Still Feeding Russia
The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

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LOUIS C. FRAINA, Editor
JOHN REID, Associate Editor.
EADMOND MACALPINE, Managing Editor

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

NATIONAL COUNCIL

John Ballam C. E. Ruttenberg
Max Cohen Benjamin Gitlow
James Larkin I. E. Ferguson
Bertram D. Wolfe I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary

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Confiscatory

American capital claims that the Mexican Government is confiscating its property in oil wells.

Now comes another cry of confiscation. The Congress of Sonora, Mexico, in the introduction of a national agrarian policy, has decided to nationalize certain lands and pay for them in "agrarian bonds." The Mexican landowners must submit to this law; but the American and other foreign owners protest, and demand the protection of their governments by means of intervention. In other words, they aim to break the laws of Mexico and its national sovereignty by means of armed force.

The cry of confiscation is subterfuge. Capitalistic expropriation is itself a process of confiscation: confiscation of national resources, of the wealth produced by the workers, of the property of small producers. It is thievery. This thievery in Mexico was enormous. Under the Diaz regime foreign—particularly American—capital thieved the natural resources of the Mexican people. Robbery, fraud and murder were the accompaniments of this process of confiscation. Now the Mexican Government proposes to discipline foreign capital, make it subservient to the law, and restore these resources to the Mexican people. The cry of "confiscation" uttered by American capital is a hypocrisy and a deception.

The President's Power

Bourgeois liberals are cracking their heads, in the peace treaty controversy, over the power of the Presidency. They lament that President Wilson, independent of Congress and without the sanction of the Senate, made certain commitments at the Paris Conference and that he is using his bludgeon power to compel an acceptance.

It is a fact that the President has the power to make war or peace independent of Congress and is simply so manœuvring with foreign policy as to leave Congress no other course but to approve. The President in these matters is practically Dictator. Shortly before this country went to war, Colonel George Harvey in the North American Review declared that we need not look to the Kaiser or the Czar for the example of an autocrat: there was a bigger autocrat in the White House citing Wilson's course toward Mexico and Germany as proof.

The President is Dictator. The framers of the American Constitution consciously arranged things so as to hale the will of the masses in relation to the vital functions of government: their's was the real instinct of a ruling class. Certain functions of government were not assigned either to Congress or the President; but with the development of complexity in industry and government, these functions have been usurped by the Presidency. Imperialism completes the development of centralizing all vital functions of government in an executive autocracy.

A Trade Union Congress

The "international" Trades Union Congress now in session at Amsterdam, is a peculiar but instructive affair. The one struggle there, is a struggle of conservatism against capitalism,—while in the open spaces beyond, the proletariat is revolutionizing the old world and the spirit of action fires the imagination.

Much of the time of the Congress has been consumed in making the German delegation issue an avowal of guilt and repentance concerning the war. The Germans made an "explanation;" the Congress accepted it but did not express its "satisfaction:" so each faction claims a "victory;"—the Germans at having their explanation accepted, the other at the Congress not having expressed its satisfaction at the explanation. Surely, these are great proletarian problems! This is waging the class struggle!

Nothing creative is coming out of this Congress. The old bureaucratic officials are there, and they do not represent the new revolutionary upsurge in the unions; in fact, the Congress is trying to crush the revolutionary spirit.

But the trades unions are not the solid conservative force that they were. Vital currents are developing—currents of revolutionary initiative and action. This transformation in political and economic condition must necessarily transform the unions. It is a vital task of the Communist Party to facilitate this transformation.

The Negro Pogrom

VIOLENT clashes, involving large numbers of white and colored men, have occurred in a number of cities. The experience of Washington was repeated in a much more tragic form in Chicago, where scores of dead are the aftermath of the riot.

Chicago represents an armed camp, with Terror supreme. The citizens of Chicago might well yearn to be in Petrograd and Moscow, where riotous disturbances are now things of the past. And it is interesting to observe that, at the moment the press is urging the American government to "restore" order in Mexico and Soviet Russia, order is not maintained in the United States.

There is much discussion of the causes of these race riots, one of the most disgraceful aspects of American civilization. Some ascribe them to the insolvency of the Negro; others to the decline of faith in God, still others to the war.

