machinery.

However, the small usurer and war profiteer may still preserve the community and may say: "I am my own master." The workers and poor peasants must force them to obey, and they must coerce in the same way the big capitalists and the former landowners, generals and officers.

The more perilous the position of the workers, the more certain is the greater the number of its enemies; the more firm must be the revolutionary rule of the workers and of the poor peasants, the more energetic the dictatorship.

The power in the hands of the workers is the axe which they must hold in readiness against the attacks of the capitalist class. In the communist period, when the capitalists will exist no more and all class distinctions will have disappeared, there will be no more peril from within or from without—then there will be no more necessity to have an iron dictatorship. But we are in the period of transition now; when the enemies around us are showing their teeth, and are ready to drown in blood the whole working class movement. To prove this one need but recall the shooting of the workers in Finland and Kiev, and the wholesale shootings of workers and peasants in the Ukraine and in Lettland. In this period only those who are wholly ignorant of the situation can wish to act without the indispensable weapon of state power.

A hue and cry is raised against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat from two sides. On the one side from the Anarchists, for they are against any kind of government and, consequently, also against the Government of the Workers and Peasants. To them we can only say: "Go into a nunnery, if you are against putting into the hands of the workers the means to coerce the bourgeoisie!"

On the other side the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is attacked by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. Though formerly they used to advocate it, they are, so they say, against the interference with the privileges and the liberty of the bourgeoisie. They are of opinion that the workers are not yet "ripe" for a dictatorship. We can only say to them: "Why do you not join the capitalist class which you love so much and which you are trying to protect?" They do not wish to because they would have to own that they are in opposition to the workers and poor peasants.

It is just because the Communist Party stands for the iron dictatorship for the working class, against the landlords, and other lovely products of the old bourgeois regime, that it is the most radical. 

The so-called revolutionaries of all the existing groups and parties. "Those in the inchoate firm government of the Workers, to Communism is the watchword of our party. And the essence of our program of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."
The Conquest of Capitalism

The Socialist who does not know Capitalism is a poor Socialist. He gives the working class, which is fighting against the forces of Capitalism an incorrect understanding of the enemy; at the same time persuading it to use methods of attack which lead only to disorganization—not to victory. He thus proves false to the workers, and betrays them to the enemy; during a decisive battle he will probably join the enemy's ranks and fight against the working class, which is fighting against the bourgeoisie, and for the realization of its various phases.

We in Finland, had the opportunity to observe some of the phenomena: the centralization of industry, the stock speculator, petty capitalist, an industrial trust, with which the peasants became sympathizers with the bourgeoisie, and the rural proletariat threatened with complete extermination. Eventually we were face to face with Imperialism itself, with its usurpation and looting, its nightmare of production. We knew this to be the direct foundation of production. We applied the terms monopoly and trust to sugar and paper products which could be obtained only through one agent; because these products were subjected to the protection of duty and customs. There existed mining corporations and logging companies who owned mining companies, buildings, towns, churches, newspapers, salons and brothels. All these it directs and uses as a means of exploitation. Above all things it produces paper, profitable stock, and other obligations with interest bearing coupons. Its directors are among the world's greatest bankers. At the end of the war one of the systems of banking in the United States was under the control of Morgan, Jr., which is indirectly connected with the steel trust, while the other banking system was under the control of the oil trust. These two systems were connected, except in large joint investments, by the government finance committee, which was the center of capitalist business and which looked after its interests when the national loans were up for consideration.

