Hot Air
The Revolutionary Age

The Revolutionary Age: Disarmament

The Disarmament policy of the Peace Conference is peculiar. It is disarming the defeated nations, while the victorious nations are preparing larger armaments.

There is much said about the League of Nations imposing disarmament. But it is not the military alliance concluded between Great Britain, France and the United States indicates that not peace but war is to come in the days ahead.

France and Italy are making plans for more military power; the small nations "liberated" by the Allies are developing an aggressive militarism; Great Britain strengthens its navy. The United States also strengthens its navy; while plans are proposed for increasing the pre-war strength of the standing army and having a National Guard of 440,000 men.

Militarism has not been crushed, except in Austria and Germany. The Allies are ending their war to end war by a more militant military policy. Militarism is necessary to Imperialism.

Temporary Failure

The plans for a general strike in Europe as a protest against intervention in Russia did not materialize on the projected scale. That the militant proletariat made a great effort is clear; but the reasons why the protest strike did not assume larger scope are not yet apparent. We must secure more information before final judgment.

It is clear, however, that the hesitation and sabotage of the old union officials was a great factor against success. The executive of the French Federation of Labor issued a statement calling off the strike, thereby disorganizing the plans for demonstration.

It is equally a fact that the bureaucracy and parliamentary leaders of the British labor movement opposed this political strike of the masses in solidarity with their Russian comrades.

But even the censored reports indicate that there was a formidable protest on July 21. The protest must become still more formidable in the measure that the pressure against Russian continues and economic problems weigh down upon the proletariat.

At the same time, as the reports of decisive victories of the Russian Soviet Army on three fronts,—against the Finns marching on Petrograd, against the Siberian forces of Kolchak, and against General Denikin in the south,—the bourgeois press admits that these are serious reverses for the counter-revolution, the New York Times mourning yadmitting that the Soviet Republic will now surely endure for another winter.

Time and the march of the proletariat are working inevitably for the triumph of the Russian Soviet Republic.

But more proletarian pressure is necessary. The struggle of the Russian Soviet Republic is agonizing, the most terrible struggle of the ages. Against the world, against internal enemies, against disorganization. Bolshevism is fighting, and fighting nobly. The proletariat of the world must come to its assistance. It will come.

The Shantung Controversy

The United States Senate is protesting vigorously against the "injustices" perpetrated by the Peace Conference in awarding control of the Shantung Peninsula, with its 40,000,000 Chinese inhabitants, to Japan.

But these protests are not at all a matter of justice. The award of Shantung to Japan is infamous; but there are other infamous acts of the Peace Conference,—awarding England one million and a half square miles of territory. France as much, destroying Germany and Austria economically, blocking Russia and Hungry, thereby condemning millions to starvation. But there are no protests worth the name against these outrages.

The motive behind these protests about Shantung are purely imperialistic. China, before the war, was the scene of a fierce struggle between competing Imperialists for control; and this struggle must become more acute now. The only considerable competitor in the Far East of American Imperialism is the Imperialism of Japan; and there is a natural protest, accordingly, against solidifying Japanese control in China.

The "award" of Shantung to Japan is characteristic of the predatory peace of conquest concluded by the Allies. China was engaged in the war against Germany; but not alone is defeated Germany dismembered, but China as well, against the futile protests of the Chinese delegation, who refused to sign the peace treaty.

The American government O. K.'s this infamous act. It has diplomatic precedent, since it agreed in 1916, by means of the Ishi-Lar- sing Agreement, that Japan had special rights in China.

President Wilson is making no public statement concerning why he agreed to this act of concession in favor of Japan; but he has invited a number of Senators to a private conversation and informal them of his reason under pledge of absolute secrecy. This is the diplomatic opening covenants of peace opened at "...."

The controversy engaged in by the Senate is revealing a number of things, prime among which is the task of justice, but with problems of justice, but with problems of power. It favors China in order to defeat Japan, and aggrieve American Imperialism.

The Communist Party


The Communist Party is virtually certain to designate the movement of revolutionary Socialism in the United States which has already taken its more or less definite formulation as the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party.

There is sometimes magic in a name, and no one would now seriously contend that the name Communist is without powerful appeal to the working class of the world. In the name itself is an eloquent expression of fellowship with the comrades in Europe who stand today on the firing line of the social revolution.

Even more, those who sense that our Bolshevism is the authentic successor of the Communists of Hungary, are reasserting and advancing the call to the workingmen of all the world which went forth from London in 1848, in forming the Communist League. We find there the entire fitness of bringing under the one name the unity of the long revolutionary preparation and struggle which has now come to the stage of final crisis. The Communist League of 1848, the Communes of the Paris of 1871, and the Communists who rule today in Russia and Hungary—all these are of one flesh and blood.

On the other hand, the name Socialist, although not without its inspiring traditions, has been dragged in the rear ever since 1848. It is too long ever to be resurrected as the party name under which the militant proletariat of all countries can hail one another in comradeship. It has become hopelessly the name of a game of politics which ignores the fundamental realities of proletarian life.

We do not mean to ignore the fact that there are individuals everywhere, by the thousands and millions, who today call themselves Socialists and yet function in absolute accord with the Communist tradition and understanding. We do not ignore the splendid Socialist Party of Italy, which has already joined with the Communist International and in which we are confident will soon control the destinies of Italy as one of the sister nations of the new era of Communist revolution.

But in Italy there has been the determined, consistent march of the Socialist Party toward the goal of proletarian revolution since the party threw off its petty bourgeois reformist elements in 1917. There is no internal contract implied in the two names, as is there in Germany, in France, in the Scandinavian countries, and in the United States.

Especially is the name of itself given sharp perspective in the starting of a new party. In the next few months the Comintern will cease to exist as a faction of the Socialist Party. It will merge the Socialist Party within itself, absorbing all its vitality and casting off the rotteness of a working-class party of potential betrayal in the crucial hour of action. But the Left Wing must become the Communist Party regardless of the fate of the Socialist Party.

Assuredly the inspiration and challenge of the Communist tradition should of itself be the crucial answer to the conspiracy for petty power and consciousness, who are now trying to make of the starting of the new party a stepwise into factional politics. The Left Wing must answer to the intractable comradeship of the workers in America with the Communists of the world.
Another Peace

WHILE the world is still staggering from the shock of the peace terms imposed upon Germany by the Allies, come the terms that are being imposed upon Austria. These terms are in accord with the general character of the terms imposed upon Germany, and are if anything still more terrible. In general, are: Austria must accept responsibility for damages and losses caused to the Allies by her war of aggression; she must pay for all damages to civilians; the indemnity is not stated, but Austria must pay "a reasonable" sum by May 1, 1921; Austria must surrender all her merchant fleet and one fifth of her river fleet; she must abolish conscription, reduce her army to 30,000, and surrender all her cables to the Allies.

But these are only a fraction of the terms. Austria, among other economic measures, must surrender to Italy, Serbia and Rumania, a portion of her coal, iron, and other minerals. These terms indicate that Austria is to be crushed economically. Her industry is to become unimportant, since a nation economically is unable to maintain all its armed forces unless it has a merchant fleet. Austria is deprived of her fleet. She is, moreover, to surrender all cables, and make other economic concessions which will ruin her.

Austria is bankrupt. Her industry and agriculture are ruined. The problems of reconstruction are enormous. But during the period when all resources are concentrated on reconstruction, Austria is to use these resources in order to meet the Allies demands for tribute.

These peace terms are not simply a threat to the liberty, security and liberty of the people of Germany and Austria; they are equally a threat to the liberty, security and liberty of the world.

It is a peculiar logic that insists upon punishing the nations "guilty" of the war in a way that produces conditions for new wars in the days to come.

But it isn't passionate motives of vengeance that inspire the diplomats of the Allies. That is simply a means of arousing popular enthusiasm for their program. The motives of the Allies are cold, calculating motives of power. They must destroy their rivals; they must secure world power; they must divide the world along lines of Imperialism. It is these purposes that are responsible for the most venomous squabbles which will ruin modern times.

Together with this general purpose involved in world power, there is another and more immediate purpose—propaganda. The major belligerents, except the United States, have suffered heavily from the war. They are on the verge of bankruptcy. In order to prevent this bankruptcy (and a revolution among their people) they are trying to exact every penny they can cut of Germany and Austria with which to meet their liabilities.

