The Revolutionary Age
Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

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The Peace That Passeth Understanding
In this country is a story of cowed submission to brutal tyranny. Few instances have the black men struck back.

That they should strike back now is the occasion for much surprise and not a little indignation on the part of the bourgeois press and the "best people." The statemen in the nation's capital, where the first outbreaks occurred, share the non-communist view. Race riots are actually taking place within the sacred precincts of the national legislature, the Negroes are fighting back, if they didn't fight back a one night's lynching party would have settled the whole affair, therefore the Negroes are obviously to blame and they must be punished!

Communists immediately call for the establishment of the Jim Crow system in the national capital.

The Jim Crow system, on the doorsteps of the East St. Louis riots, wherechers' charter of democracy and liberty is at the moment under attack! The Jim Crow system as America's first contribution to the "new freedom!" The Jim Crow system as agreed by the laurels for the brows of America's "black heroes" of the late war! The Jim Crow system, the expression of a spirit which causes race riots, as the cure for race riots!

The Washington riots have spread to Chicago and within a few days the list of dead has mounted to nearly fifty, while the list of wounded runs into hundreds. The causes of the riots as given by the newspapers vary somewhat, but the most general is the assault of white women by Negroes. It is stated that within a short period six white women have been assaulted by Negroes in Washington and that this was the direct cause of the trouble.

It is not stated, however, by what process of reasoning a whole race is marked down for slaughter because of the color of a degenerate's skin.

As a matter of fact, this is like the boy's cry of "Wolf!" It has been used too often in the hope of getting any belief in its truth. The weight of evidence is all on the other side. It is the Negro who has cause for complaint. Only a few days ago an old Negro, over 72 years of age, was lynched for the "crime" of killing a white man in defense of his daughter, while it is generally admitted that all over the South thousands of white women by Negroes practically at will.

In Chicago, a reason leaks out which is much nearer the mark. It is stated that the big employers have been forcing the Negro to work for less wages than a white man and he attributes his troubles to the Negro. The color line has become part of the national ideology, the craft unions, obsessed with that ideology, have in the majority of cases refused to recognize Negroes as members. He feels that he is being injured, he sees the Negro working for less wages than a white man, and he attributes his troubles to the Negro. The color line has become part of the national ideology, the craft unions, obsessed with that ideology, have in the majority of cases refused to recognize Negroes as members. He feels that he is being injured, he sees the Negro working for less wages than a white man, and he attributes his troubles to the Negro.

The workers, whether they are black, white or yellow, have the same interests. The Negro worker has come into industry to stay and unless both black and white worker recognize that the common interests, not only are race riots bound to become more frequent, but each race must inevitably bind the chains of wage slavery tighter round both.

The Left Wing Conference

This issue contains the first installment of verbatim report of the National Left Wing Conference. Right from the opening of the Conference there was discussion of the question of immediate formation of a new party. The preliminary report of Comrade Batt, as Secretary of the Ways and Means Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan, at once projected this question.

In view of the developments since June 21st it is important to note that the discussion of a Communist Party, which produced a split in the Conference, was in the first instance an issue of new party at New York by action of the delegates to the Left Wing Conference. These delegates to the Left Wing Conference have in their minds the first principle of Communism. Conspicuously the Michigan delegates, who first projected the question of immediate formation of a new party, have made it clear at all times that they did not agree with the platform of the Left Wing. The most ardent advocate of immediate new party, Comrade Zuckier of New York, during and since the Conference, has spoken only in scorn of the Left Wing platform. Of the minority group of the Conference, only the Federation delegates were in entire accord with the fundamental principles of Communism as elaborated in the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.

Comrade Batt made clear that Michigan is the only State where there are any real "rooks" worthy of taking the jefuddled American party situation in charge. Those who have been taught the truths of Bolshevism by the historical developments of the past two years are not to be taken seriously. Michigan has had a non-reformistic platform since 1914, therefore Michigan alone is worthy of leadership. There is much merit in a non-reformistic platform, but that does not by any means exhaust the possibilities of the Michigan state party. And so this group was uncompromisingly told by the real Bolshevik who agreed with the extraordinary idea of an immediate new Party, but who made the Michiganites swallow whole the Left Wing platform adopted by the Conference.

Under the character of the Michigan proposal: We have laid down the platform and the program of action. You have had no chance to discuss anything at all. But, we tell you in advance, we are here to take you in complete charge, and if you dare go your own way in any respect, be assured Michigan will go right ahead to form a new party all alone. Anyone reading Comrade Batt's speech made before there had been a word of discussion in the Conference, will realize that this little group from Michigan would have been shouted out of the Conference in a minori!y of all their own, if not for the single fact of new party involved in the Michigan proposal.

It was only on the basis of the Conference platform of Communism that this proposal actually became a plan for a Communist Party.

For the rest, the preliminary reports showed absolutely no membership mandate for immediate formation of a new party. Whether true of New York and of the Federations, whence came the other champions of immediate formation of a new party by the New York Conference. In fact, the determination of the Russian-speaking Federations, Comrade Stolitsky, made no mention of a new part.
The New N. E. C. Meets

By Louis C. Fraina


A committee was elected to demand of Executive Secretary Adolph Germer to turn over the N. E. C. Headquarters to the new N. E. C. and appear at its sessions. This demand was presented in writing to Germer, who refused.

At the afternoon session, the following motion was adopted: "That we declare the official of the National Executive Committee vacant, inasmuch as the present incumbent violates his functions by refusing to tabulate the vote on referendums expressing the will of the members, and refuses to recognize the regularly elected N. E. C. A. Wagenknecht was elected to act as temporary secretary until the convention of August 30.

Motion: "That the N. E. C. condemn the expulsions and suspensions perpetrated by the old N. E. C. and the Emergency Convention; these are illegal and suspenders had no authority to act. A Wagenknecht was elected to act as temporary secretary until the convention of August 30.

The motion was adopted: "That we declare the National Socialist Party (and its official organ, The Revolutionary Age) expelled and suspended comrades.

The new N. E. C. decided to assume full control of the Emergency Convention. A committee of three consisting of Rubinberg, Harwood and Fraina, was elected to draft a declaration of the issues before the convention.

The declaration, unanimously adopted, declared that the issues were not comprised in party democracy against party autocracy, but of revolutionary proletarian Socialism against bourgeois Socialism, and affirmed: "Out of the Emergency Convention must come the Communist Party of the United States."

Several motions were passed to prevent the expulsion of N. E. C. from retaining control of party meetings. The motion was adopted: "That we recognize the National Socialist Party (and its official organ, The Revolutionary Age) as the organ of the revolutionary spirit of the membership, which would align the party with the new International.

N. E. C. Declaration to the Party

Issued by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

—An American Communist Party Urged.

with the revolutionaries in the party; you comrades, must act; we meet simply to provide you the opportunity to act and assert your supremacy.

At this moment of crisis—of crisis in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism—action is imperative. Action is imperative against Capitalism and against moderate Socialism in the party.

Your N. E. C. accordingly, acting under mandate of the party membership, convened in session at Chicago, July 26-27.

It met to rally our revolutionary forces for the struggle against Capitalism.

It met to rally the party members for the defense of the American movement.

It met as a revolutionary N. E. C. expressing the revolutionary sentiments in the party.

Your N. E. C. by its democratic decision of the membership is decided:

1.—To oust National Executive Secretary Germer, who refuses to recognize your N. E. C. as the organ of the party.

2.—To re-instate all suspended comrades, all employees of the Socialist Party and all members of the new N. E. C. in their places, without any substitution.

3.—To re-organize the Socialist Party as a Communist Party, in harmony with our affiliation with the Communist International.

4.—To ask the British, French and German Societies of the United States to recognize the Communist Party of the United States, as the only organ of the working class in this country.

5.—To organize a new American Communist Party to be the organ of the revolutionary spirit of the membership, which would align the party with the new International.

(Continued on next page.)
THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Saturday, August 2nd, 1919.