Bankers hold the reins of production of the entire business world. We have examples of this in Finland, where the National Bank is gathering up all the threads of business. Business establishments are unable to get credit, and so are swallowed up. Through its agents the tourist nobility, it bought Swedish real estate. Its branch offices in small cities and villages were devices for getting the money of the people for undertakings which turned out unsuccessful, i.e., went bankrupt, and then were turned over to the bankers at ridiculously low prices. The National Bank was the leader of the opposition to the uniting of the private banks, but these private banks were allowed to join in draining the money from the people for the purpose of "obtaining funds" for the establishment of an Emissary Company meaning that the accumulating surplus money in the banks might be used in forming industrial enterprises, and that for them and the capitalists, which, of course, would then remain in the control, and under the directorship of the banks. The stocks of these banks were circulating on the market as bait for the savings of the credulous people; at the exchanges they were sold at a high price and bought back at a very low figure. Watering stock became a favorite habit; capital was created upon paper without an equivalent investment in the plant or in goods. A company with a million dollars in property could very well pay dividends of five million dollars capital. The small bourgeoisie and the peasants were dragging the same net with the banking capital, the former got its plunder by being a faithful agent of the bourgeoisie, and the latter had the good fortune to buy and to sell at prices which were controlled by the large capitalists. As an illustration of the power of the banks let it be mentioned that the directors of banks in every country are the directors of tens and possibly hundreds of companies, to which at the same time their servants, bookkeepers, are on the lookout for the smaller undertakings. The supremacy of the bankers is not limited to the boundaries of the state, nor even greater boundaries. This is international. "Foreign" capital flows wherever dividends are to be had, as the American dollar was invested in every corner of the "Old World." So had the Kaiser and the Kaiser invested tens of millions for the rainy day in American railroads and real estate. For German capital had secreted and publicly undermined English capital by buying the largest amount of stock in John Bull's corporations and at the same time compelling the proud Englishman to buy the cheaper German goods. Exportation of goods which was the chief aim of the nation, is now substituted by sending capital into foreign countries to net dividends. The developing industry and the greater exploitation, produce so much surplus Capital that its investment is one of the most serious problems of Capitalism. These "savings" mean something when we learn that in 1910 the approximate investments in the world amounted to 160 billion dollars. The share of the capitalists of England was 288 billion dollars; of the United States, 26 billion dollars; of France, 22 billion dollars; of Germany, 19 billion dollars. An annual interest, which amounts to billions, is invested in the same way as the principal.

What is the goal of capital? It is autocracy, monopoly. The beginning of Capitalism is the Competition, but its later development destroys competition. As a harbinger thanks God for the culture of his competitor, so Rockefeller rubbed his hands and smiled when he heard that his last competitor had committed suicide. He sent his millions of profit to seek other profit in Central and South America, in Europe, Africa, and Asia. That China was conquered by "enlightenment" of a kerosene lamp is a well known story. But in those countries American capital meets English, French, and German capital. There exists keen competition in the sale of their "goods"—credits, money, investment and public loans—in which each one tries to crowd the others. But as in our economic scheme of competition, the reduction of price and interest would be detrimental to the capitalists of the various countries, they must seek means to accomplish their purposes. So long there is any part of the earth's surface unappropriated, it is possible for them to separate sections where each can exert its own influence, or consider it a colony where it is possible to have a monopoly on the exploitation. This, however, does not seem to satisfy for they are crowded upon the same areas, and finally they must resort to their political remedies.

What are the politics of financial capital? It is the phenomenon which is known by the term Imperialism. This term comes from the Latin word imperium which means "command" (imperator, "commander," kaiser), an aspirant to world power. England, as the leader in this field, she has "independent colonies" (Canada, Australia, South Africa, Siam, British colonies in Africa), proprietary colonies (Egypt), and vassal states (Portugal, Norway). Everywhere in China, Persia, etc., England is struggling to exert her influence. (Concluded in our next issue)
The Allies in Siberia

An appeal to the liberal and radical citizens of the Allied countries by the Workers and Peasants of Siberia and the Russian Far East.

Almost a year has passed since your governments have taken it upon themselves to control the destinies of Revolutionary Russia through armed meddling, diplomatically or otherwise. In so far as the outward attitude of these rulers toward the Russian people was concealed by declarations of friendship and benevolence, by solemn promises not to interfere in our internal affairs, by the oft repeated assurances that the Allies had not the slightest intention of violating our national rights and independence, and by hypocritical statements to the effect that their sole aim was to "assist" Russia.