But Germany and Austria are also bankrupt, and to exact tribute means completing their bankruptcy. The bankruptcy of these two nations means sickness of all modern times for all nations. The Allies are trying desperately to avert a problem that must down them in the days to come.

The diplomats and financiers of the Allies admit that this problem of financial bankruptcy is serious. The only tangible proposal thus far made to meet the crisis has been the proposal that American finance should form a huge corporation to meet the capital needs of Europe. This might work, for a time, but at the cost of making the European proletariat permanent slaves and assuring the United States undispatched financial world power.

Not having been prepared to meet the crisis, the Allies adopt the opportunistic tactics of despoothing Germany and Austria in order to meet their own obligations, feeling that if these nations break into revolution, the solvency of the Allies will be able to stabilize the situation.

But the fundamental facts are that these methods cannot meet the terrific crisis in which Europe finds itself. The Allies are trying to solve an international crisis by national aggression and to exact tribute means violating the principles of which is simply the mechanics of Imperialism. These terms of peace are indicative of the fact that there is no hope for the world, either for peace, security or prosperity, being assured under Imperialism. Imperialism means conquest and spoilation, and war: there is no way except through the Communist Revolution.

War was a consequence of the contradictions; and these unsolvable contradictions will yet strangle Capitalism.

Repudiating Deserters

A T this moment, while Socialist history is being written in fiery letters, it is of great importance to know the activities of the adherents of the movement.

It is clear that revolutionary discipline in the Left Wing has been disregarded by an organized, disgruntled clique composing the minority at the Left Wing's conference. Disruption has been created at the moment when the rank and file were breathlessly watching the actions of their representatives, who were forming the constitution of a pariah, a criminal party, by means of which to land the final crushing blow at the Socialist Party in its present form, laying the basis for a new movement.

Apparently, the disrupters believed in the theory of the conquest of power by means of which to land the final crushing blow at the Socialist Party in its present form, laying the basis for a new movement.

But the theory of conquest of power is simply a means of arousing popular enthusiasm for their program. The motives of the Allies are cold, calculating motives of power. They must destroy their rivals; they must secure world power; they must divide the world along lines of Imperialism. It is these purposes that are responsible for the most venomous squabbles which will ruin modern times.

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One Lie Nailed

By L. E. KATTERFIELD

IN an article sent broadcast recently to the National Office Press service, James Oneal claims that in our recent Party elections the old National Executive Committee wasn't repudiated at all, at all.

He quotes a review published in the Ohio Socialist as current, but alleges that "these figures show a very small vote in the states as a whole, which confirms the charge that the Left Wing suffered a campaign of terror in this election that has driven many party members from the Left, and thereby the fact that the Left Wing received a majority of the votes cast does not mean repudiation of the old N.E.C.

If even it was true that a very small vote was cast for the Left Wing, it would not justify the old N.E.C. in suppressing the referendum results. But it is not true.

Oneal says:—"This report shows a total of 20,674 votes for the 26 States included in the Ohio Socialist tabulation. Left Wing candidate E. Reed Bentall received 10,074. Weeed, the Right Wing candidate, Victor Berger, received only 4,465, while James Oneal, our present International Delegate was "endorsed" by the magnificent total of 1,726.

Oneal alleges that the vote was much smaller than is usually recorded in Party elections. The fact is that it is one of the largest ever polled in any party referendum. In the election for N.E.C. one year ago 17,310 votes were cast, of which only 10,511 were in the 26 states that we have tabulated. This year those same 26 states gave 20,674 or nearly twice as many as last year.

If the states that have so far suppressed their referendum returns show the same increase as those already tabulated, the vote this year may actually surpass the "high water mark." Here are some figures from the official reports of the National Office: The spirited contest over the St Louis program brought out 22,145 votes for the majority and 2,758 for the minority report, total 25,000. The total vote in the 1917 election to International delegates showed only 14,219 candidates voting. Bentall's election in 1914 was a little higher.

The highest vote ever cast on any referendum in the Party's history was in 1912, on the question of holding our national convention in Indianapolis instead of Oklahoma City, a little over 34,000. In that same year John Work received the highest vote ever polled by any individual in the Party, 22,081 against 6,440 for J.O. Bentall for National Secretary. When we consider that at that time the Party had about 20,000 more members than at present and that this year several thousand good standing party members were prevented from voting because reactionary party officials refused a ballot, we must conclude that actually a larger percentage of our membership voted in this years referendum elections than did before.

In view of these facts, what becomes of Oneal's assertions and allegations? I commend these figures to our would-be "historians" and "critics." Was he ignorant of these facts, or did he deliberately lie in his efforts to defend the Left Wing and Revolutionary Socialism?
Here and There

The Italian Socialists in New York City have decided to issue a daily paper in Italian for the immigrants among the Italian workers. The New York Call takes the opportunity to congratulate the Italian comrades on their venture, incidently remarking on the fine stand taken by the Socialist Party in Italy and by its official organ Avanti, published in Milan. This stand says The Call has "fired the local Italian with a desire to emulate their brothers, and the drive for the establishment of Avanti in New York is growing apace... Avanti, when it appears, will instantly assume a position in the Italian community similar to that of the Forward in the Jewish community."

If we know anything of our Italian comrades, and if as The Call says they desire to emulate their brothers in Italy, then a New York Avanti, which will be the Italian prototype of the Forward, the Jewish organ of petty bourgeois Socialism, will be cut off in its early youth.

The Milan Avanti stands practically alone as the only big official Socialist daily which preached revolutionary Socialism during the past two years. If the Italian Socialists in New York have been corrupted by their contact with the movement which produces the Forward, and for that matter The Call, then they had better continue to bask in the reflected glory of their heroic fellow-countrymen and refrain from insulting the name Avanti.

But we know when our Italian comrades do produce a paper in New York it will be worthy of the name Avanti and that, among its other functions, it will help drive a few nails in the coffins of the Forward, The Call and the movement that fathered such spineless offspring.

According to the reports circulated by the Right Wing in New York City the Republicans and Democrats have suddenly been converted to Revolutionary Socialism. It appears that they have made elaborate plans for supporting the Left Wing at the primaries, and that by their aid the Left Wing will sweep the rights out of their own especial field, politics, on the primary elections.

It is very hard to please some people. All along one of the Rights' greatest grievances against the Left was that the latter were repudiating political action, on this ground the expulsions from the Party were justified. Now, however, that the Lefties are showing that they are not willing to fight with any weapon in the struggle against the present system of society, the Rights complain bitterly that the capitalist parties are supporting us.

The real facts of the case are that the Rights feel that they are going to get a drubbing from the enrolled Socialist voters, similar to what they received from the Party membership at the N. E. C. elections, and like good politicians they prepare an excuse in advance.

The old parties are not anxious to find revolutionary Socialists in the legislative chambers, so far they have joined very well with Right Wingism, but the Socialist voters are anxious to see something done by those who are elected to represent them and the Right Wing senses this. The Left Wing is constructing the primaries to defeat petty bourgeois Socialism. In the election proper it will fight the representatives of capitalism, and in action show what revolutionary political tactics really are.

The following is a list of the Branches in Greater New York and the dates of their "meeting nights." Where the particulars are incomplete or incorrect, Branch Secretaries and organizers are requested to furnish the necessary information to Maximon Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, New York City:

NEW YORK.
1st A. D.—190 Henry Street.
3rd and 5th Grand Street—every Friday.
3rd and 10th A. D.—43 West 39th Street—every Tuesday.
8th A. D.—112 Second Avenue—every Thursday.
15th A. D.—1538 Madison Avenue—every Thursday.
16th A. D.—1848 Lexington Avenue—every Thursday.
21st A. D.—929 Amsterdam Avenue.
Letish Branch No. 2—2018 Avenue.
Estshonian Branch—255 East 79th St.—First Wednesday.
Lithuanian Branch—7 East 15th Street.
Ukrainian Br. No. 20—202 East 7th St.
Jewish Br. Downtown—201 East Broadway.
Jewish Harlem Br.—40 East 104th St.
Italian Br. Second A. D.—109 Thompson Street—every Thursday.
Italian Harlem Br.—1848 Lexington Avenue.
Spanish Br.—350 Grand Street.
Ukrainian Br.—350 Grand St.
Russian Br. Fed.—113 East 16th St.—every Friday.
1st Russian Br. non-fed.
2nd Harlem Branch, Russian—1890 Madison Avenue.
Happ Br.—505 E. 81st St.—first and third Thursday.
German—Hungarian Br.—560 East 81st St.
German—Hungarian Br.—1900 First Avenue—first and third Saturday.
BRONX LEFT WING BRANCHES
R. Blignaut—740 East 146th St.
Organizer.
1st A. D.—371 Willis Ave.—every Thursday.
2nd A. D.—1236 Boston Road—every Monday.
3rd A. D.—740 E. 146th Street.
5th A. D.—1349 Southern Boulevard—every other Thursday.
7th A. D.—1878 132nd St.
Jewish Br. No. 1—Clarence Parkway and Washington Ave.—every Friday.
Jewish Branch No. 2—971 Willis Avenue—every Monday.
Jewish Branch No. 3—1393 Willis Ave.—every Friday.
Russian Br. No. 3—1398 Boston Road—every Friday.
Hungarian Br.—1898 Boston Road.
Lettish Br.—No. 1—371 Willis Ave.—every second Sunday in month.
KING LEFT WING BRANCHES
Albert Pauly, Organizer.
677 Willowave Ave.
Central Committee meets every 2nd and 4th Saturday at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue.
1st A. D.—417 Atlantic Ave.—every Friday.
2nd A. D.—1287 East 105th Street—every second and fourth Tuesday.
3rd and 8th A. D.—Morgan's Hall, 35th Union Ave.—every second and fourth Friday.
4th A. D.—43 Lee Ave.—every Thursday.
5th A. D.—107 Tompkins Ave.—every Thursday.
7th A. D.—301 Prospect Ave.—every Thursday.
8th A. D.—1200 40th Street—second and 4th Monday.
10th A. D.—359 Vanderbilt Ave.—every Thursday.
13th A. D.—Crescent Hall, 6th Ave. and 9th Street—third and 4th Friday.
16th A. D.—388 Grand Street—second and 4th Thursday.
18th A. D.—2—1798 Pitkin Ave.—every Thursday.
18th A. D.—404 Central Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Friday.
2nd A. D.—844 Flatbush Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
22nd A. D. Br.—4—Sutter Avenue—every Thursday.
22nd A. D. Br.—1—519 Fulton Street—every Friday.
1st A. D.—764 40th St.—every 2nd and 4th Sunday.
4th A. D.—3—835 Prospect Ave.—every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.
16th A. D. Br.—1—949 Willowave Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
29th A. D. Br.—1—404 Central Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
2nd A. D. Br.—2—300 Fulton St.—every 2nd and 4th Saturday.
Nights Workers Br.—949 Willowave Ave.—every 3rd Saturday.
Jewish Br. 6th A. D.—147 Tompkins Ave.—every Friday.
Jewish Br. 13—15th A. D.—61 Graham Ave.—every Thursday.
Jewish Br. 4—144th A. D.—908 Grand Ave.—every Tuesday.
Jewish Br. 16th A. D.—2—1898 40th St.—every 2nd and 4th Friday.
Lithuanian Br.—19—028 Grand Ave.—every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.
Lithuanian Br.—3—769 Third Ave.
Lithuanian Br.—62—823 Hudson Ave.—every 1st Sunday.
Russian Br.—3—709 Pitkin Ave.—every 1st Thursday.
Russian Br. 6—61 Graham Ave.—every Saturday.
Ukrainian Br.—93 Grand Street—every Thursday.
Italian Branch.

The Forward, The Call and the movement that fathered such spineless offspring.

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We want to apologize to the Peace Conference for doing it an injustice on the Shantung question. We had thought that the giving of Shantung to Japan was a violation of the rights of small peoples, but we have just learned that Shantung has a population of 40,000,000, practically the same as Great Britain.

Obviously a population of 40,000,000 does not come under the head of small peoples, and therefore the disposal of Shantung is well within the "14 Points."

We thought it would be quite some time before Germany would be able to derive any consolation from the fact that "it might have been worse," but when we look at the Austrian terms we can see that Germany came out of the whole affair pretty well. Apparently at the time of the formation of the German terms the Allies had not got into their stride.

Demanding that Austria denounce the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, while she accepts the treaty of Versailles seems like carrying democracy too far.

Judging from all we have heard about the Peace Treaty and how it secures the peace of the world, it's a wonder nobody in Washington thought of reading it to the mob in the recent race riots.

Talking about the race riots, isn't if funny that all bayonet charges should take place in the Negro quarter?
He is a middle-aged man. Even after four years of war, he is fat, and his flesh moulds itself limply into his arm-chair. He has a recently shaved head and is wearing a shirt which is not wholly the honorable grime of toil.

He invariably receives a visitor with a suspended air.

"You want — ?"

Having learned what his visitor wants, he grumbles a bit and then slides by degrees into the main conversation, or out of it, according as the request pleases him. He regards the affair with ponderous seriousness. No smile ever entered his features.

He is His Majesty, the Majority Socialist Bureaucrat of Germany.

He is a trade union organizer, a party secretary, or an editor; since the Revolution he is likely to be an officer of one of the more conservative Workmen's Councils. He is in every city and nearly every village in the land. Twenty or thirty years ago he was a young workman. He was looking about for his share of adventure in life and he saw the Socialist Party, which had then just won its first great victory in forming the repeal of Bismarck's Socialist suppression laws. In the Party propaganda he found spiritual compensation for all his humiliations in the caserne, in the workshop, in the neighborhood police station, under the Junker regime. He put the ardor of his youth into party work. He became a great man in his factory, in his branch meeting. He felt the thrill of marching in step with the battalions of his own comrade.

The Socialist movement became important, and the Party, in its scores of fine buildings, its plump money chests, its printing shops and its newspapers, was calling to the most important that somebody else, that the Kaiser could not get on without. The organizers, who passed it on, became first indigent, and then rich, and finally secretaries, and finally editors; since the Revolution.

A great war was to be declared, and the money chests were to be filled with it. He rejoiced in the martial organization of the Party. He rejoiced in the fact that his workmen's councils had become popular organizations. The organizer, who thereupon became first indigent, was the Kaiser's representative. Editors became secretaries, and secretaries became organizers.

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The Revolutionary Age

By Sen Kagayama

Morris Hillquit and the Left Wing

Left Wing movement in America. Its present situation need not be told in this article. The writer disagrees with Hillquit’s expressions about the Left Wing movement. Of course, Morris Hillquit is a willing, an enthusiastic and an extremely able man. He has made a profound impression on the Socialist Party (official) of America and has many followers and even workers. He can command the policy of the Party at his will, as in the case of the Left Wing boycott. The policy against the Left Wing was directed by Hillquit’s article in The New York Call. “I am one of the last men in the Party” he says “to ignore or misunderstand the sound revolutionary impulse which animates the rank and file of this new movement, but the character and direction which it (the L.W.) has assumed, its program and its slogans, the question is one of direction, it is not purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia. The cardinal vice of the movement is that it started as a wing, and a schismatic and disintegrating movement.”

“The Left Wing movement is a sort of burlesque on the Russian Revolution. Its leaders do not want to convert their comrades in the Party.”

Such are Hillquit’s opinions about the Left Wing and he complains that the Left Wing leaders refuse to cooperate with “the aforesaid stage Centrists and Right Wingers.” Again he thinks that “the Socialist Party of America at this point is standing in the forefront of international socialism ever since the outbreak of the war,” and “many of its officers and leaders have exposed themselves to the immolation in defense of the principles of international socialism.”

To the writer Hillquit’s “socialistic radicalism” and “principles of international socialism” do not seem clear. In effect Hillquit says that the Russian Soviet Government has a legitimate place in the International Socialist movement, so has Hungary and the class-conscious, radical Socialist movement of Germany, but he wants the American Socialist movement to be of a moderate type—that the socialization of industries and national life shall not be attempted by one master stroke but shall be carried out gradually and slowly. The working class shall not mount the capital class at least “during the period of transition.” He does not say exactly these words but this is the inference from what he does say. These principles are radical and he is not disintegrating but constructive. Further Hillquit says: “Its leaders do not want to convert their comrades in the Party.” Convert them to what, we would like to know? The large majority of the rank and file of the Socialist Party are on the side of the Left Wing already. We, the Left Wing, do not co-operate as Hillquit would like with the social-patriots like Algeron Lee or the opportunist Berger, who was present, but not in the Left Wing. His action would be to mislead and anti-war against Germany?