Here and There

The Left Wing, have had some experience with a group in New York who issued a paper called The Socialist. We now learn that the first number of a paper called The Communist, issued by a group in Chicago. As far as we are able to discover the only Socialism in The Socialist was that contained in its title. Knowing the difficulty of getting out a new paper we don't want to be hard in our criticism but we must candidly admit that the only Communism we can find in The Communist is also contained in the name. Apparently our Communist friends are laboring under the same delusion as The Socialist group: That if you call yourself by a name often enough you really take on the character that the name implies.

On the first page of The Communist we find that it is the official paper of the "Communist Party of America" while immediately underneath this interesting information we find a "Call for a National Convention for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party of America." Of course we are always willing to help but we frankly admit that we are unable to see how a publication can be the official paper of something that is not yet organized. On page five we learn from Alexander Stoklitsky that the National Left Wing Convention majority is made up of waving centrist elements which constitute a "fetid swamp." On reading this astounding fact we immediately reverted to the first page of the Convention call to see wherein this real Communist-Bolshevik group differed from us only to find to our astonishment that the call came from the Manifesto and Program of the "fetid swamp." As we said before we always welcome a call but far no one has told us how a Communist Party can be formed on a centrist program. We always thought there was some sort of relation between a party and the program upon which it is founded.

"The bourgeois press is jubilant over the "failure" of the General Strike in Italy, France, England. The Left Wing can maintain the "failure" chiefly with the "success" of such "failures" has an awkward way of spelling success for the proletariat.

We see by the papers that the English House of Commons approves the Peace Treaty —now it only requires Congress to do likewise and then everybody will know that it is an iniquitous document.

Puzzle: What connection is there between the "rights of small nations" and Italy taking the cables from Austria?

The New York Times sees in the race riots, the results of Bolshevism, and said-Gollan marching among the negroes. Would it not be nearer the mark to say that the riots are the result of the Americanism of the New York Times brand.

Now—do not relax your agitation. Do not allow the old N. E. C. to hamper your struggle. The defeat of the old E. C. is of no value unless you take the initiative in this issue locally. Integrate your organization. Elect Left Wing delegates to the Emergency convention to adopt your revolutionary ideals. You shall conquer!

Act, comrades—against Capitalism and reactionary Socialism.

Greetings to the revolutionary masses in our party! Long live the Communist International!

(Continued from page 3)

where the Convention will meet, together with the right to represent them in the Convention. Our temporary executive secretary will call the convention to order.

The purpose of the old N. E. C. is to retain control for moderate petty bourgeois Socialism against the proletarian Socialism of the Left Wing. The action of the old E. C. which demanded the expulsion and suspended more than 35,000 members (and threatens to expel more) in order to preserve to the party executive control of this Convention—the most important in the party's history, in order that it may be conducted by some representative of the revolutionary Socialism in the party. No postponment of the Convention by the old N. E. C. assumes full control of this Convention-the revolutionary Socialism in our party. It is a legitimate movement expressing the mass revolutionary sentiment of the party—legitimately organized to awaken the members to the necessity of Communist Socialism.

The party has in convention, (also suppressed by the old N. E. C.) overwhelmingly accepted affiliation with the Communist International.

This acceptance of the Bolshevik-Spartacist Communist International imposes the obligation for transforming the principles and tactics of the Socialist Party in accord with the Communist International—to build the Communist Party of the United States, the constituent elements of which are the revolutionary masses in our party.

You cannot, comrades, brook any compromise on this issue. You must act, and act uncompromisingly as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Communist Party in every nation is rallying the revolutionary proletariat against Capitalism and Imperialism. Hearkening to the iniquitous document of the First International and of the Paris Commune, and answering the call of the Communists of Russia, Hungary and Germany, the Communist Party calls the proletariat to the final struggle.

Comrades, history calls to you! We must challenge Capitalism; we must rally the proletariat for the Communist struggle, in accord with our own conditions.

The Socialist Party is crippled in its activity. But August 30, in the Chicago Convention, will mark the end of the Left Wing—now it only requires Congress to do like. You must act! You will transform our party into a Communist Party, to express the mass struggle of the proletariat.

Then—action! Then—the revolutionary struggle!

We must go to the proletariat. We must build our movement anew. We must get the masses in our party—and answer the Communist call for action.

There are 30,000,000 American wage-workers—the force of potential revolution. Our chief task is to awaken and organize these proletarian masses, wage the working class struggle.

It is our determination—as it is yours, comrades—to act as party of organisation. We shall, as conditions allow, develop and unify our means of action; we shall systematically develop our press under party ownership, establish a labor school for agitators, and a comprehensive lecture bureau. We shall develop the necessary technique to get our call for revolutionary action to the masses of the American proletariat.

The final struggle is coming. Our deeds in the days to come will make proletarian history. Comrades—prepare!
What of Amnesty?

A Letter from a Left-Winger to a Left-Over.

The "ranting reds," as some of our mistaken comrades have joined the bourgeoisie in naming us, would you believe it, in aLeft-Wing section of the Socialist Party soon to be the Communist Party are convinced that the most effective work they can do for the successful release of our comrades is to agitate like mad for the industrial organization of the workers and give the workers a consciousness of their own power. The organization of a Communist Party will do more to force the capitalist government into a new attitude toward our prisoners than would a "Amnesty" Convention. There are a few comrades who believe that the way to help is by "getting together" with the "best elements" among the bourgeoisie-liberals, and petitioning the president etc., etc.

We have no illusions on this score. We know that power lies with a conscious, unified working class; we are letting no grass grow under our feet before setting to work to instill that consciousness and aid that unity. We want the prison doors open, and we are convinced, this is the only way, it can be done.

If I were to be asked to enter the prison gates tomorrow, I would be selflessly glad, as well as glad for all the imprisoned workers, that outside, was a new Communist Party and a gathering industrial unity in the country, the only power in these United States that can ultimately get and keep us out of prison.

If all who were busy flirting with the A. F. of L. officialdom and with the bourgeoisie-liberal elements had instead busied themselves making inroads upon the consciousness of the rank and file, the Convention in Atlantic City might have demanded the release of all political and class-war prisoners. That would have some significance. Let the industrial unions grow strong enough, and the Communist Party formidable enough and the working class will (demanding opening of all the prisons—a command that none will dare disobey.) We shall not go begging on bended knee—kowtowing to the enemies of labor, for justice to our own class—justice to their enemies. No compromise with them is possible. We must stand alone—a working class depending on its power—a power that is gathering to the point of invincibility. Until then, we must be willing to suffer imprisonment, death, if need be.

I am sure that 'Gene,' himself, the clearest of class conscious rebels, would agree to every word here uttered. I know some of the arguments offered in favor of coalition for amnesty at this particular class if—for whatever laudable purpose—we gloss over or ignore irreconcilable class antagonsisms—make the workers feel that their economic enemies are their political friends. Not that way lies power. That way lies only confusion. Confusion!—the one thing in the worker's consciousness that causes him to allow exploitation and delays the day of emancipation and self-rule! Our purpose, as revolutionary Socialists is to make a class conscious proletariat and build up the class solidarity. Thus, by coalition with the bourgeoisie—for amnesty or any other political purpose—and the resultant confusion to the workers, we defeat the very purpose for which we suffer imprisonment gladly. Would it not, therefore, be the strongest of contradictions for revolutionary Socialists to take part in such a convention as the official Socialist Party had proposed? Imagine: here we have worked for years and are not concerned with the solidarity that would set the workers free. As the struggle becomes more clearly defined, the conscious, determined, numerous as the "sands of the sea." They shall be invincible. Upon them we rely for their freedom and our own.

We are not people, not of the illusory old-fashioned solidarity, which is still retained by the Left Wing, a la the Left-Wing League of America. We must build our proletarian ranks into an iron wall against the bourgeoisie. If there is no help in them, then we have no help anywhere. While the class conflict lasts (and that must continue, with increasing intensity until the proletarian revolution is an accomplished fact,) we need not hope for freedom. Released from jail one day by the "friendly" enemy, we shall surely be clapped into jail again the next—we are not to be deceived! No, there is no hope for help anywhere, except in the workers. The worker, conscious, unified, determined, is to be our deliverer. And him we have yet to create! Can you wonder then, that I believe in going to the task without any more delay? I want 'Gene out of jail—I want every one of my comrades out of jail, when I am in jail, I shall want myself out at the earliest possible moment, and I want the workers out of the jail of their slavery. That is why I am with the Left Wing, and shall be with the Communist Party.