The war is an important factor, not simply in the sense that it has generated ideals of force, but in the sense that it has developed a more militant spirit that is not restricted to the race hatred in the Negro. During the war they were flattered; in the army and in the munition plants they were necessary and were the equal of the whites; they have been in the fight to realize democracy—but now they discover that they are condemned to the old conditions of discrimination and inferiority. The fighting spirit is still strong in them, and they rebel.

The antagonisms between the Negroes and the whites has become merged in the economic problem—or rather, the economic problem is used to frame the race hatred. The white worker has been disturbed American economic conditions, causing a very important migration of all labor, but particularly of Negro labor. Competition for jobs is multiplied, and a racial struggle develops instead of a class struggle against Capitalism.

The new sense of independence in the Negro must be bent to the uses of the militant labor movement. The Negro is justified in his resentment; even though the offended party, the Negro does not incite the riots; in Washington and Chicago whites started the trouble. But the Negro, and the white worker, equally—must be made to realize that this race struggle is suicidal, promotes the supremacy of their joint oppressions. But the Negro, and the white worker, unfortunately, misled and deceived, do not realize this. The A. F. of L. recently decided to allow Negro workers into the unions—but this was done simply to perfect the job trusts and "control" the influx of Negro labor. But the other day the Federated Employees' Association of the Pennsylvania Railroad resolved against the employment of Negro workers on that system; and at least four distinct divisions of labor affiliated with the Association are identified with the A. F. of L.

The old unions have discriminated against the Negro, as they have discriminated against the unskilled and the Orientals. Most Negro labor is unskilled, which makes the Negro problem economically a phase of the larger problem of the unskilled generally. This problem is most important, and will become the test of revolutionary Socialism.

The American proletariat is composed largely of the Negro and the foreigner, both of whom are mostly unskilled workers. In order to break the A. F. of L. and develop a revolutionary union movement, it is necessary to awaken and mobilize the unskilled. The Negro, according to Engels, constitutes a vital problem of revolutionary movement. The race problem is simply a phase of the general social problem, which the Communist revolution alone can solve.

The H. C. of L.

After almost a year of roaming in the mystic realms of "world reconstruc-
tion," President Wilson is again in the mud of reality. The general and acute dissatisfaction with the emergency spirit of reform has compelled the government to consider the problem.

During the war people were partly reconciled with the high cost of living by means of more regular employment, partly terrorized.
from making any protest by the bludgeon of the patriotic crier and the Sedition Acts, and pass on to the people the whole cost of the cicada's performance—lower prices after the coming of peace. Peace did come; but the promises did not materialize. On the contrary: unemployment and lower wages, not the cost of living, increased by the menace of devaluated, soared upwards again. Capital insists on its profits, despite the peace as during war.

There is "feverish activity" in the Wilson Administration concerning the high cost of living. Conferences are being convened, investigations ordered; the President is to address the nation on the domestic problem of food prices, race riots, strikes, discontent generally—another cascade of verbal syrup with which to drug the minds of the people.

The sacrifices, the labor of the men in the meat-packing plants, the whole capitalist system being guilty, it tries to evade its guilt by making a particular trust the scapegoat. The trust is the target of the forces, the people are to be diverted from the government, using the government to destroy the trust. There is to be a "regulation" of the trust; but unity is not unity unless it is the unity of conscious agreement on fundamentals—a unity of the forces of production—to substitute production for use in place of production for profit.

But they are making the meat trust the scapegoat. Senator Kenyon, Progressive, has introduced a measure to "regulate" the packing industry—to drive out the packers from control of stockyards, to make refrigerator cars common carriers, to raise the rates, to increase the power of the public and confine them to the packing business. But these measures would not lower the cost of living, which is a product of the whole system of relations, national and international, of Capitalism. To break the high cost of living is necessary to break these relations, which are a fetter upon the forces of production—to substitute production for use in place of production for profit.