Hillquit wants the Socialists of America to wait patiently until the bad after-war conditions come, and then the Socialists of America will have their heart and their opportunity.” A fine Fabianism! The workers of America are already looking for the new light and guidance that abundantly emanates from Russia and Hungary. We need not defend the position of the Communist Congress at Moscow against Hillquit’s emotional criticism. The revolutionary Socialists of the world are better judges than he. When he says the Socialist movement of the world has been in the state of political disunion, moral fermentation and intellectual confusion, he speaks for himself and his like.

The delegates to the Communist Congress at Moscow were not men and women of intellectual confusion as is evident in their choice of Eugene Debs instead of Morris Hillquit as the leader of the American Socialist movement!

Hillquit may be a good lawyer, who can win a case with his remarkable skill in using English, and has been no doubt a good international Socialist with perhaps the exception of the question of Asiatic immigration, just as his colleague Berger, but his judgment and criticism of the Left Wing movement are entirely wrong and outrageous. “I am one of the last men in the Party to ignore or misunderstand the sound revolutionary impulse which animates the rank and file of this new movement.” By saying this Hillquit is really condemning himself.

The Left Wing has a big but inspiring task: To preach the principles as outlined above, which were adopted at the recent National Left Wing Convention among the members of the Party. But we must first tell the members how their foremost leader, Morris Hillquit, thinks and attacks the Left Wing as reactionary and non-Socialist.

During the coming weeks before the Socialist Party Emergency Convention, Hillquit and his followers will attempt to mislead the Party members by desperate attacks upon the Left Wing, which are purely emotional and his misrepresentations will not succeed in destroying the truth about the Left Wing movement. To attack and misrepresent the Left Wing is to attack and misrepresent the character and direction of the Left Wing movement. No wonder Hillquit speaks of it as a purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia” and as a “schismatic and disintegrating movement, essentially reactionary and non-Socialist” and that it would lead us nowhere.

He is mistaken in so styling the Left Wing. It is not a purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia. It is not an emotional and non-Socialist and that it would lead us nowhere.

The New International

The Class Struggle

The revival of the Left Wing movement is due mainly to the Boston comrades. As Boston has been the home of revolutionary movements in the past so in this case the Boston comrades’ work has contributed to the revival of the Left Wing movement. As the organ of the Boston Branch of the Socialist Party, which made a profound and widespread impression on the minds of the comrades, it was very vociferous. The Revolutionary Age, the organ of the Socialist Propaganda League, had been boycotted by the New York comrades because it had approved of the Left Wing movement of a separate organization, but The Revolutionary Age was the official organ of a Party Local so the Socialist Party officials could not very well boycott it, we were therefore reminded with results that are unnecessary to detail here.

Such in brief is the development of the
An Appeal to the British Workers

By Nicholas Lenin; President, Council of People's Commissars; and G. Chicherin; People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. From "The Workers' Drounahead," London, England.

A Letter From Jail

County Jail, Delaware, Ohio.
July 19, 1919.

The Revolutionary Age.
43 West 29th St., New York City.

Dear Comrades:—

I have read with interest and appreciation the July 6th issue of your paper. We fellows in prison certainly appreciate the stand of the Left Wing element in the party for Internationalism. Here is success to your cause in the August Convention.

I would be glad to receive further copies of your paper. My time is up here on December 8th. I am doing this nine month's sentence for refusing to register June 5th, 1917, having been in jail in Atlanta since that time until I was transferred to this jail.

Yours for the Third International,
A. AMMON. HENNEY.

The Class War.

In fact you are up against the whole capitalist system. What is Capitalism? Capitalism is the system under which the land, the railways, factories, and all means of obtaining a livelihood are owned by private individuals, who use them for their own benefit.

Who owns England? Do you? Can you point to any part of England and say: "This is mine"? If you can you are one of the lucky ones. There are not many working men in England who can say that. The England that you call "your country" is not your country, but the landlords'. In England women whose husbands are fighting "for their country" are being evicted from their houses. If you do not pay rent to the landlord you cannot live in your country.

The tremendous industry of England is not run for the purpose of providing you and your families with food and clothing. It is run for the purpose of providing profit and interest for the capitalists, financiers, and for rich shirkers generally to lead idle and luxurious lives while you are working like beasts.

All wealth comes from labor. Does labor get it? If it did there would be no poor people in England. The worker is robbed of the product of his labor. He is robbed by those who take the rent profit and interest, i.e., the landlords and the capitalists. Between you and them there is an irreconcilable antagonism. As long as there are capitalists, workmen will be robbed, and continue to remain poor. Your aim as a trade unionist, desiring to improve your conditions in life, should be to abolish capitalism, landlordism, and take possession of your country. You would be doing more good for yourself, if you conquered England for the English people.

The War and the Class War.

The productivity of labor has increased to such an extent that the capitalists have to find new markets to dispose of the surplus wealth and profits you have created. This is what this war is about. The German capitalists and the Allied capitalists are competing with each other as to who shall control the undeveloped parts of the world for the purpose of investing the profits they wrong out of the labor of their respective workers. This is why you have been brought to Russia. Your capitalists see in our country a rich field for investment. And so you have been brought here to overthrow our workers' government, and bring back the rule of the landlords, capitalists, and the Czar. It is indeed a grim jest, that the workers' and peasants' armies are slaughtering each other by the tens of thousands for the purpose of deciding where the wealth they have been plundered of, shall go. Even during the war the class war has gone on. At the outbreak of the war the capitalists said to you: "We must not quarrel now. We are of the same race, we must all unite and show a solid front to the enemy." The workers believed them, and gave up everything in defense of their country. But the capitalists continued in their old business of bleeding the workers. With them it was "business as usual," only more so. For the people the war has been the cause of ruin, sorrow, grief, and disaster. For the capitalists it has been an El-Dorado. They have made such profits as they have never in their lives dreamed of. Imperialism has been made out of the blood and tears of the working people.

It has been the same in every country. In every country the capitalists have used the workers as cannon-fodder on the battlefields, and as material for exploitation at home. The capitalist class worships no other god but profit, and own allegiance to any country where profit can be obtained.

Does not this show that the peoples are not divided according to nationality, but according to class?

The workers of each country are not enemies to each other. Their real enemies are at home, in the country of the Russian people.

We are not going to grow food for the rich to feed, or weave cloth for the rich to wear. The people will enjoy the product of their labor.

Can you wonder that the capitalists of all countries should hate us? We have shattered their dreams of the vast fortunes to be made out of the great stores of natural wealth contained in our country.

Besides, if they allow us to remain in existence, will not the workers in the other countries follow suit, and do as we have done?

They have decided therefore to crush us before we have time to consolidate our position. And you, English trade unionists will be used for this purpose.

The Russian capitalists do not stand an earthly chance against us by themselves. But your capitalists know that their interests are the same as those of the Russian capitalists, and have come to their assistance.

Why do you not recognize your class interest in the same way? You as trade unionists are fighting your capitalists, we have settled our account with ours.

What are you going to do? Are you going to undertake the work we have commenced?

You are going to do the dirty work of your enemies, the capitalist class? Or will you remain loyal to your own class—the working class—and support our effort to secure the world for labor? Remember! By fighting us you are not fighting for your country, but for the capitalists whom your fellow trade unionists at home are fighting. By fighting us you are fighting your fellow workers. Every blow you strike against us is a blow against yourselves. If you crush us, you will only succeed in strengthening the power of the capitalists to enslave you and exploit you.

Fellow workers, on whose side are you,—workers' or the masters'?
Social Reforms and the Left Wing

By Jay Lovestone

The proletariat into class activity, and should always point its political and industrial programme towards the goal of Capitalism. The Socialist should not argue for a way of life, but for a new way of living and working. Let us make the proletarian revolution. Let us fight for the rights of the working class. For us, the problem of unemployment is not merely a question of economic policy. It is a question of our class struggle. We must fight for a better world, not a better way of life.

The Left Wing holds that unemployment—rather disemployment—is an inevitable characteristic of Capitalism. As long as Capitalism exists there will be disemployment. The problem cannot be solved as long as Capitalism is intact. The Left Wing holds that the solution to this problem is to be found in the Left Wing programmes. The Left Wing believes that only through the Left Wing can the proletariat be emancipated from the capitalist system. The Left Wing holds that the Left Wing is the only party that can bring about the revolution. The Left Wing is the party of the working class, the party of the proletariat. The Left Wing is the party of revolution.