'Gene with his clear vision, sees this. That is why he is too of the Left. It is greatly harder for some of us to keep our vision clear, because our eyes are blinded with tears. We suffer too intensely for him, to think or see clearly with him. Without his vision, however, there can be no right action, and without right action no emancipation—no hope.

Please believe that I am yours with the dearest love of Comrades,

Rose Pastor Stokes.

July 28, 1919.
The Left Wing and the Communist Party

A Statement by the National Council

Instituted, International Delegates and an International Secretary.

f) However, there may come a time when by the ready assistance of capitalist courts the Left Wing Conference may adopt the legal or illegal session of the party machinery and property. Should therefore the National Emergency Convention prove reactionary and in the control through the assistance of capitalist police powers, of the moderate and despotic officialdom of the party; should this Emergency Convention rule in favor of the shameful acts of the present autocratic National Executive Committee, then the Left Wing Delegates to this Convention shall immediately organize a new Communist Party, representing the vast majority of the present Socialist Party, a party which shall speak the will of the rank and file of the members of the party already expelled and suspended, a party which will be true to the Communist International and revolutionary Socialism.

g) The National Council shall be instructed to call delegates from all branches, locals and Socialist Federations to meet in Chicago or any other place designated to which the Emergency Convention is summoned. In the event that such Convention refuses to seat the Left Wing delegates—the delegates accepting the Left Wing Manifesto—the Council shall call such delegates, expelled to call delegates from all branches, locals, party on the basis of the Left Wing Convention in Moscow on the initiative of the Communist Party in Russia.

h) In the event that the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party is not called on August 30th, as at present scheduled, the National Council is instructed to call the delegates who have already been voted upon, and hold a convention that will organize a new party on the basis of the Left Wing Manifesto. (Unanimously carried.)

At a further stage of the Conference (eighth session) a resolution was adopted that we call a conference in Chicago on September first of all revolutionary elements desirous of uniting with the revolutionary Socialist Party, or with the Communist Party to be organized by the Left Wing delegates who may secede from the convention of the Socialist Party on August 30th. In explanation of this resolution reference was made to a group of expelled members of the S. L. P. who might be desirous of joining themselves with a Bolshevist party; also it was stated that this provision would include such Federation groups as might want to join with the Left Wing on September first. The final resolution of the Conference was as follows: "That all business that may be left over, if any, shall be referred to the National Council, and that we shall be adjourned to meet in Chicago September first."

From the foregoing it is clear that the National Council carries over the Left Wing Conference and convenes on September first. Meanwhile its central task is to bring together at Chicago delegates from all groups desirous of establishing in the United States a party of revolutionary Socialism.

The instructions to the National Council cover: 1) co-operation with delegates elected by the Left Wing groups; 2) co-operation with delegates elected by expelled and suspended Left Wing groups, aside from the regular party elections; 3) co-operation with delegates of groups not within the Socialist Party, who desire to affiliate themselves with us on the basis of the Left Wing Manifesto and the Left Wing Conference.

From the side of the machinery to be used by the National Left Wing Council, the instructions of the Conference cover: 1) the Emergency Convention; 2) an August 30th Convention in case the Emergency Convention is put off; 3) a special conference on September first with all elements desiring to unite in a Convention. How could the National Council of the Left Wing Conference on September first.

Finally, from the angle of the actual tasks to be fulfilled there are two clear-cut alternatives: 1) control of the Emergency Convention by the Left Wing delegates regularly elected, seating by action of the Left Wing Conference on September first, to be called the Communist Party.

The National Council is now engaged in gathering information, mobilizing the Left Wing forces, and carrying on the preparations which will assure a party of revolutionary Socialism, by nation-wide co-operation of the Left Wing elements, by September first. Those who have attempted to raise the contention that the National Left Wing Conference did not sufficiently lay the basis for a Communist Party by September first deliberately misstate the plain facts.

There is no part of the Left Wing Conference program which is open to legitimate attack by any member of the Left Wing. That the National Left Wing Conference is the only conference that has arisen within the ranks of the Socialist Party, which affiliation has in fact been decided by referendum, by action of the Conference shall organize as the Left Wing Conference on August 30th, as at present scheduled, the National Council is instructed to call the delegates who have already been voted upon, and hold a convention that will organize a new party of revolutionary Socialism on August 30th, the Communist Party. (Unanimously carried.)

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The main argument of the minority group in the Left Wing Conference was that it is impossible to expect the Right Wing to surrender control at the Emergency Convention. How then can there be any question, under the instructions above quoted, of the formation of a Communist Party outside the Emergency Convention? It appears obvious, then, that this assumption being made, it is necessary, therefore to avoid the responsibility for opening a convention to all. Also, under these instructions, how could a Left Wing Emergency Convention—seating all Left Wing delegates—fail to establish a Communist Party?

Obviously there is no sincere argument that the Left Wing Conference did not completely cover the situation.
the National Left Wing a tail to the kite of Michigan.

Saturday, August 2nd, 1919.

From a Soldier in France

I
n the midst of the deluge of abuse that is being directed against Soviet Russia by the press it is gratifying to find a few courageous publications like yours, attempting to stem the tide, presenting the case of the Russian workers and explaining and justifying the new society they are trying to build upon the ruins of the monarchy. The A. E. F. has given us little or no access to any authentic and reliable information on Russian affairs and while I possess little more than the stirring and momentous events in that land of mystery and promise, I do know something of the principles and practices of the American press. This knowledge suggests to me but one interpretation of the campaign of hate that is being waged with such vigor against the Soviets namely: that the privileges for which that press stands and the interests whose message it preaches are in danger, perhaps even threatened by early and complete annihilation in Russia as the hands of a victorious proletariat, an event that could not but hasten the doom of special privilege in other lands outside of Russia. In no other way can I account for the mysterious associations of Bolshevism and its leaders that stare at me from every page of the daily papers. The strategy and also the tactics here employed so closely resemble the plan of campaign pursued by the press in the ceaseless industrial war in the States that it is possible to make a fairly accurate estimate of the loss of the Socialist government in Russia as the hands of a victorious proletariat, and the strength and the purposes of the Bolsheviks. And having observed the habits of the press in that war and noted its utter lack of the sportsmanship like spirit and its shameful disregard of the most elemental requirements of literary honor, and knowing something of the sinister influence that controls it, I cannot expect any surprise at its present behavior.

I cannot resist the conclusion that the masters of America, disturbed by visions of a Socialist government in Russia, are in league with the press in a campaign through the press and its vast and ever extending influence to stem the flow of information which will bring the case of the Russian proletariat to the American public.

Address all communication to I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary, 43 W. 29th Street, New York City.

Let anyone answer: which one of these groups acted on principle in separating themselves from the National Left Wing?

The call for the September 1st Convention makes it clear that this strain of revolutionary Socialists has organized itself based directly upon the Platform formulated by the Conference. Evidently the Conference did not falter in the principles of revolutionary Socialism but was able to proceed, and has the Conference waver or compromise on a single point, and the experience since the Conference proves beyond a doubt that the majority chose the best way in which to bring together all the elements in the Socialist Party ready for a Communist Party of revolutionary spirit.

Comrades of the Left Wing: there is much important work to be done during the next month for the future of revolutionary Socialism in America—for a Communist Party that will be much more than a glorious name, for a party that will actually bring into common action all the revolutionary and Leninist elements in the Socialist movement and thus be able to realize the Soviet idea and do away with the minority group in the Convention. The Bolshevist plank of program and the demand for representation at Chicago. The Council appeals to you also for information about your local or branch so that we may know how to bring our plans into conformity with the varied participation in the different States.