The meat trust of the "Big Five" is a typical product of the monopolization of industry by finance-capital—characteristic of the era of Imperialism. The facts, as gathered by the Federal Trade Commission, are briefly as follows:

There is "a gentlemanly packing domination of all important foods in this country and international control of meat products with foreign competition." The five packing companies dominate the industry, jointly or separately hold interests of 762 companies, producing or dealing in 775 commodities; their gross sales for 1918 amounted to $3,217,000,000; they control the hide market and can regulate the price of hides; they control $97 per cent of the production of lard-compounds, $1 per cent of cattle slaughtering, at least half of the poultry, eggs and cheese in the main channels of interstate commerce, as well as scores of other commodities over which they exercise partial control or complete monopoly. The "Big Five" are now completing a monopolized system in the packing industry. They pursue the usual trust methods of competition, such as securing from railroads superior service at lower rates than wholesale grower pay for; declaring that the public market for the packing houses is to be a "national market"; the packers are part and parcel of that Bolshevik Party urged unity of all Socialist and proletariat in parliamentary struggle. Precisely; the only way out is economic reconstruction by means of the Communist Revolution. Unity? Yes—the revolutionary unity of a minority-socialist and a majority-proletarian, which to drug the minds of the people. But unity is not unity unless it is the unity of conscious agreement on fundamentals—a unity of the forces of production for use in place of production for profit. Unity? Yes—the revolutionary unity of a minority-socialist and a majority-proletarian. For it is the task of the Left Wing to restore that unity: the restoration of the old fundamental "unity" means abandoning the tasks of economic reconstruction by means of the Communist Revolution. Unity? Yes—the revolutionary unity of a minority-socialist and a majority-proletarian, which to drug the minds of the people. But unity is not unity unless it is the unity of conscious agreement on fundamentals—a unity of the forces of production for use in place of production for profit.
Here and There

On August 5th the Lusk Committee woke from a sound sleep and gave the Left Wing headquarters another raid. The first raid, which occurred June 21st, discovered The Revolutionary Age. The second, on the day after it had suspended publication. After six weeks of careful sleuthing Archibald Stevenson dis-
covered The Revolutionary Age, and on Tues-
day last at ten minutes to three a pair of timid-
looking cops sunk up the stairway of the head-
quarters armed with a handful of summons,
ordering everybody connected with The Revolu-
tional Age to appear before the Attorney
General at three o'clock.

The editors happening to be out to lunch,
the cops served the shipping clerk, the stenog-
rappers and Comrade Bert Wolfe, who im-
mediately left for the hearing. Comrade I.
E. Ferguson, the National Secretary, went along as attorney; and when they found out
who he was, they served him too.

The hearing was secret. The persons who
were there were told not to breathe a word
outside what was in the dark, mysterious chamber. They were asked how much circulation the paper had, where it was printed, and what was Comrade MacAlpine's
address. As no one but the Business Molls
knew these things, not much information was
obtained.

After sitting outside the room all afternoon,
Comrade Wolfe and Comrade Ferguson were
told to go home. The Luskers were evidently
afraid to tackle them.

In the cross-examination, the Luskers evidently thought of looking at the
Union Label on the paper—and thus they dis-
covered the dreadful secret of where it was
printed. They then sent for the printer, and,
it is rumored, questioned him earnestly about
how a linotype machine works.

All this ridiculous quizzing was, we are
credibly informed, undertaken in order to
and get enough evidence to back up the
indictments which it is framed up the Grand
jury will hand down on August 13th.

If the District Attorney can base indict-
ments on the evidence of half a dozen "I
don't-knows." we are doomed!

Every spring a group of prominent New
York politicians meet in Albany and hold
what is known as a legislature. At the end
of the session it is usually thought necessary
to provide a summer vacation for a certain
number of persons who have information re-
garding what really happened during the ses-

some say that the purpose of this custom
is to prevent these people from making their
knowledge public, but be that as it may, the
fact remains that these vacations are of yearly
occurrence. This year New York City was
picked as the vacation ground. An
appropriation of $30,000 was made to cover traveling and hotel expenses. The fortunate ones are
now known to fame as the Lusk Committee.

In spite of the hot weather the committee
has been very active, sitting at least one
day every week. Some evirimated persons have been questioned. The testimony is in a large
measure due to the fact that prohibition is in
force, and that it is common knowledge that the
members of the committee simply can't stand
the 2.50. However, the fact remains that the
committee has obtained a tremendous amount
of publicity when it is remembered that during
the past few months three murders, two di-
nocuous cases, and many arrests in the trans-
lantic flights, and the arrival of President Wil-
son of Paris for a short vacation in this coun-
try have kept the linotypes busy.