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medium of such, effective, social legislation is not the capitalistically legal representative system. There are today in the United States thousands of mine and other dangerous occupations laws not at all enforced legally. Furthermore, the only relief laws carried out are those for the enforcement of which the proletariat has used industrial might or stands ready to use industrial might. Industrial might has always been as well never have been legislated into existence.

To say that there is Socialism in the horde of factory acts is as stupid as to say that there is Socialism in the cleaning of streets and lighting of street lamps. Both are indispensable to Capitalism. Both are inevitable. To condemn or commend either is futile. Capitalism can and will take care of these itself. For a revolutionary movement to invest its energy in these is supreme asininity.

Again, there is a large class of so-called social reforms "which aim at saving and cheapening the means of living for the workers." Should these become universal they are followed by a corresponding reduction of wages. In considering these, it must be remembered that saving of the cost of production of labor; i.e., every permanent reduction of price of the necessities of life for the worker brings about a reduction of wages of labor." Should these "benefits" be combined with the imperious conditions of the workers' conditions. Because of this supposed great concern on their part they insist on their empty and hollow reform "slogans. How foolishly ambitious! The Left Wing is infinitely more concerned with the welfare of the proletariat at all times than the moderate. That is why the Left Wing is a revolutionary organization. Because the Left Wing is so anxious to promote the proletariat's class interests it adopts revolutionary methods, and unequivocally rejects reform demands.

Why bleak the issue? By having revolutionary demands—demands which strike at the root of the issue—a working class movement has a far better chance of securing immediate improvement in the laborers' conditions than does the moderate. That is why the Left Wing is a revolutionary organization. Because the Left Wing is so anxious to promote the proletariat's class interests it adopts revolutionary methods, and unequivocally rejects reform demands.

Furthermore, do not these reform tactics give a leader to the movement contrary to its ignorance of Socialism? A perusal of the list of "socialist professors" hired by the Rand School of what is supposed to be Social with the "immediate solution of this thing is is is. And truly, if the Party's spokesmen are not to know what they are talking about, who is?

Since when can the blind lead the blind? By what right do the capitalists, whatever they object to being paid less than to have a revolution. Yet, the historic necessity of the working class is to carry out a revolution. Yet, the historic necessity of the working class is to carry out a revolution. Yet, the historic necessities of the working class are to go beyond reform. In short, whatever improvement can be had in the workers' condition under Capitalism is to be gotten most of which it is very much more like an are.

The easiest and most direct route to the immediate improvement of the proletariat's conditions lies in revolutionary activity. The capitalist exploiters will not yield unless hard-pressed. And no proletarian pressure can be too terrific for this end. In short, whatever improvement in the workers' condition under Capitalism is to be gotten must be by the revolutionary activity of the working class. Ame­rican industrial history gives eloquent proof to the tyranny and starvation of the proletariat. American industrial history gives eloquent proof to the tyranny and starvation of the proletariat. American industrial history gives eloquent proof to the tyranny and starvation of the proletariat. American industrial history gives eloquent proof to the tyranny and starvation of the proletariat.

One of the most important requisites for the success of a revolutionary party is a sound organization. A Socialist party's insistence on the so-called immediate demands or social reforms leads to perilous situations. This may lead, as it has led, to cooperation with non-Socialist groups, to a blurring of the supreme issue—the class struggle. But how long ago was it that the American Socialist Party co-operated with the People's Council and to the immediate struggle. One of the most important requisites for the success of a revolutionary party is a sound organization. A Socialist Party's insistence on the so-called immediate demands or social reforms leads to perilous situations. This may lead, as it has led, to cooperation with non-Socialists, a grouping which the Socialists, to a blurring of the supreme issue—the class struggle. But how long ago was it that the American Socialist Party co-operated with the People's Council and to the immediate struggle. One of the most important requisites for the success of a revolutionary party is a sound organization. A Socialist Party's insistence on the so-called immediate demands or social reforms leads to perilous situations. This may lead, as it has led, to cooperation with non-Socialists, a grouping which the Socialists, to the tyranny and starvation of the proletariat. American industrial history gives eloquent proof to the tyranny and starvation of the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie had many other advantages. The bourgeoisie had economic power. They thereby made inroads on the political power of the feudal rulers. The bourgeoisie had economic power. They thereby made inroads on the political power of the feudal rulers. The bourgeoisie had economic power. They thereby made inroads on the political power of the feudal rulers.

The working class on the other hand, lacks the economic, military, or intellectual advantages. The working class on the other hand, lacks the economic, military, or intellectual advantages.
Soviet Hungary's Task

By Joseph Pogany

people's deputy to the budapest worker's council... address delivered to the council.

[Text continues]

A Call to Blockade the Allies

For more than a century the blood-stained despotism of Russian Czarism has been the surest support of reaction in Europe, the surest obstacle to Socialism and revolution. After a heroic fight lasting for decades, the Russian proletariat has succeeded in carrying out the revolution of 1917 and putting through the socialistic transformation of Russian society. This is a historic victory of the international proletarian revolution.

The question of life or death, and we, the representatives of the workers of America, France, Belgium, Italy, and Scandinavia, summons you to the task of bringing our victory to the rest of the world. The International has already raised the white flag with the inscription: "Long live the King!" (Strong exclamations: Destroy them! Fearful noise.) To this crude apology before your vengeance! We will return and this time wipe you off, not only as a class but also in fact to the last man, to the last counter-revolutionary. (Unceasing, deafening, spirited applause and approbation.)

Comrades! With a voice, resounding afar, do we send forth from here, out of this assembly, a message to the Hungarian bourgeoisie at home, let them take notice that as war hosts we desire to live, we want to win, we will win! (Continued applause.)

In conclusion, however, Comrades, we must issue a message from this body to ourselves, to our proletarian comrades in the factories and outside in the villages. Openly, without cir- cumlocution Comrade Kun has said in this assembly that the proletarian Revolution is in danger. We must not be afraid to call upon Fatherland! Everyone here is a blackguard and a betrayer, a worthless scamp, who, if he can be spared at home, does not go out, all of us, to the front. To defend our country, this Soviet Government, would be without honor, if it should not immediately want to separate itself: Openly to work at home, governing the central administration, the other to go to the front, leading our proletarian rest and revolutonary urge to the front. (Stormy applause.)

The question is one of life or death, and we, Comrades, want life! This beautiful spring that blooms outside, is not here so that we vanish! We cling to life! We cling to that which we have attained, and to that upon this close of this country, of the entire proletarian rests. (Spirited hurrahs and applause.)

Comrades! We want to live! We do not want to collapse, and for this reason we give, for our class rule, for our proletarian dictatorship, for the world revolution, necessary our very lives! (Continued applause.)

That is what we proclaim from out of this assemblage to every proletarian, every bourgeois, over our own borders, out to every socialist and workers party. comrades, this spirit must push forth from this assemblage. A single, unified, powerful call to all the world: we desire to live, we want to win, we will win! (Continued hurrahs and applause.)

(At the close of the meeting a resolution was carried that half the members of the soviet government, the worker's council, and half the general workers should go to the front.)

Issued by the provisional committee of the scandinavian workers' movement, party of the left.

A Call to Blockade the Allies

Special notice to national left wing conference delegates,

I was elected treasurer of the conference and the task of winding up the affairs of the Conference rests upon me. I find myself with a debt of $500.00 owed to the Conference Reporting Company which took the stenographic minutes and several hundred dollars still due to delegates for railroad fare.

There is about a thousand dollars still due to delegates for railroad fare. (Stormy applause.)

We, the representatives of the workers of the entire International, summons you to the task of bringing our victory to the rest of the world.

We have inaugurated a blockade against all these nations that are waging war against Soviet Russia, in order in this manner to cripple the attacks launched by the imperialists. We call upon you to join us in this blockade. But we expect more than this from you. The responsibility in this world historic situation is upon your soldiers. The capitalists of your countries have come out victorious in the great world conflict. They are now the masters of the imperialistic world.

They have now become also leaders in the struggle of Capitalism against the working class. The workers alone must therefore direct the chief attack against them. We do not doubt that your powerful organizational forces will be able to cope with this task, if you are only united and willing. We, the Scandinavian workers address our appeal to you. Close your ranks for a united struggle by the side of the entire world proletariat.