We address ourselves in this statement primarily to those already in accord with the fundamental principles of Communism, to those who have already grasped the vital significance of the Left Wing movement in the class struggle in America. We are just as eager to deal with the questions of those who have not heretofore been presented with the opportunity to study developments in world history and in Socialism itself out of which the Left Wing movement grew. But in the exigencies of immediate work we are forced to deal first with the pressing problems of party reorganization. However, we shall welcome the opportunity to answer all questions, through our Secretary, and to bring our literature into the hands of those not as yet aligned with the Left Wing.

We repeat our appeals for funds and for active co-operation. The response already has been most encouraging, but there are many parts of the country yet to be heard from. Act for your part to give the Socialist movement in this country an impetus on August 30th which will carry us a long way toward the goal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in America!

National Left Wing Council.

John Ballam
Isaac Edw. Ferguson
Benjamin Githow
James Larkin
C. E. Rutenberg
Bertman D. Wolfe

The Revolutionary Age.

Louis F. Braina, Editor

Eadmon MacAlpine, Managing Editor

Address all communication to I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary, 43 W. 29th Street, New York City.

regarding the viewpoint of many thousands of revolutionary Socialists who are still members of the Socialist Party in good standing; it would have been the coup d'etat of a partially representative body in such a corporately organized and tens of thousands of party members; it would have meant a surrender of the splendid propaganda opportunities within the Socialist Party for that of a group of delegates from all over the country, a group which has not even yet joined itself in any way with the National Left Wing, but was given the control of the American State Convention as an expelled State; 2) a small group of delegates who persisted in their demand for immediate formation of a new party, who obviously compromised their position by joining in a call for a new party on September 1st; 3) the largest element of the minority, the Federation delegates—who acted only after defeat of the proposition to give absolute control of the Left Wing to the Federation Executive Committees. This group was openly opposed in principle to the Michigan group, yet joined with the Michigan group when they found that these delegates were ready to abandon their principles for the sake of "putting over" the left.

Let anyone answer: which one of these groups acted on principle in separating themselves from the National Left Wing?

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Louis F. Braina, Editor

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Labor and the League of Nations

THE League of Nations Commission on International Labor, appointed by the Council of Ten at Paris, has devised a "Charter of International Labor Legislation," which it is proposed to insert in the Peace Treaty. The Charter bears a striking resemblance to the Charter of the International Socialist Governments at Berne. We should not be surprised by that fact; it is not a chance coincidence. The appeal to the League of all Government Socialists, and of the weaker reformist Liberals, is always to find out what the Government means to give and then to ask for it. The Peace Conference Charter contains many of the out-of-date resolutions of the oldest of ancient conferences on Labor. Most of the things it offers have either been obtained here already or are about to be obtained; the most notable exception being "a reasonable standard of life" for the workers, which, on course opinions differ as to what is reasonable. The provisions include:

- Children not to be gainfully employed under 14 years of age.
- Persons between 14 and 18 not to do work harmful to their physical development, and to continue their education. Every worker to have a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life having regard to the civilization of his time and country.
- Every worker to have weekly rest of at least one day; every 48-hour week, subject to an exception for countries where climatic conditions, industrial development, or other circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different.
- The workday may have passed, but the honor of Labor is still the hope of the world. Will you, gentlemen, make the workers the rulers of the world and then to ask for that. The Peace Conference wants to fight an ideal. That is by making the workers the rulers of the world. Wilson Harris, in The London Times, says: "The first weapon of Capitalism can only be obtained by the British Government. The League of Nations" makes the workers free to have the right of self-government in their country. If the Government does not give this right, it will be blocked and boycotted. In direct action the Glasgow women won their charter of rights. In the London Times, "The League of Nations" says: "The masses of the people would demand some control over their administration, and this it is said, could be obtained by the constitution of a national council, and the votes of the workers' representatives, which would form the first Chamber.... It is argued that such a compromise between the workers and the employers is necessary to conciliate the masses."

There is another admission. Firstly, we are told that the League of Nations is the strongest idealistic force in the world. Christ, and, secondly, it is admitted that the parliamentary system does not give the masses of the people control over the Government, but that the Soviet system does. The League of Nations is put forward as the one force that can stave off Bolshevism! And this is the Charter which the 14 members of Nations offers to the workers as an alternative to Socialism! The machinery of the International Labor Office which the Council of Ten ("moved," they say, "by sentiments of justice and humanity"), are about to set up, is to represent the workers' delegates. The London Times, says: "The League of Nations Commission on International Labor to the workers' representatives; but the Government has not yet decided what it will do."

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

The League of Nations is about to set up, is as unsatisfactory as the Charter. It is a tremendous idealistic force-unnecessary to fight against the League of Nations. It is the League of the League of Nations. The London Times, says: "The League of Nations is the strongest idealistic force in the world. Christ, and, secondly, it is admitted that the parliamentary system does not give the masses of the people control over the Government, but that the Soviet system does."

Indian Labor; indeed, we can hardly believe that they will allow the masses of the workers and peasants to choose their own representatives, though they might safely do so. Since Labor, in all countries, is a struggling minority, it is not a chance coincidence. The appeal to the League of all Government Socialists, and of the weaker reformist Liberals, is always to find out what the Government means to give and then to ask for it. The Peace Conference Charter contains many of the out-of-date resolutions of the oldest of ancient conferences on Labor. Most of the things it offers have either been obtained here already or are about to be obtained; the most notable exception being "a reasonable standard of life" for the workers, which, on course opinions differ as to what is reasonable. The provisions include:

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the Chairman chosen by itself. So, too, with the International Industrial Council. If any combination of circumstances should produce a situation that would render conscientious objection optional and international Capitalism, we believe the League of Nations would step in and arrange matters to suit itself. But such a contingency can scarcely arise since the workers are placed in so small a minority.

If the workers were to be diverted from the industrial machine, the economic difficulties by the hope that this network of councils would do it for them, their emancipation would indeed be indefinitely postponed. But this will not happen. The toiling masses are just waking to the need for rank and file control of the industrial machine; they have just devized and are perfecting the organization of that control; they are just beginning to see that by travelling resolutely onward in that direction, they can take into their own hands the entire machinery of production and can govern society itself. It is impossible that they should leave behind that broad, inspiring prospect, the workers are user dependence upon official leaders. Above all, it is impossible that the workers should revert to dependence upon leaders who, failing to see the vision of the council system, and the part the workers have entered into partnership with the capitalists by accepting seats upon the various Councils. When Arthur Henderson joined the Coalition Government he gave his support to Conscription, the Defence of the Realm Act,* and the Munitions Act, all of which were used to coerce the workers. He surrendered his freedom of independent protest; he accepted responsibility for the majority decision of the Cabinet; his lips were sealed. He has since declared that there were doings by the Coalition Government which, in his view, were detrimental to the interests of the workers whose representative he was, and to society as a whole. He has said that he could embarrass the Government by disclosing these matters. But he reveals them to no one, because, having joined the Government, he holds himself bound to keep its secrets. We strongly disagree with this view; we regard the Council's duty to make these matters public; we think he should have done so as soon as they came to his notice. At the same time, Arthur Henderson will be used to induce the members of the various so-called Labor Councils to consider themselves bound to help in enforcing the decisions of the Government. Labor representatives who are prepared to accept the Henderson standard of honor will be acceptable to the Governments and the employers as members of these Councils.

The powers that be are completely prepping this network of Councils, which will take many months to arrive at even the simplest decisions, and which on big social matters cannot decide at all. Perhaps it is hoped that the workers will take years to discover that the Councils have no power to decide matters public; we think he should have done so as soon as they came to his notice. At the same time, Arthur Henderson will be used to induce the members of the various so-called Labor Councils to consider themselves bound to help in enforcing the decisions of the Government. Labor representatives who are prepared to accept the Henderson standard of honor will be acceptable to the Governments and the employers as members of these Councils.