When, immediately after these declarations and assurances, active forces of Japanese, English, French, Italian and Canadian troops were concentrated on our territory, with their several main staff members, military missions, and kindred agencies utilizing our railroads, requisitioning our buildings, and generally acting in the same manner as they would toward their respective home countries: we were told that the Allies were preparing to transport troops and munitions to European Russia through Siberia.

It was soon brought to light that the contemplated battlefield was situated, not in Russia, but in the peaceful cities and villages of Siberia. The cannons of our "Allies" were directed against the Siberian workers and peasants and not against German, Austrian or Hungarian war prisoners, whose reported numbers were just as well, equipped and supported—the former by Great Britain, the latter by Japan.

The government power was thus snatched away by force from the people and placed in the hands of Semenov, Kornilov, the two Cossack chiefs, who so recently professed to be engaged in a holy war against their countrymen, were financed, equipped and supplied—four of the common people, the latter by Japan. This due to the united force of these powers and their abettors, and due also to the treachery of single individuals the Soviets were overthrown all through Siberia.

The government, poorly equipped, surprised to such an extent that they had not sufficient time to mobilize the people and even communicate with each other, the various local Soviets were suddenly confronted with the might of the Allied armies joined by Cossack bands, adherents of the old order and all foes of the revolution and the common people.

We cannot presume that all this could occur without the knowledge and sanction of the liberal and radical citizens of the Allied countries. We are certain that all these achievements were supported by your governments by direct and indirect means.

We, therefore, beseech you, we implore you, we demand of you in the name of justice and freedom, in the name of humanity, in the name of brotherly love, and in the name of the great Russian revolution, not to stand calmly by while your governments strangle revolutionary Russia.

Soviet Hungary and the Allies

(Continued from Page 9)

are we, comrades, and then is the Proletarian Revolution, saved. Then we will have time to await the International Proletarian Revolution, and if we should fall, then we will fall in such a manner that the International Proletarian Revolution will not be hurt by our misfortune.

I have considered the matter from the point of view of the Hungarian proletariat. I do not consider the matter from the point of view of the proletariat of any land. There is only one point of view: the point of view of the International Proletarian Revolution. (That's so, that's so!)

Fraternity is a small part of this International Proletarian Revolution. If there should come a time when we must go down in defeat then the International Proletarian Revolution, with all its victorious successes, will live, and will awaken us to new life (great applause).

I have described the situation—coldly, carefully, just as it is. I will now add to that, what is happening to the proletariat of all lands. You are acquainted with the situation in Vienna, you know that there the proletariat is armed to fight for Dictatorship (applause). You know that the troops of the Russian Soviet Republic have crossed the border of East Galicia (continued applause). You know that a part of these troops is advancing on Czernovitz. That is help, which still lies in the distance. I emphasize again, that we must depend in the first place on our own strength—upon the revolutionary strength of the Hungarian proletariat till the time when the proletariat of the surrounding lands will hasten actively to our aid. To arouse this revolutionary force, the organization, utilization, and enlarging of this force, that is your task (that's so)! Act, act and again act!

Do you want the Proletarian Dictatorship, which you claim you want to organize masses to govern themselves? Do you wish the possibility of action? We want all these things. The time is here, the moment is deadly serious, we must act, act and again act (continued applause and assents).

I repeat: I do not desire to indulge in oratory or fine phrases. Let the proletariat of Budapest, whose representatives you are, speak now, let them say what they want; let there be no bourgeois Capitalism (cries: never!), exploitation by the bourgeoisie, or Socialism, Com-
C R A M P E D within a tiny cell a man sits staring through iron bars at a wall surrounded by spikes and a mount blare wall which bounds the horizon of his life. Beyond lie plains rioted with color, rivers and seas alive with ships, mountains that flame in the dawn, and eddies of something with activity. Years ago there was hope of breaking those bars and escaping over the wall, but that was long ago. Now he would not know what to do with his freedom if he did attain it. So he sits staring, staring—a prisoner.