(Signed) The Provisional Committee for the Scandinavian Workers Movement, party of the left.
The Conquest of Capitalism

From the Finnish Communist Paper "Vierti" Published by O. W. Oksen. Translated by O. W. Oksen.

The methods used by British Imperialism have varied greatly: lashing the negroes in the rubber industry until the blood oozed from their pores; starving the Hindu by robbing him of his wheat, fleecing the Mexican and the workers of Tammerfors in the cotton industries. Such is the history of the making of wealth from blood—from the blood of the slaves, semi-slave people (coolies), wage workers, small tillers, lumber workers, of barbarian and "civilized" people. Still more wealth, and still more territory in which to invest it! Still more colonies, and still more bankers and professional soldiers to maintain discipline!

So long as England led the other nations industrially and was master of the seas, she boasted of not needing duty on her "free trade" for the support of her monopoly. But when competition appeared, the English capitalists demanded protective tariff to unite the mother country and her colonies against the rest of the world. The developing industry of the United States had all it could do in satisfying the demands of its states, but the demand was protected by high tariff. In 1898 the United States started on an ocean adventure, returning victorious over Cuba, the Philippines, and the Pacific islands. She entered the race of Imperialism; began to strive for world power. France schemed for Algiers, Russia for the far East, Italy for North America. Austria for the Balkans, Japan for Korea and the islands. Germany for Africa and Mesopotamia, and all of these for China. Statistics indicate, that in 1876 only ten per cent of Africa was colonial territory; but in 1900, this had jumped to 90 per cent. The subject territory of France had increased from one per cent in 1876 to 48 per cent in 1900. In America and Asia there is no unsubdued territory. Between the years 1884 and 1900 England grabbed 3,700,000 square miles with a population of 54 million; France 3,600,000 square miles, population 30,000,000; Germany 2,500,000 square miles with a population of 14,000,000; Belgium 900,000 square miles, 30,000,000 people; Portugal 800,000 square miles, 5,000,000 people.

We remember that capital seeks for openings in strange areas we readily understand that the work of the diplomats in creating these opening is not only to attend political affairs but also to look after business matters. Battleships and large armies are then needed to carry out the plans of the embassy. Moreover, at the same time that the preparation for the war offered the best opportunity for investments (the construction of the road, etc.) in the best market (preparation for the army), it became the first duty of the "patriotic" newspapers to support all clamour for war.

Imperialism and the Workers.

How did the economic evolution whose political manifestation became Imperialism affect the workers? The experience of Finland was that the organization of the employers made the winning of strikes more difficult. Frequently, behind many industries, a glimpse of the bourgeoisie will be seen; Salmiakki, a small manufacturer confessed that he would like to grant the demands of the workers, but the bankers immediately discontinue credit and force him into bankruptcy.

We know that it has been the object of the trust to crush trade unionism. The steel trust has severed all connections with the unions, even demanded slave contracts; to get employes with the Social-Democrats to demand repudiation of unionism. Everywhere in the world the ever increasing organized workers found themselves opposed by more rapidly increasing organized capital, and many bitter and bloody strikes either failed or became defeats. Even though some groups (English miners) succeeded in obtaining their ends, trade union considerations will prove that they did not keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, to say nothing about the improvement of conditions. It is not strange that the form of organization (international, industrial), and the methods of attack (mass action, general strike) became subjects of vital discussion.

The world war broke out. It continued for more than four years. Here we shall not discuss its causes. Let it, however, be observed how the monopolies and imperialist states have seized the sins of the "enemy" countries, but these wrongs will be greatly overshadowed by the graft of the foreign embassies disclosed by the revolution.

It is, however, important for us to note that this war has exposed the rottenness of Capitalism. In the beginning it elevated the development of Capitalism to an apparently high stage. The predicted panic did not come, and the centralized bankers cunningly handled the whirlpool of immense sums by manipulating paper. The organizing ability of the capitalists became evident in the admirable system by which the machinery of the banks, trusts, corporations and trade unions were united under the supervision of the government and its officials (also numerous citizens' organizations) into one great unit. This machinery: was created to serve death, to destroy the human race. Its work has been very thorough: on the slaughter fields twenty million have been crippled and killed. Plague and pestilence have raged among the soldiers and civilians. "Organized" and unorganized starvation have existed for hundreds, yes, millions of men, women and children not only in the warring but also in the neutral countries. And as the industrial machinery was transformed into a war machine, so the substitutes, chemical slops which poison the vitals of the body, have taken the place of food. Politically the phenomenon of the imperialistic war proved to be just as horrible. Unhesitating despotism was declared on the first day of the war. In the guise of "military necessity" strict censorship was established. Those opposing war (Jaures, etc.) were shot as a warning to others. The Bourgeoisie instituted a persecution of the bourgeois "peace advocates," and any of these, particularly in America, who opposed the war were given prison sentences from 10 to 20 years. In Russia the Bolshevik representatives in the Duma were sent to Siberia. Karl Liebknecht in Germany, McLean in England, and numerous others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. No one knows the number of men shot as "rebels" and "vicious men"; the courts-martial of Hungary alone butchered over ten thousand.

The skilfully arranged reason for the war—"the enemy is attacking the fatherland"—surprised the workers. The sudden mobilization swept them into the ranks, in front of the machines of the officers. The treason of the representatives of the Social-Democrats in supporting a defensive war confused the issue. So capital for once could admire its achievement: obediently, yes, enthusiastically, millions marched to their doom for the interest of the exploiter, at the same time that behind the front line the peace was signed and all the powers of body and mind were sacrificed to the war idols.

Capital could not dream for anything more. It busied itself in the gold and lived in luxury, but a crash came.

A crash was bound to come. The wonderful system of capital was constructed on a treacherous foundation. Humanity cannot live on a basis of capital. Capital밴이. Russia. But this demand still exists. It still has the possibility of life, that democracy will eliminate its most "glaring" faults, that it is possible to do away with secret diplomacy, without abolishing the secrecy of business, that we can create a "league of nations" and gradually introduce Socialist reforms.

This is all imagination; still worse, it is a dangerous deception. It is unnecessary to speak of the methods of Capitalism for once could admire its achievement: obediently, yes, enthusiastically, millions marched to their doom for the interest of the exploiter, at the same time that behind the front line the peace was signed and all the powers of body and mind were sacrificed to the war idols.

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Capital could not dream for anything more. It busied itself in the gold and lived in luxury, but a crash came.

A crash was bound to come. The wonderful system of capital was constructed on a treacherous foundation. Humanity cannot live on a basis of capital. Capital 밴이. Russia. But this demand still exists. It still has the possibility of life, that democracy will eliminate its most "glaring" faults, that it is possible to do away with secret diplomacy, without abolishing the secrecy of business, that we can create a "league of nations" and gradually introduce Socialist reforms.

This is all imagination; still worse, it is a dangerous deception. It is unnecessary to speak of the methods of Capitalism for once could admire its achievement: obediently, yes, enthusiastically, millions marched to their doom for the interest of the exploiter, at the same time that behind the front line the peace was signed and all the powers of body and mind were sacrificed to the war idols.
Starving the Soviet Republics

THE Peace Conference has arranged things very nicely for the dominant Imperialism. It has concluded a peace of conquest and spoliation. It has divided the world financially and territorially. It has assured to the nations of the Allies the purpose for which they went to war—world power and domination.

It is astonishing the slick way in which the Peace conference has arranged matters. Under the protection of President Wilson's "14 Points" the Conference has perpetrated acts of reaction more terrible than any in the world's history. Under the protection of ideological camouflage, each of the victorious nations has annexed territory and got away with it under the guise of "mandatory." Great Britain has added about one million and a half square miles of territory to its dominions; France almost as much, with Italy and Japan trying to equal the larger brigandas.

The Shantung Peninsula affair is characteristic. The Peace Conference, mouthing its idealistic phrases, has given Japan control over Chinese territory with a population of 40,000,000 people. The Chinese have protested; but they have been brutally squelched by the Conference of the Great Powers.

All these territorial "adjustments" are related to economic problems, to financial mastery of the world. It is, in other words, an economic peace for Imperialism.

The Conference has concluded peace in order to assure these "adjustments" of power. But the Great Powers realize that these adjustments are temporary as long as the menace of Bolshevism is not crushed.

The Peace Conference, accordingly, is concluding "peace" in such a way as to make arrangements for a new war against the Soviet Republics in Hungary and Russia.