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In addition, "river transport alleviation" of $25 a week to start on April 12th. The American Government is asking for 50,000 volunteers for the American Expeditionary Force, for France, for Russia. The French Foreign Minister on March 20th gave the following figures of troops in Russia:

- Germans: 11,000 British; 4,800 Americans; 2,929 French; 1,940 Italians; 1,286 Serbians, and 11,770 Russians.
- Greeks: 9,000; Poles, 15,000; British, 9,000; French 7,000; Japanese, 20,000; Americans, 7,000; Canadians, 4,000; making a total of 115,000 men to which Pichon says may make up 30,000 Russian forces.

It is by no means certain that these are all the Allied troops in Russia. Regarding the military situation, the Allies seem to be losing ground in the north and south, whilst Kulakch is said to be gaining in the Urals.

It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that the Allies are driving the Allied countries further and further into the war against Capitalism. It is not only The London Morning Post which declares: "Bolshevism must be fought and "in Russia any understanding is impossible."

Now that Hungarian Bolshevism has joined Russia, it is important to notice that the General Assembly of Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, by 1,470 votes to 20, sent a telegram of congratulation to Soviet Hungary, pledging itself not to rest "until the final victory of Socialism is assured." The Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council declared for parliamentary Government with a Coalition, and against the Soviet form of government with immediate Socialism; the change is significant and will shortly result in action. Even official Germany is growing more independent in its attitude towards Allied demands, and seeing it the Allies grow less truculent. Whilst the workers of Central and Eastern Europe turn towards the Soviets, the Allies prepare to fight Hungary as well as Russia. Reuter reports that Foch has consulted with the Council of Four regarding the expulsion of the Kapos. London Chronicle also says: "The Associated Powers ... are at war with Russian Bolshevism and have no easy prospect of their making peace with it."

Clara Zetkin Defends the Bolsheviki

In I' L'Humanite of April 12th appeared an account of the Congress of the German Independent Socialists. Kautsky took the place of the murdered Eisen in reporting on the Berlin Socialist Congress. He defended his action in having voted against the Adler-Longet resolution, which refused to criticize the Russian Soviet Government on the ground that it had no power to do so. He declared that a condemnation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential. He weakly argued that the Bolsheviki would not be impressed by an evasion of the question and that they could only be brought back into the International if they saw it to be strong and determined.

The conference called upon Clara Zetkin to reply to Kautsky. She said that the Party lacked energy and clear vision. During the war its policy had been feeble and hesitating; it failed to make themselves pronounced on the question of national defence. Its peac policy inclined to an entente with the governments rather than towards the international action of the workers. Even after the Revolution the Independent Socialist Party, instead of understanding the action of the masses, had allied itself with the majority Socialists, who had betrayed revolution.-

ory. The International Labor News Agency will be equally safe, equally useful to the workers will take years to dispose of these Councils.

We strongly disagree with this view; we regard the Council's duty to make these matters public; we think he should have done so as soon as they came to his notice. At the same time, Arthur Henderson will be used to induce the members of the various so-called Labor Councils to consider themselves bound to help in enforcing the decisions of the Government. Labor representatives who are prepared to accept the Henderson standard of honor will be acceptable to the Governments and the employers as members of these Councils.

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Moscow During the Early Part of 1919

By Arthur Ransome

accommodation has been taken. In every district there are housing committees to whom people wanting rooms apply. They work on the rough and ready theory that until every man has one room of his own right to a family home is not insured. An Englishman acting as manager of works near Moscow told me that part of his house was being sold by a factory that had been allocated to the Russians, but however, were living with him amicably, and had, I think, allowed him to choose which rooms he should concede. This plan has, of course, proved very hard on house-owners, and in some cases the new tenants have made a horrible mess of the houses, as might, indeed, have been expected, seeing that they had previously been of those who had suffered directly from the decivilizing influences of overcrowding.

After talking for some time we went round the corner to the Kommissariat for Foreign Affairs, where we found Chicherin who, I thought, had aged a good deal and looked well over him, as though the results came upon him more slowly than Karakhan. He asked about England, and I told him Litvinov knew more about that than I, since he had been there more recently. He asked what I thought would be the effect of his Note with detailed terms published that day. He told me that Litvinov, in an interview which I had telegraphed, had mentioned somewhat similar terms some time before, and that personally I doubted whether the Allies would at present come to any agreement with Russia, even with the note that the Soviet Government last, my personal opinion was that the commercial isolation of so vast a country as Russia could hardly be prolonged indefinitely on that account alone.

I then met Voroznessensky (Left Social Revolutionary), of the Oriental Department, bursting with criticism of the Bolshevik attitude towards his party. He secured a ticket for me to get dinner in the Metropole. This ticket I had to consider when I got a room in the National. The dinner consisted of a plate of soup, and a very small portion of anything else. There are National Kitchens at the Metropole, but the food is of different sort, and starchy, not unlike a portion of the洵al meal. Glasses of weak tea sold at 30 kopecks each, without sugar. My sister had sent me a small bottle of saccharine just before I left Stockholm, and it was pathetic to see the childish delight with which some of my friends drank glasses of sweetened tea.

From the Metropole I went to the Red Fleet to get my room fixed up. Six months ago there were comparatively clean rooms here, but the sailors have demoralized the hotel and its fifth is indescribable. There was no heating and very little light. A samovar left after the departure of the last visitor was standing out in the rain, with some dirty curl-papers and other rubbish. I got the waiter to clean up more or less, and ordered a new samovar. He could not supply spoon, knife, or fork, and only with great difficulty was persuaded to lend me glasses. The telephone, however, was working, and after I got a ticket to see Madame Rakovsky, who had moved from the Metropole into the Kremlin. I had not yet got a pass from the Kremlin, and thought that perhaps I ought to get a pass for me from the Commissariat to the Kremlin. I walked through the snow to the white gate of the Kremlin, and thought that perhaps I ought to get a pass for me from the Commissariat to the Kremlin. I walked through the snow to the white gate of the Kremlin, and thought that perhaps I ought to get a pass for me from the Commissariat to the Kremlin.

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flower designs, on white and chequered back­
grounds, or the rednesses of snow in the
brown before them, and bright-kirtled women and
peasants in ruddy sheepskin coats passing by,
from beach to beach, the art of the revolution
should be more comprehensible and less viol­
ent. These criticisms, however, did not apply
to the row of booths which were a pleasure to
me every time I passed them.

In the evening I went to see Reinstein in
the National. Reinstein is a little old grand­
father, a member of the American Social­
ist Labor Party, who was tireless in helping the
Americans last year, and is a proddy of know­
ledge about the revolution. He must be nearly
seventy, never misses a meeting of the Moscow
military war prisoners, about whose Bolshevism
I was interested to note that certain staid purists in
the United States would never have believed
his official position as head of the quite futile de­
partment which prints hundred-weight upon
hundreds of propaganda in English, none of which by any chance ever reaches these
shores. He was terribly disappointed that I
had brought no American papers with me. He
explained one of the lack of transport, a
complaint which I think I must have heard at
least three times a day from different people
the whole time I was in Moscow. Politically,
he thought, the position could not be better,
though economically it was very bad. When
they had corn, as it were, in sight, they could
give me the whole time I was in Moscow. Politically,
not get it to the towns for lack of locomotives.
These economic difficulties were bound to react
sooner or later on the political position.

He talked about the English prisoners. The
men are brought to Moscow, where they are
given special passports and are allowed to go
anywhere they like about the town without
voyage of any kind. I asked about the officers,
and was told that they were in prison, but
that Reinstein was trying everything possible, a member of the Inter­
national Red Cross, who worked with the Ame­
ricans in trying to get them out and keep them
regularly and in parcels for them. He
told me that on hearing in Moscow that some
sort of fraternization was going on on the
side and Reinstein and these
The two

A RED PIC-NIC — A GREAT TIME
Tickets in advance 10c. At the gate 5c.
Directions: From E. 149th St. take West­
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got off at the Park.