Bent over a roaring machine in a dust-filied shop, an artist turns out his soul in an ecstasy of music, pleading for a listening ear, somewhere hangs a painting in whose glowing colors is blended the life and art of an artist, waiting for an appreciative eye, some conclusions of the machine and perspiration blinds his eyes and runs down his naked breast.

Somewhere there is shelved unread a book whose author knows well how to punish, society can supply itself with guards to see that none transgress the prescribed bounds. There are many guards, great and small, but chief among them are the school, the church, the press, patriotism, the settlement, and the "employees' association." These and things which were once good in themselves, society upon itself to serve its own terrible purpose and to thwart any budding desires toward the free life.

In the school all spontaneous instincts of originality in teacher or student are quickly suppressed. Perverted is the history and economics that are taught. There are the first hints of tribal warfare, of murder to take revenge, of hatred for the worker in his jail. Childhood with its fairy tales and hobgoblins, youth with its dreams and aspirations, society sees only as fertile soil where in the future it will reap as profits the political goblins, religion, in one of its phases, is the outcome of man's grooping toward the spiritual. The religious impulse—not superstitious faith in some ruling deity—is the indefinite impulse that society sees only as a fertile soil where in the future it will reap as profits the political goblins.

A prisoner—one of the millions imprisoned by capitalist society, robbed of justice, robbed of beauty, robbed of life that the few may be glutted. Incarcerated in the shops, mines and factories, doomed to life-long toil whose fruits he may not taste. And woe unto him who ventures to tear away the irksome shackles or thrust even his hand beyond the bars that confine him! Society knows well how to punish, society can brand and crucify today as it has branded and crucified through all the centuries.

Far back in the dim past, when primitive man first fed his fatty slave for the captive he had taken in tribal warfare, was laid the cornerstone of the prison that is society. Stone upon stone it was reared as serfdom followed upon serfdom. Now the worker is forgotten and the worker's son is forgotten.

Far back in the dim past, when primitive man first fed his fatty slave for the captive he had taken in tribal warfare, was laid the cornerstone of the prison that is society. Stone upon stone it was reared as serfdom followed upon serfdom. Now the worker is forgotten and the worker's son is forgotten. One of its staunchest supporters. And the church doing its bidding, inculcates the supreme virtues of obedience, humility and patience—prates of a reward after death. Deafened by its throbings, the workers hear not the call of freedom.

One of the most vigilant monitors is the press. It lies clear what it means to free themselves to the workers, no! It does not. One of the most vigilant monitors is the press. It lies clear what it means to free themselves to the workers, no! It does not. These and things which were once good in themselves, society upon itself to serve its own terrible purpose and to thwart any budding desires toward the free life.

Another guard that society finds indispensable to the maintenance of the inviolability of its prison is patriotism. To disrupt and separate the worker from workers, to rid him of his spirit, is pala nation against nation. The blood shed in these conflicts it laps up greedily, and the same time stirs up the workers by words of praise to noble sacrifice. But they, blindly slopping each other, do not realize that they are also slopping the workers of the future and strengthening the walls that confine them.

At times there are disturbing signs of unrest among the inmates which must be quelled. Baits are thrown to them in the form of social welfare enterprises and employees associations, when a world-wide Soviet replaces bourgeois democracy then will they breathe the fresh air into their lungs, live and be free men. Sections of the prison are already crashing in ruins. In Russia and Hungary the workers have done away with their walls and their keepers and for the first time know freedom. And the gaps in the wall made by them render unsteady the whole. Soon will it fall and crumble, never to hold man prisoner again.

The N. E. C. Mobilizing Slanders

(Continued from Page 6)

The N. E. C. Mobilizing Slanders

willing to defend the N. E. C. "statement of principles," on the public platform? Where and when?

Says O'Neal: "As there was an Ebert-Scheidemann gang in Germany, naturally they accepted the statement that we had one here too.