Bolshevism is the protest of the masses against conquest and spoliation. Bolshevism will not for a moment tolerate the adjustments of the Peace Conference, which constitute a threat to the peace and liberty of the world. The victory of Bolshevism means the end of the imperialistic division of the world in the interest of the Great Powers. Bolshevism calls upon the workers of the world to crush Capitalism and Imperialism, re-organize the world so that all peoples shall be assured of peace by making the world a universal Soviet Republic.

In the Allied countries the conscious proletariat is prepared, at any moment, to sweep aside the old order and unite forces with Soviet Russia and Hungary. The existence of these two Soviet Republics is a challenge to the proletariat of the Allies to act for the conquest of power. The Allies must crush Bolshevism, else they be crushed.

This is being tried in a number of ways. Peace is being concluded with the provision that certain nations shall make war against Soviet Russia, other nations shall make war against Soviet Hungary. Poland and Finland are to fight Soviet Russia; Rumania and Jugoslavia are to fight Soviet Hungary. Small nations are being created for no other purpose than to constitute the instruments of the Allies against Bolshevism. Accordingly, while "peace" is being concluded new wars are being organized against the Soviet Republics.

But this is not all. While military war is being waged against Russia and Hungary, the Allies wage another—economic war.

The Peace Conference has decided, according to the press, not to allow the resumption of trade relations either with Russia or with Hungary as long as the Soviet Government controls. Neutrals are prohibited from trading with these two nations under threat of being denied trade with the Allies. In other words, the Soviet Republics of Hungary and Russia are to be blockaded.

This blockade is one of the most infamous acts of history. It is worse than any crime perpetrated by Imperial Germany during the war. It is worse than any act perpetrated by the Allies during the war.

Russia is shattered; Hungary is shattered. They are shattered because of the war, because of the crimes of the old regime. Reconstruction is the task. But reconstruction implies trade relations with the world. The Allies deny Russia and Hungary these trade relations.

The capitalist press says that Hungary and Russia are starving because of Bolshevism. They are starving because of the war and the blockade of the Allies. If a blockade of France and Italy were to be organized, these two nations would starve within one week. Italy and France are disorganized, are starved, are in almost as bad a plight as Soviet Russia and Hungary; but what maintains them is trade with the outside world.

Peace was to have restored normal relations to the world. But the Peace Conference is not trying to restore normal relations unless these relations promote the supremacy of Capitalism.

The Allies accuse Bolshevism of starving Russia and Hungary. But it is the Allies who are doing the starving. It is the Allies who are condemning millions and millions of people to starvation because they do not agree with the politics of these people.

The Allies are making it clear that they will do all in their power to crush these Communist Republics. They dare not send their own soldiers against the Red Army of Russia: so they finance Kolchak; Kolchak is beaten, so the Allies institute a murderous blockade.

It is now clear that the Russian people are not against the Soviet Republic; it is now clear that Kolchak does not represent the masses of the Russian people. Yet the Allies still insist that the Soviet Government is not representative.

Every act of the Allies against Russia or Hungary is an act against the workers in their own countries.

The French, British and Italian workers are realizing this. They are preparing to act against the Allies blockade. In Naples the Seamen's Federation first prevented a British ship laden with munitions for Kolchak from leaving the harbor, and then they took all the munitions off before allowing the ship to sail.

It is necessary that the workers of the Allies should act drastically against the blockade of Soviet Russia and Hungary. It is necessary to break the blockade.

There is a struggle now going on in the world, which is symbolized by the struggle between the Peace Conference and Soviet Russia. The Peace Conference represents reaction and the capitalists of the world; Soviet Russia represents progress and the workers of the world. One or the other must meet defeat. The Peace Conference uses hypocrisy, deceit and brutality to put over its purposes. It is the centre of reaction. If it conquers, the world will be dominated by oppression and exploitation.

Starvation is the final resort of murderous Capitalism. The Russian people do not ask for food; they do not ask for charity; they simply ask that the blockade be lifted, that they shall be allowed to trade with the world as all other nations.

But the Allies do not want to permit this. They want to protect their spoils, to protect the infamous acts of the Peace Conference. Soviet Russia and Hungary are today the one factor that assures peace and justice to the workers; the workers of the world must rally to the Soviet Republics.
Parliaments and Soviets

By N. Bukharin
Of the Russian Soviet Republic

(Continued from page 14)


ty, the Soviet has been born. The factory councils are the embryo of the central government. They are becoming organs of the working class. They are governing the factories and the country.

The Soviet is the committee, representing the working class, elected by the workers themselves. It is the government of the working class, not of the bourgeoisie. It is the government of the working class, not of the capitalists. It is the government of the working class, not of the landlords. It is the government of the working class, not of the rich. It is the government of the working class, not of the exploiters. It is the government of the working class, not of the oppressors. It is the government of the working class, not of the exploiters. It is the government of the working class, not of the oppressors. It is the government of the working class, not of the exploiters. It is the government of the working class, not of the oppressors. It is the government of the working class, not of the exploiters. It is the government of the working class, not of the oppressors. It is the government of the working class, not of the exploiters. 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Letter from Oakley C. Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party to the Michigan to National Secretary, Left Wing Section.

YOURS of the 10th instant, suggesting that
Michigan Socialists purchase dues stamps from the National Left Wing Organization, thus affiliating with said organization, at hand.

I am in absolute opposition to such a demand, and I hereby refuse to request the purchase of Left Wing stamps. Michigan is issuing its own special and propaganda stamps, and, in conjunction with the Russian and other foreign language federations, and with various locals throughout the country, is working for the formation of a Real Socialist Party, not the capture of an imitation one.

I know you regret that the Socialist Party should split up, and especially that the revolutionary section should split into factions, but this process, historically considered, seems inevitable. It has taken place in the countries of Europe, notably in Russia, where the Socialist Revolutionaries split into Maximalists and Minimalists, and the Social Democrats into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, making four Socialist parties. The same thing is happening here. No one desires harmony more than we do, but you cannot harmonize inharmonious principles and elements. Each group that has emerged in a social crisis in a revolutionary way is one that is united on principles; any success that you may have in uniting the diverse and inharmonious elements that now compose the majority of the Left Wing will be barren as far as permanent and useful results are concerned. Hence the stand taken by the Michigan comrades on the Left Wing proposition.

Oakley C. Johnson, State Secretary-Treasurer.

Answer of I. E. Ferguson to O. C. Johnson.

I do not understand why you write that you know I regret that the Socialist Party should split up. I have been quite insistent that the Socialist Party should split up. I am fully behind the Left Wing and that the Left Wing rank and file should take the party and do with it as they will. It will be necessary for these eighteen revolutionary reformists to remain in a party controlled by the Left Wing. I am in absolute agreement with the Hillquit formula that the time has come for the party to divide into its two antagonistic camps. But I do not see why a defeated minority, with virtually no membership supporting the holdover officials, should be generously tendered the Socialist Party and its tens of thousands of members who have not yet come into alignment on the Right and Left sides. That I would regret; but I would not press this point beyond the time fairly to be allowed for a final campaign within the ranks of the Left Wing to bring the Left Wing the mass of the membership which belongs to it. I am still conscious of certain advantages in developing the Left Wing inner campaign to the point of taking hold of the Socialist Party organization, or pushing the Right Wing to such extremes in holding on to the Left Wing machinery that there is a clear case for the Left Wing as the true continuity of the party.

Some highly estimable comrades have given of their time and efforts to help build up the Socialist Party organization. The essence of that organization is the solid phalanx of membership which is identified with the proletarian movement of the United States and the world. It is not the habit of my mind to think flippantly of this organized membership. You characterize the present party as an "imitation one." I am inclined, on this party, to analyze far more closely the reality of the situation.

There are "leaders" in the party, and "theoricians," who are imitation Socialists. There are hundreds and thousands within the mass of the party who are imitation Socialists. Yet it is not so indiiferent a circumstance to belong to the Socialist Party. There was the trying period of the war, and much of the chaff went with the hurricane. Now there is the tension of a world in revolution, and anything that we have to offer to so audacious and unorthodox a theory as that of Socialists knows the hope and pride of revolution which glows in their hearts.

Of course I know that as viewed from the high walls of the Proletarian University of America this mass responsiveness to the impulses of revolution in process means nothing. It does simply signify "emotional" futility. It is simply unemotional from the Proletarian University class room, how then can it be of revolutionary significance?