Left Wing Pic-Nic
Sunday, August 24th, 1919
at EASTERN BOULEVARD PARK
(formerly Hoffman's Park)
Eastern Boulevard and Fort Chester Road,
WESTCHESTER, N. Y.
Oriental Dance by Miss Katayama
Vladimir Resnikoff, Russian Singer
and many other attractions.

A RED PIC-NIC — A GREAT TIME FOR ALL
Picnics start at 10 A. M.
arranged by

THE LEFT WING SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE BRONX

Tickets in advance 10c. At the gate 5c.
Directions: From E. 149th St. take West­
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got off at the Park.
Owing to the fact that it is impossible to get out the complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the National Left Wing Conference, June 21-25, in bookform in the short time our Island has been decided to run extracts from the report dealing with the matters now under dispute.

It is proper to state facts as we state the position of both sides and will throw all possible clarity on the issues involved.

forces to express revolutionary Socialism in the policy and the practice of the Socialist movement. And this does not mean, as the Right Wing within the party tries to insinuate, that we necessarily must have immediate revolution. We are simply trying to prepare ourselves for the day when the revolution shall come.

The test of revolutionary Socialism is not simply an immediate revolution. The test of revolutionary Socialism is in its policy during the actual struggles of the proletariat at all times, under all conditions in the struggle against Capitalism and the ruling class, and we can express the tactics and the principle of revolutionary Socialism, just as well in ordinary times, just as well in pre-revolutionary times, as we can during the stress and turmoil of the revolution itself. And as a matter of fact, this revolutionary policy of ours, by pre-generating the proletariat with the consciousness of militant action, is preparing the proletariat and ourselves as well for the future struggle against Capitalism—a preparation which is necessary because unless you have that preparation, unless the movement develops so that revolutionary consciousness out of the actual struggle, the immediate struggle of the proletariat, when the day of the revolution does come, we shall find the movement lined up with the counter-revolution against the Socialist proletariat.

So, comrades, I don’t think that we have to elaborate upon this thesis. I know that we are going to face the spirit of revolutionary Socialism, and of revolutionary reality. I know that we are going to lay it here for you that it is going to engage in the militant struggle against Capitalism. Because behind this conference is not simply the masses within the Socialist Party that have sent you here in order to realize their concept of revolutionary Socialism, but behind these masses within the party are the proletarian masses that are anxious to get the call of militant struggle against Capitalism, in order to realize the coming of the Socialist republic. And the spirit of this conference, the delegates here assembled, the spirit of the masses in the Party behind this conference, is the spirit of the Communist International which calls upon the proletariat of the world to prepare itself for the final revolutionary struggle against Capitalism. (Applause.)

Preliminary Reports

The Chairman:

There being nothing before the house, comrades, I would have nothing to add. I would like to have the floor, I think it would be a good idea to fill in the time, I think we would be a good idea, as the Credentials Committee will take an hour or so to get its report—it might be a good idea to have some of the comrades from the various parts of the country make reports upon the condition of the movement in their section, short five-minute speeches.

Mr. MacAlpine: I make a motion that we listen to the State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Michigan. Mr. Batts: He is not here. But I am secretary of the Ways and Means Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan, and might acquire the information now with you with the channels that the ways and means committeemen have that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America were prepared to support the activities of the Socialist Party of Michigan in reference to the Socialist Party of America in their socialist movement in this country.

Of course, there is nobody here that is not aware of the details of the activity of the National Executive Committee in expelling the Socialist Party of Michigan, and suspending the various language federations. In all approximately forty thousand members of the Socialist Party. The State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Michigan went over to Chicago to verify the reports that we have received unofficially as to the expulsion of the State Socialist Party of Michigan. As a means of dealing with the issue, he called a special emergency conference of the Socialist Party of Michigan, which met last Sunday in the House of Masses, and in the future conference of the Socialist Party of Michigan in reference to the Socialist Party of America in their socialist movement in this country, we have a peculiar condition in Michigan that does not exist in any other organized group of Socialists in the United States. The Left Wing program that you brought up and that has been endorsed by me, dare say, over 50 per cent—yes, 75 per cent—of the delegates here this afternoon, re-presenting organizations on which we have only reported that program in the last few months. I point out that the Socialist Party of Michigan has been carrying on its propaganda on a non-reformist basis since 1914. The last five years, the so-called "left" element has had control of the Socialist Party of Michigan. There has been no propaganda carried on officially by the Socialist Party of Michigan in that number of years. We have concentrated our activity until we went out to the working class the necessity of seizing control of the political state and establishing a workers' government, generally called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And when we convened last Sunday afternoon there was no question of altering our position one iota. We never considered the one movement that the proposition of apologizing to the National Executive Committee and reversing our stand upon the reform amendment that we placed in our constitution. That was not even considered by the convention. It was moved by the Finnish Translator-Secretary in the name of the Finnish delegates to the convention that we do that kind of a thing, and the convention hooted him off the floor. They would not listen to him.

The questions that we considered there last Sunday the Australian delegates and the comrades are going to have to consider here. The National Executive Committee has demonstrated its reactionary tendencies by expelling the Socialist Party of America for twenty-five years—practically expelling them—suspending some and expelling others. If I know anything about a yellow label, I have learned anything by the past activity of yellow labels both in the American movement and in the different European movements, there is no step taken in the American movement against the ultrabour conditions of Capitalism, but with revolutionary Socialism of the proletarian struggle against Capitalism, in order to realize the coming of Socialism— a movement that is trying to transform the Socialist Party into a revolutionary party of Socialism—a movement that is trying to square Socialism, not with passive, hesitant, compromising theory of ultra-Socialism and of the ultra conditions of Capitalism, but with the new militant conception of revolutionary Socialism of the proletarian struggle against Capitalism. We have been told by our opponents in the Socialist Party that it is just an isolated movement—that this Left Wing is not something that has its roots deep within life and has an emotional expression of the proletarian revolutions in Europe. It is true that the proletarian revolution in Europe is a vital contributing factor toward the development of the Left Wing movement in the American Socialist Party. But it has been a factor in developing this Left Wing movement in that it is proven by the actual test of the revolution that the concepts of the Left Wing within the American Socialist Party—Left Wing that was not born a week or the day before, but which has always been the militant "left"—the militant minority of the American movement that their concepts of revolution by whatever method they express by the experience of the proletarian revolution.

So that we don’t have to base this movement on that experience, for the Left Wing in Europe is a vital contributing factor toward the development of the Left Wing movement in the American Socialist Party. But it has been a factor in developing this Left Wing movement in that it is proven by the actual test of the revolution that the concepts of the Left Wing within the American Socialist Party—Left Wing that was not born a week or the day before, but which has always been the militant "left"—the militant minority of the American movement that their concepts of revolution by whatever method they express by the experience of the proletarian revolution.

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cialist Party of America would ruin the organization rather than turn the control of it over to you. The reason for the expulsion of the party by the National Executive Committee and the Right Wing of the Socialist Party is plain and apparent when you consult the votes taken on the National Executive referendum at the last convention and you find the party under the leadership of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party has already committed acts of terrorism and is preparing to commit more of them. We drew up a manifesto of the organization of the party in the convention in the last fall to agree upon if you view the conditions right—indeed, they are so right as to make it absolutely necessary for you to have a convention, a National Left Wing conference. We drew up a manifesto laying down what we have believed for a long time that the Right Wing of the Socialist Party has prolonged and camouflaged. They don't propose to perform the acts of terrorism which have been committed to protect the Right Wing of the Socialist Party from being thrown out. And I, as the Chairman of the Convention of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party, will be represented at the national convention in August that in spite of the fact that the Right Wing of the Socialist Party has not the power to throw us out. But if you have the courage to do it, I say let them take their places in America for revolutionary Socialism—first throw them out, and let them take their places in America for revolutionary Socialism.