The deliberate lies about the Left Wing votes continue. All of these votes are on file in the National office but are carefully withheld by order of the N. E. C. It is clear already that this is the biggest party referendum ever taken. The votes run high in the metropolitan centres and low in the smaller towns. It is the entire mystery of the fact that 25 percent or 30 percent of the members voted, while perhaps as many as 55 percent did not vote. There are hundreds of locals in the United States which have been allowed virtually to die out by the old party regime, and from these half-dead locals there were no votes at all. This is the ordinary experience with referendums, except that there was never a time before when the new nationalism of party executives were elected by such large votes.

Now the question arises, why didn't the supporters of Oneal make it their business to get ballots and vote? Or is it really possible that they were as few as the votes indicate? Of course it is no very great effort for party members to find the opportunity to vote, and at least it is not charged that anybody who wanted to vote for Oneal was denied the full and free chance to do so. But there were so few who sought the opportunity. Strange, indeed. But what can you expect of a party that is all in the whirl of the Left Wing and Oneal? I suggest that there is a second alternative of unfitness of Oneal to represent the militant proletariat of America, but that would be crediting the members of the Socialist Party with discriminating intelligence.

The Left Wing has never conducted "a campaign against the Socialist Party." Nor have the Federations ever conducted such a campaign. But a successful campaign was conducted against opportunistic reformism as the essence of our party activities. The Left Wing criticisms which had their legitimate basis in intelligent participation in the party functioning, were barred from the party press and the Left Wing adherents were fired out of the party by the reactionaries who happened to control the executive committees. Thus arose the necessity for a separate Left Wing press and finally for Left Wing organization taking on a national scope.

So to have carried on this campaign within the party would have constituted a betrayal of the world proletariat in the great struggle now going on, under the banner of the Communist International, against the United Imperialisms. To have waged this campaign and to have won it is an achievement of tremendous significance for a Socialist movement in the United States of revolutionary patriotism.

There remains now the great task of the reorganization of the party according to the Left Wing program.
To The Revolutionary Age:—

I RECEIVED a letter from a comrade who expresses great concern lest the mention of the possibility of a new party may work mischief with the Left Wing conquest of the party. Yet today, in the forefront of the most ranks of the Socialist movement in the United States and undoubtedly expresses the sentiments of many thousands of the most earnest members of the party. For this reason I am asking you to publish this letter as my personal expression on the vital question involved. I may add, however, that I did not send this letter without asking several of the members of the National Left Wing Council to read it, and I am assured that my letter expresses the point of view which dominated the National Left Wing Conference.

The letter follows (July 9, 1919):

I have just read your letter of July 4th to Comrade Coben. I hasten to make answer in addition to such answer as may be made by Comrade Cohen, in the first place to greet you from this office and to urge you to send me all the suggestions you have for immediate action, and in the second place to make what clearer to you the party situation as it stands after the Left Wing Conference. I think I would have written just what you wrote if I had not been to the Conference, using almost the same language, as I recall my point of view of twenty days ago. On the other hand, I am quite positive that if you had been there you would have gone the same. As a matter of fact, these men have gone to decide the fate of the Left Wing Conference. There is an issue which you make which you would consider inappropriate to the actual situation.

It is very important that we understand one another fully and exactly under the circumstances of this party crisis. . . . By this time you have received the delayed number of The Revolutionary Age telling about the Conference. . . . But I will deal with the single item of "new party." First as to the organization. A new party must be called now. The Left Wing Conference is over. The whole idea seemed pointless to me. I was averse to the idea of a new party, if that was the best way for us, but that I could not see how a Conference called as this one was called could presume to make this sort of a decision for the fifty or sixty thousand members definitely within the Left Wing.

On the solemn basis that we had better see first what we agreed about and what we disagreed about, the majority waived aside discussion of a new party several times. Finally, it became evident that we had to discuss this question or nothing. An entire session was taken up directly on this subject, with unlimited discussion, most of the delegates taking the floor. The vote was against the immediate formation of a new party.

Meanwhile the forces for the new party plan made themselves known. First, a small group from New York and Philadelphia, with Comrade Zucker as indefatigable spokesman. Second, the Michigan delegates, with Comrade O'Brien and another comrade from Rochester, and with Miss Gordon of the Left Wing, the Federation. The third, the Pennsylvania delegates, with only a few exceptions. The poll was 38 votes for and 55 against. The Michigan Convention had decided upon a call for a new party to be formed September first, and this call was made absolute. The Left Wing Conference could not resist it; it would go ahead anyway.