I have had many occasions to quote Marx and Lassalle to the effect that being a Socialist means, in essence, understanding the scientific rudiments of Socialism. I have also often taken occasion to speak my sincere adoration for the "study class" work which has been carried on from Detroit. It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize my high estimate of economic, social and historical learning as a factor in the building of a Socialist movement.

But I do not confuse the high importance of schooling Socialists with my conceptions of a mass proletarian momentum toward revolution. The learning must take its effect through the mass movement, and therefore there must be a merger of the two: that is, Socialist learning must permeate the revolution. The mass movement has its tremendous meaning and importance quite aside from the matter of Socialist schooling.

And this is where you are not making your very serious mistake. I will not accuse my friends and comrades of Michigan of rank insincerity, but I am absolutely convinced that unless you move quickly to align yourselves with the general Left Wing movement you will not only destroy your own usefulness to the proletarian advance in America but wilfully foster a state of confusion which may do great harm. Because you have lost sight entirely of the mass movement of the American proletariat as represented within the American Socialist Party. You become so engrossed with the niceties of phrases that you have overlooked the intensive mass struggle.

Consider, comrades, you do not hesitate to align yourself with ten thousand or twenty thousand members of the Russian-speaking Federation as represented within the American Socialist Party. You have become so engrossed with the Ricardo point about "the appropriate words" that you have not even considered the appropriate words is a point.

Consider, comrades you do not hesitate to align yourself with ten thousand or twenty thousand members of the Russian-speaking Federation as represented within the American Socialist Party. You have become so engrossed with the niceties of phrases that you have overlooked the intensive mass struggle.

And why this attitude of holier-than-thou as to principles, when you have chiefly flung away all principles with the program of this Left Wing which you spurn? You want a playing all of your own—a Michigan Socialist Commonwealth. You want to make it and you want to control it. You piled criticism upon criticism against the work of the National Left Wing Conference and then brazenly turn around and scrap your special Michigan "principles" in favor of ours in its entirety. No wonder you want a nice little party with the Left Wing out as the Right Wing. It is the very sole English-speaking group in the new Communist Party would you have the least chance to foist upon it the Michigan idiosyncracies. You cannot be heard to condemn us by a phrase of contempt and at the same time to appropriate our program. A national movement will quickly put you in your place.

How glibly you quote the history of the break-up of the Russian parties, as if this were a case in point. As between the Socialist Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats we have the distinct representation of different social groups, and as between the two divisions of these two parties we have the fundamental cleavage between reformists and revolutionaries everywhere. When you talk of four, or five, or six parties, in the United States, historically developed, it is up to you to show a fundamental social or tactical basis which clearly differentiates the different parties, otherwise you must explain why one of those parties exists as an historical record of intrigue—and is otherwise without historical explanation.

I say "we cannot harmonize inharmonious principles and elements." I agree. We do not want to replace an old fake harmony with a new fake harmony. We have no like-minded comrades, all of revolutionary consciousness.

We will never follow the Michigan example of throwing all principle aside in order to catch an advantage out of an enthusiasm of certain elements for the empty flourish of immediate establishment of a Communist Party.

After all, comrades, there is no Communist Party until there is some sort of group integrated by fundamental agreement in principle. Then Michigan Socialists might have some justification for one moment that you really represent the rank and file of the Michigan membership—a national Socialist Party. I urge you not to admit for one moment that you really represent the rank and file of the Michigan membership—what is the matter with you? That you are a national Socialist Party. I urge you not to admit for one moment that you really represent the rank and file of the Michigan membership—what is the matter with you? About the appropriate texts. We are going to live and fight with them, today and tomorrow and until we die, trying to shape their instincts of revolt toward the goal of an American Communist Commonwealth.

At the Left Wing Conference and since, I worried much about this factional division within the Left Wing, and I am yet eager to see it end. But I do not see anything to concede in principle. The suggestion has been made that we can make more clear the mandate of the Left Wing Conference for the Union of Communist on August 30th, either by control of the Emergency Convention (Continued on page 13)
A letter to the attention of your branch and to trans­mit to this office the questions as soon as possible.

Dear Comrade:
This letter should be considered as promptly having been received by you from the Socialist Party and the answer transmitted to this office not later than July 28th.
It is of the highest importance that the Socialist Party be informed of the party situation in every part of the country. If there be any questions not asked for below, please add it to your answer.

1. Are there Left Wing candidates on your ballot for delegates to the National Emergency Convention of August 30th? Please supply their names and addresses, if convenient.

2. Has your local or State organization instructed the delegates to the Emergency Convention? If so, to what effect?

3. Does your local approve entire co-operation of the delegates from your state with the National Left Wing Organization?

4. Does your local approve the organization of a Communist Party if the Left Wing is barred from control of the Socialist Party? If so, do you approve of the following?
   a. The National Executive Committee, elected on the recom­mendation of the National Emergency Convention, and any body created from it by the delegates to the National Emergency Convention.
   b. The new National Executive Committee, elected on the recom­mendation of the National Emergency Convention, and any body created from it by the delegates to the National Emergency Convention.

5. Is your local willing to finance the sending of Left Wing delegates to Chicago on August 30th?

6. Has your local heretofore done anything to put the delegates to the Emergency Convention in good standing in the party?

7. Is your local willing to help the delegates to the Emergency Convention?

8. Is your local heretofore done anything to put the delegates to the Emergency Convention in good standing in the party?

9. If the Left Wing fails to obtain a proper time for all Left Wing members to present their views at the National Executive Committee meeting of the Socialist Party, how do you propose to carry on?

10. Is your local heretofore done anything to put the delegates to the Emergency Convention in good standing in the party?

11. Is your local heretofore done anything to put the delegates to the Emergency Convention in good standing in the party?

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50. Is your local heretofore done anything to put the delegates to the Emergency Convention in good standing in the party?
Dear Comrades:—

Brooklyn, N. Y.,

Enclosed you will find One dollar for the work you have undertaken. Very sorry that I cannot give more at present, but am trying hard to have other comrades send their donations for the great educational work that you are spreading. Wishing you a two-fold success, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

D. N. Ditchek.

Comrade:—

Wallum Lake, R. I.

I am enclosing Five dollars which I've collected among a few sympathizers. I'm also enclosing fifty cents in stamps for my subscription. Wishing you with all my heart success, I am a sympathizer,

Joseph Gifoni.

(Above was acknowledged as coming from party comrades, whereupon the following reply was sent:)

Comrade:—

July 19, 1919

I am sorry to state that none of the five contributors are members of the Party. We are just sympathizers with the Left Wing because it stands heartily with us workers, and we thought it was our duty to give some money for our cause.

Fraternal regards from all of us,

Joseph Gifoni.

Dear Comrade:—

Pittsburgh, Pa.,

Enclosed find money order for One Hundred dollars ($100.00) and Five ($5.00) cash. This is the immediate answer to your call for Left Wing finances. More coming.

Lots of Left Wing sentiment here.

Donation as follows: South Slavic Branch No. 1, $75.00; North Side Central, $10.00; N. S. Circle Y. P. S. L., $10.00; Ed. Horacek, $5.00; Comrade Kalibash, $5.00

Yours for the cause

R. Blum, Sec'y Left Wing Group,

Comrade Ferguson:—

Belleville, Ill.,

Herewith I am sending you $10.00 for organizing and propaganda for the Left Wing. This is a donation from the German branch, Belleville. We hope that all branches do the same.

Yours for the Third International,

Wn. Luigi, Sec'y.

Dear Comrades:—

New Bremen, Ohio,

Enclosed find Ten dollars which our Local contributors to the cause of Red Socialism, also Five dollars for the purchase of Propaganda stamps. Local New Bremen will stick to the Left Wing to the finish.

Yours for the revolution,

Arthur H. Miller, Fin. Sec'y.

Dear Comrade Secretary:—

Dorchester, Mass.,

Enclosed find please a check for $5.00 donated by our branch in behalf of the Left Wing.

Kindly send us 25 copies of The Revolutionary Age every week.

Yours in Communist comradeship,

L. Golosec, Fin. Sec'y.

Comrades of the Left Wing—history calls to YOU!

The National Left Wing needs $15,000

for its immediate work. We must prepare to bring together at Chicago August 30, a truly representative Left Wing delegation from every State in the Union.

I. E. Ferguson,

Secretary, National Council

43 West 29th Street, New York City.