Mr. Ferguson: Comrades, at the time of the meeting of the National Executive Committee, Comrade Ruthenberg, Comrade Fraina, Comrade Kercher came in, and an informal meeting was held, and the question of the organization of the Left Wing conference to organize a Communist Party—The question was debated thoroughly on all sides, and the resolution was finally adopted by a vote of 62 to 51. The matter was then left for a referendum to the members of the branches and locals represented in that convention last Saturday. Outside of that, the Secretary of the City Committee has not received any reports from the various branches concerning the question of the Left Wing conference. We have laid down that basis clearly and concisely as a tentative program upon which the Socialists who are protesting against the expulsion by the National Executive Committee will make a motion to Adolf Germer to call the N. E. C. in session, and if he would refuse the newly-elected N. E. C. to expedite the investigation of the charges, and the charges made by the newly-elected Executive Committee, the majority of which are Left Wing delegates, would be in order to expel the Right Wing delegates. The four Left Wing delegates elected to the International Congress would meet in July, and issue a demand for the new member ship as the delegates to the International Congress of the American Socialist Party. We would furthermore try to take over the arrangement for the convention and bring the final fight to the Emergency Convention of August 30. We furthermore solicited to the comrades of the State of Michigan that they return to recognize their expulsion by the National Executive Committee. We recommended to them that they stay within the party, and send contesting delegates to the emergency convention at Chicago. And we furthermore recommend the same procedure to the expelled comrades of the State of Michigan, to organize independently of the Right Wing Party as the official Socialist Party in New York State, send their delegates to the convention, and then at the convention, we would decide whether we have got the Socialist Party, or whether we have to follow some other course of action. (Great applause.)

Mr. Ballam: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As Chairman of the Convention of the State of Massachusetts, which Convention voted its State Secretary, Comrade Sproule, and the Chairman of the Convention, to organize independently of the Right Wing Party as the official Socialist Party in New York State, and I, as the Secretary of the City Committee, at the time of the meeting of this conference. In view of what has been said, I might state the point of view—the policy of the members there gathered, and that was decided that it was up to the Left Wing to make the fight for control within the party, in spite of all the suspensions that have been made. So there you have another State that is in favor of the N. E. C. We have made our propaganda to the rank and file of the Socialist Party, and the rank and file of the Socialist Party has accepted the Left Wing Conference to organize the party of America for the Left Wing. It is now in our hands. So that the position of the delegates from Massachusetts, as the position of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, is that we will stay in the Party and fight this thing out, not allowing the N. E. C. to expel us, but that we will expel the socially contemptible creatures as Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Seymour Sterman and a few others. They have demonstrated beyond the perverseness of their deeds, beyond any doubt that they are not going to allow the control of the Socialist Party of America slip from their fingers. They have, by every demonstrable proof, by a corrupt organization of that sort. Some would even hesitate to strike now and organize independently of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party. And I, as the Chairman of the Convention of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party, will be represented at the national convention in August that in spite of the fact that the Right Wing of the Socialist Party has not the power to throw us out. But if you have the courage to do it, I say let them take their places in America for revolutionary Socialism—first throw them out, and let them take their places in America for revolutionary Socialism.
DEAR Comrade: I will try to give you a little history of the past two months. I guess you know that the workers of Winnipeg were out on strike, and I may say that they put up a show worthy of their City. They had marched on the City Aldermen, the provincial legislature, the Federal Government, the International Union Officers and a bunch of the reactionary elements in the country. It was surprising to me how they kept up so long.

After they had been out a month the radical boys were arrested, Armstrong, Russell, Johns, Blumenberg, Verenchuk, Charitinnoff, Alana­zoff. Private Schappelrie of Winnipeg, Pritchard of Vancouver, all of whom belong to the Left Wing, then there were Queen and Heaps, who are Social-Democrats and Aldermen of the City, Bray of the returned soldiers, Dixon and Woodsworth of Vancouver, members of the Labor Party, and Ives, the editor of The Western Labor News. They were all taken from their beds between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning and taken to the Stoney Mountain Penitentiary, except Pritchard, who was arrested in Calgary, Johns and Dixon, for whom the issue was argued and had to go. They have themselves up, and Woodsworth, who was arrested on Main Street and taken to the Provincial Jail. Mrs. Armstrong was also arrested and taken to the Provincial Jail.

With the exception of Blumenberg, Chariti­noff, Alana­zoff, and Schappelle, who were transferred to the Immigration Hall, and Ve­renchuk, who was released, all those arrested are out on bail.

The day of the riot—we call it Bloody Sa­turd­ay—the returned soldiers were to their horses in khaki started their horses at full gallop into the crowd. Of course some of the boys were run over, which made the rest angry, and when the soldiers and police re-charged the boys a bunch of stones ready for them and let fly with full strength. Shortly afterward a street car tried to get through the crowd, but the boys attacked it, broke the windows, ordered the scabs off, and then set fire to it with the result that the Fire Department was called out.

It was wrong for the Independents to go to Berne and illogical for those to participate in it who had been represented at Zimmerwald. Berne described it as a conference of reci­procal and general amnesty. The delegates were in a most improper condition. I am a sinner, thou art a sinner," and so on, and believed that it was possible thus to re-establish the International! "The old International died in shame: it can never be resurrected!"

The Berne Conference, so far as it could, had frustrated the establishment of an International of action, and had betrayed and deceived the masses. Great confusion had been created by the fact that the German Independents had refrained at Berne from separating themselves from the Majority Party.

Zetkin insisted that: "A union of peoples will never result from Wilson’s League of Na­tions, but at the Berne Conference more faith was placed in it than ever before.” Kautsky abused his influence at Berne. The repudiation of the Bolsheviks deserved the strongest con­demnation. The rejection of the Adler-Lu­ngen motion was a provocative insult to the Bol­sheviks.

Hibberto the German Independent Socialist Party had not been inspired by that necessity. It was a product of the process of decomposi­tion which had been going on in the old So­cial Democratic Movement, and its parentage has involved it in that process. The antagon­isms which existed in its very midst could not be eliminated by a mere resolution of the Con­ference. A complete severance between the left and right wings had become imperative. "Personally,” said Zetkin, "I am faced with a painful and difficult decision. It is impossible for me to remain in the Party if it maintains its present majority. I will not spend the closing years of my life in an atmosphere of death. I will spend my last days in the atmosphere of the pregnant with the forces of the future. Some people appear to think they can bury the Rev­olution, but that is a vision which is more alive than ever. The agitations for higher pay have be­come revolutionary. The masses are ani­mated by a new spirit. It is our duty as Socialists to go on, and do we not find that we must acquire a vision rendered strong by its keen fore­sight? Thus Socialist theory will become a liv­ing force which will take possession of the masses—"

Zetkin’s closing words were received with loud and prolonged cheers.
Official Left Wing News

A WAIL goes forth from the National Office of the Socialist Party that the membership has completely withdrawn its financial support. For the first four months of the year, the dues stamps sales exceed $2,109; June, $2,868; July, $4,349. At the same time it gives him an opportunity of support. For the dues stamps sales exceed $2,109; June, $2,868; July, $4,349. In other words, there is no membership willing to entrust funds to the National Office, even for the purposes of legal defense. But this does not mean that the members will desert the comrades whose cases are to be filed or applied for. It simply means that the local organizations, city, state, or federation, will have to handle these cases directly. It goes without saying that the National Left Wing Council, through the REVOLUTIONARY AGE, or in any way open to it, will do everything possible to help these local bodies in this emergency.

There is much complaint of the Left Wing activities as responsible for the bankruptcy of the National Office. A man from Mars might look at the above figures according to the calendar and, following the activities of the old National Executive Committee, might find a very ready explanation for the fact that the membership of the Socialist Party will no longer entrust funds to the National Office. Massachusetts Convention

O RGANIZERS of all branches contesting the primaries should file their petition lists in this office not later than July 8th. First Bi-Weekly Letter To Enrolled Socialists— is now ready for distribution to branches. Price per hundred 5c. Lists of enrolled voters can be purchased at this office.

Branches desiring more petition lists for enrolled Socialist Voters should procure them in this office. Branch secretaries or organizers should procure new lists as soon as possible. These duplicated from this office as no one will be permitted to in the membership of the organization on August 8th unless he shows his Left Wing application card and his Socialist Party card.