By this time I had become convinced of one thing—that the exact date when this party fuss shall stop, and this date could not be left to the choosing of the old N. E. C. There is no use quoting the Constitution as against the proposition that the old N. E. C. will control so long as there is no Convention. And there is no use driving a good argument to the point of absurdity by insisting that there is no way for the old N. E. C. to frame up a Right Wing Convention for August 30th or later. Things can be done in the physical world which are ethically outrageous. They have been done; they are being done from day to day by Germer and his bosses. The party is fighting that has fought so hard; these men have gone will hardly stop at any extremity. The point is that by forcing them to these extremities we make clearer than ever the real state of affairs within the party, showing beyond dispute that the Left Wing is the party. This it is mighty important to do. But it is another matter to keep on insisting against everything and anything that the Left Wing is bound to control a party convention chosen by a few thousand voters still outside the Left Wing movement. And even worse would it be to let the mass of the membership remain adrift at the pleasure of the gangsters, telling them that some day it will all come out all right.

The Michigan proposal had the advantage of coming from the outside, from an ousted State, as a mandate of the Michigan membership, expressed by a Convention. It had the "advantage of being pinned on to a declaration of principles upon which the new party was to be organized. Also, it did not include the alternative of a showdown, nor the control of the party to be exercised by a Convention of old State, as a mandate of the Michigan membership, expressed by a Convention. It had the advantage of being pinned on to a declaration of principles upon which the new party was to be organized. Also, it did not include the alternative of a showdown, nor the control of the party to be exercised by a Convention of the old N. E. C. By August 30th Convention, it was amended to meet the latter objection and it was made clear that the proposal put by the Michigan was a tentative character. But I think the majority was fully justified in repudiating the State "patriotism" of my very good friends and comrades.

The action of the Conference itself was not different in principles. Comrade WageAknecht reported for the Organization Committee in favor of: 1) a thorough campaign to control the August 30th Convention for the Left Wing; and 2) the alternative, failing the fulfillment of certain conditions, of organizing a new party September 1st in Convention of Left Wing delegates. Afterwards the further alternative was added; 3) an August 30th Convention to organize a new party if the old N. E. C. does away with the Emergency Convention. The conditions for the August 30th regular party convention are the seating of Left Wing delegates, the undoing of expulsions and suspension, the fulfillment of referendums.

By this time the minority had rallied around the Michigan plan, though the Federation delegates made it obvious that they were uneasy about the Michigan proposal. As a result, the Michigan delegates withdrew from active participation in the Conference. Now they have joined in the call for the Michigan Convention, but on the basis of the Left Wing Program.

Comrade, we must talk new party. This thing has moved faster that you and I reckon-ed. Those ousted from the party made a response which you and I, still within the party, did not reckon. Arguments were made about the party fight which had the merit at least of discounting the idea of too long a fight for its physical apparatus, though these arguments were attenuate a party factional fight beyond the time needed to show up the situation clearly to the active membership. I do not know just what we shall be called upon to do with regard to the physical apparatus of the party, but I would think it petty folly to let something which is not a fractional fight in which we are engaged. Part of this fight is to be made within the Socialist Party; the higher part is a tremendous work of Party organization among the 30,000,000 wage workers of the United States.

If this letter still leaves you in doubt as to the sound sense of the Conference decision, after making the fight to control the Emergency Convention, I want the chance to write to you at once. As to talking and writing "new party," I cannot equally disagree with you. What you and I can discuss every member can consider. It is all-important that the membership understand that it will be on August 30th and all of its possible alternatives in re-reading what I have already written. It occurs to me to add the New York delegation was against the new party proposition and in favor of working for the election of Left Wing delegates to the regular party convention, and that the New York delegates acted against instructions. It is probable that the Federations will not help us in this campaign so far as some of the Centrals Executive Committees are concerned, but we must do our best against this internal opposition. If the old gang decide to call off the fight, the membership will accept this as the final proof of their defeat, and will be ready to deal with the Left Wing Convention as the real party convention.

I. E. FERGUSON
PENDING the consolidation of the locals of the Left Wing in the City Committee of the New York City Organization of the central committee of New York, the Standing Committee has decided to form a Left Wing Committee to carry on the work of the Left Wing in New York, and this committee has drawn up a list of the branches to be included in the Left Wing. The Left Wing branches are therefore now calling upon the members of the Left Wing to elect delegates for a meeting of the Left Wing Committee to be held on Tuesday, July 22 at our headquarters at 50 W. 11th St., at 6 o'clock. Minutes of that meeting will be published in the next issue of The Revolutionary Age.

Branch organizers or secretaries will please notify this office when and where their meetings are held. Also the addresses of the committees of interest to the comrades of the Left Wing.

**THE MICHIGAN-FEDERATION CALL FOR A NEW PARTY.**

The call for a new party to be formed at Chicago on September 1st, regardless of the Left Wing organization, is without national significance except as it may work injury to the already difficult task of the Left Wing in drawing the consolidation of the locals of the New York City Organization, which has long been first in the list of the local federations.

There is need to make reservation for the intense sincerity of some of the comrades involved in this call for a new party, and this can be no reservation as to their temporary loss of mental balance due to the intense revolutionary spirit in spirit. Local New York felt that it had to do something, surely, in order to get a share of the responsibility. But it is not having any real good, a fictitious one would do just as well, and in the opinion of the Right Wing, a great mistake. Letters were sent out saying: inasmuch as there has been so much discussion, the branch had been accused of being a disorderly element in the branch (no meet­ing of the branch had ever been held, and that much as the branch officers had been recalled (this also a lie); the branch was to be recognized. The Black Committee came around and took names. All the activities of the branch were sus­ pended. Soon after, another letter was sent out. This time Gerber was there and ex­ plained that the other reorganization meeting was not supposed to have taken place, was uncalled for and was not supposed to have taken place, was uncalled for.

The proclamation coming from the Executive Committee of the Finnish Federation characterizes the action of the New N. E. C. as petit bourgeois opportunism. The Central Committee of the Finnish Federation characterizes the action of the Right Wing as petit bourgeois opportunism.

Our place is among the small group of leaders who are trying to make of it a football as in this game for a Michigan-Russan Executive Committee private political party. There is need to make reservation for the intensity of some of the comrades involved in this call for a new party, and this can be no reservation as to their temporary loss of mental balance due to the intense revolutionary spirit in spirit. Local New York felt that it had to do something, surely, in order to get a share of the responsibility. But it is not having any real good, a fictitious one would do just as well, and in the opinion of the Right Wing, a great mistake. Letters were sent out saying: inasmuch as there has been so much discussion, the branch had been accused of being a disorderly element in the branch (no meet­ing of the branch had ever been held, and that much as the branch officers had been recalled (this also a lie); the branch was to be recognized. The Black Committee came around and took names. All the activities of the branch were sus­ pended. Soon after, another letter was sent out. This time Gerber was there and ex­ plained that the other reorganization meeting was not supposed to have taken place, was uncalled for and was not supposed to have taken place, was uncalled for.

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**PLAN FOR MEETING OF NEW N. E. C.**

The National Left Wing Convention shall be held on September 1st, and several of the members of the newly elected N. E. C. are now preparing to select a place and time for a meeting of the new N. E. C. at an early date. It is hoped to have a meeting of the comrades of the new N. E. C. as soon as possible.

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Is Your Answer In Yet?

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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<td>New York (greater city)</td>
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<td>Cleveland, Ohio.</td>
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<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
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Philadelphia, Pa. ..................... 400
Pittsburgh, Pa. ........................ 300
Seattle, Wash. .......................... 300
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Minneapolis, Minn. ......................
Hartford, Conn. ..........................
Providence, R. I. ........................

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