Branch secretaries should send in the place and date of their meetings so they can be published in this column regularly. Also reports of activities of the branch.

Emergency Due Stamps and Emergency Party Cards are now ready and can be procured at this office.

Special Propaganda cards are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should do their best to push the sale of these stamps among the comrades and friends. Each branch should carry a book of these stamps with him to the shop and union meetings and sell them to their comrades. At the same time it gives him an opportunity of explaining the Left Wing organization to those workers who as yet are in the dark about our movement.

Push the sale of the Propaganda Stamps—it provides you the means of getting you the membership of the Left Wing to the comrades. All comrades should get busy in this campaign. Branch secretaries as the branch activities must not be neglected at this important time. General membership meeting of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Russian Branches of N. Y. will be held on Friday, August 1st, at 1068 Madison Ave, between 110th and 111th St, at 8 o'clock sharp.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING
Sunday, 1st P. M. August 3, 1919
MANHATTAN LYCEUM
66 East 4th Street, New York

Ratification of the National Left Wing Conference and election of officials.

Admission by Left Wing Application Card and Socialist Party Card.

Application cards can be secured at head office or from Branch secretaries.

Now it appears that the Finnnish Federation is no longer going to allow itself to be used for purposes of defense, and it definitely wishes to discontinue its connection with the Massachusetts Convention. It is now ready for distribution to branches.

Workers!

Monev is urgently needed for the defense of the men and women imprisoned throughout Canada for their part in the One Big Union movement, particularly for the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike.

Their cause is your cause, they are fighting your fight. In solidarity there is strength. Show your solidarity with your Canadian comrades by sending in your donation to the Left Wing. This will present its functions and purpose to the various branches.

The 180th, 3rd, 5th and 10 A. D. will hold a symposium and election of officers in the place and date of their meetings so they can be published in this column regularly. Also reports of activities of the branch.

General membership meeting of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Russian Branches of N. Y. will be held on Friday, August 1st, at 1068 Madison Ave, between 110th and 111th St, at 8 o'clock sharp.

MEETING ANNOUNCEMENTS—5th A. D. BRONX Saturday, August 9th: Regular Branch meeting. Business will be suspended and Comrade I. E. Ferguson will speak on "The Left Wing." Sunday, August 10th: Open air meeting at Interval and Williams Aves.

All Left Wing branches participating in the primary election should send in the names of the candidates so their names can be published in the "Age.

MANHATTAN BRANCH NOTICE: Ratification of the National Left Wing Convention and election of officials.

Admission by Left Wing Application Card and Socialist Party Card.

Application cards can be secured at head office or from Branch secretaries.

Committee will meet every 2nd and 4th Saturday, at 1000 Northern Boulevard.

The Left Wing Central Committee of Local Bronx was organized on Saturday, July 28th, at 1004 South Norwood Street.

The Left Wing Central Committee of Local Bronx was organized on Thursday, August 1st, at the headquarters, Intervale and Wilkins Aves.

All Left Wing branches participating in the primary election should send in the names of the candidates so their names can be published in the "Age.

VIRGINIA

After nominations were made but before election had proceeded the National Office notified the Virginia Convention that it was not entitled, as representation at the National Convention. The two nominees appear to stand with the Left Wing. Candidate J. B. Beggs writes: "While the radicals in this section are not grouped in an organization, they are standing at attention ready for action when the pressure squeezes a little harder, as demonstrated during the war (1917) by these same workers laying down their tools." Writing of the party situation, Comrade Beggs adds: "Personally I am as for "over (left) that I am only holding on to the present organization by that stub of a finger left from an industrial accident."
The Revolutionary Age
Saturday, August 2nd, 1919.

Report of the National Left Wing Conference

(Continued from page 13)

Convention, it will be plenty of time to act, and if it is necessary, then to organize the Communist Party in America. We can do so, but at this time, we mean to take possession—physical possession of all the party machinery that is built up through the sacrifice of the rank and file, and we do not propose to leave that intact in the hands of a few renegades that propose to use it for bourgeois purposes to betray the Socialist movement.

I think, briefly stated, that this is the position of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, and I sincerely hope it will be the position of the Left Wing Conference. (Applause.)

Mr. Stobitsky: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: We have had a very pleasant time discussing questions with Comrade Germer. There were certain moments when I personally felt that I must leave that office and go away from there. Comrade Wagenknecht is here, and he can illustrate that thing from the side of a Comrade who was in the place and saw how we were treated there. As a matter of fact it was not the office of the Socialist Party, but it was merely a police station, comrades. (Laughter.) But we are used to fight, and we did our share. I don’t think it is necessary for me to explain how it happened. You know all about it. I am sure that out federations— they will stay together as federated federations, with the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, if the Left Wing of the Socialist Party will prove that they are real Bolsheviks. (Hearty applause.) But, comrades, you will see that there is not a real policy of Communists, we will fight, and we will fight very hard, even for a small technical thing. We are used to it. And the main power of the Bolshevik is that they fight big things and small things with the same power and with the same force, and we will do that. I thank you, comrades. (Applause.)

Chairman: There was a convention recently, comrades, of the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party, in Boston. This convention was packed by the moderates. They used all kinds of parliamentary tricks to strangle the Left Wing delegates there, and the Left Wing delegates stayed away, and formed a Federation of their own. I have been asked to present to you the request of a representative of this new Federation—revolutionary federation, to speak on this matter, Comrade Hiltzik.

Mr. Hiltzik: Comrade Chairman and Delegates: I am here to greet this convention in the name of the Jewish Left Wing Federation, just lately organized in Boston. Comrades, I just want to mention a word or two as to how our Left Wing has been formed in the Jewish movement. You all know that the only two conservative federations up to date have been the Jewish and the Finnish—that is the information that we got here in New York from the Socialist Party. We began a revolution in the Jewish Federation as early as May 1918. It was at the time when the Jewish machine—the machine of the Jewish Federation organized an effort to turn the Jewish Federation into a campaign of social-patriotism, and they called for that purpose a National conference here in New York last May, to repudiate the St. Louis platform, and to recognize the social patriotic stand of all social patriots in the world. At that time, they decided by a fake majority of twenty-five against nineteen to support the Wilson administration, and to repudiate the St. Louis platform. That is the time when the revolutionary comrades in the Jewish movement found it necessary to organize and to test the rank and file of the Jewish movement, and we found that before the Left Wing was organized that the Jewish comrades in the movement were already in revolt against their federation. And we finally decided that when the Jewish convention will be called, we are certainly going to capture the Jewish Federation for the revolutionary Socialist Party—that is, for the Left Wing. But when we came to the convention we found that they had also at this convention a fake majority of social-patriots and opportunists, who have been trying to put a Jewish Socialist Federation on record as against the Left Wing. When we could not do anything else, we split the convention and a great minority, about 40 per cent of the delegates present—that is we were in the majority, if not for the fake make-up of a majority—we left the convention and formed our own convention. We named our convention the Jewish Left Wing Federation of the Socialist Party. We also decided that at that convention that we go on record as joining the Left Wing—supporting the Left Wing morally and financially. We elected our officials, and the only thing we are waiting for now is for the establishment of a Communist Party, and at that time we are going to join the Communist Party.

Die and Tool Makers’ Lodge No. 113

Gentlemen:-

Chicago, Ill., July 18, 1919

Kindly send us one hundred (100) copies of your weekly until further notice, C. O. D. Machinists Society, 113 S. Ashland Ave.

Also let us have information as to best discounts in bundles of 50, 500, all information about return privileges.

Yours truly,
Machinist Society.

By A. J. Preditz.

Dear Comrade:

Enclosed please find check for $25.00 as a contribution to the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party from Local Denver. As soon as we are in a position we shall try to send more.

Harry Intemann, Fin. Sec’y.

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

Enclosed please find check for $5.00 for the National Council. Please credit this to the Philadelphia allotment. I do not belong as yet to the local branch and therefore it is immaterial through what channel my contribution reaches the fund.

H. Golden, M. D.

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 30th, 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.