For a time Trotzky and the committee's
efforts would be fruitless, owing to the fact
that the U. S. Senate investigation has hogged
all the spicy and sensational details of Bolshev-
ism, through its good fortune in getting a
clergymen to testify. But the Lusk Committee
has at last unearthed something. We call the
following from The New York Tribune:

Mme Sarah Naumovna Ravich, said to have
been sent to this country by Leon Trotzky to
organize the forces of unrest and revolution
with a view of seizing the government (and
bring it back to him tied up with Red ribbon)
is now being sought by operatives of the Lusk
Committee. Mme Ravich, described to the com-
nitee as the one who directed the betrayal of Russia, arrived in this
country some time ago under an assumed
name. According to information to the committee she is said to have served the tsar in the last war. She was one of those allowed to pass through Switzerland from Switzerland
to Russia last year. The committee believes
she is one of the agents of Trotzky.

Immediately after evidence had been present-
to the committee yesterday that Mme Ravich
and others were the agents in the Bolshevist
revolution were in America, Senator Clayton
R. Lusk sent for Immigration Inspector A. B.
Schell, who was, assigned to the committee.

Schell was requested to ascertain just how many
of the agents of Trotzky had entered through
Ellis Island in the past three years.

We learn on good authority that the com-
nitee has recently exposed the fact of believing
that Mme Ravich is none other than the famous Mrs.
Mavrick, who was last heard of on her way
to Switzerland with several thousand pounds
of gold in her stocking. It is of course quite
well known that Trotzky is one of those heart-
less brutes who believe that wives should be
put to work. In fact there is good reason for
believing that he has several wives working for
him at present. The fact that Mme Ravich
traveling under an assumed name will not prevent Inspector Schell from
getting all the information desired as there is a
complete record of all Bolshevik agents who
enter at Ellis Island.

We understand that every person entering
the country is required to give particulars re-
garding his or her business. Also each person
traveling under an assumed name is required
to inform the authorities of this fact, stating in
clear terms, first the assumed name and then
the real name, Thus:

"Assumed name, Jones, J-o-n-n-e-s. Real name.
Fish, F-i-s-h." The

The immigration authorities ask each person
whether he or she is one of Trotzky's agents,
and when the reply is in the affirmative a
form of the statement above is made in a little book which each inspector carries with him for this
purpose. The only difficulty that may be experi-
enced by the inspector in getting the infor-
mation desired is just in the fact that until recently immigrants were not asked whether they were working for Lenin. Secret
agents are of course not expected to volunteer
information about their connections, but only to an-
swer the questions asked, consequently many
persons who replied "No" to the question "Are
you Trotzky's agent?" were in reality working
for Lenin and of course they did not volunteer
this information. This difficulty is being met, however, and now each inspector
has been furnished with a little booklet which
has as his name members of the Bolshevist

members of the committee have no chance of escaping detection.

Bolshevikjibs

Railroad workers won't brook return
of roads to private rule," says a head-
line—and the man-a-moment conductor who
punches our commutation ticket doesn't look in
the least like a Bolshevik. Why he hasn't
even got a beard and his hair is cut quite
short.

"Socialist Government Replaces K u R e-
gime," says The New York Call. Now
that nasty proletarian dictatorship has gone,
and democracy, with equal suffrage and everything,
is saved once more.

Congress is going to investigate the high
cost of living, so the packers have been forced
to raise prices half-a-cent to meet the expenses
of sending witnesses to Washington.

"Make money scarce and the cost of living
will drop," says Senator Myers. It is now
the clear duty of all patriotic employers to re-
duce wages and thus save the workers from themselves.

"The Congress now being held in Luzerne
is the last gasp of the so-called 'Second Inter-
national,' held under the direction of the In-
ternational Socialist Bureau of Brussels," says
The New York Call.

Choked, we suppose, because Washington
wouldn't give Algermo Lee a passport!

We understand that Senator Hiram Johnson,
after consultation with Morris Hillquit, Wil-
liss Jennings Bryan, and other well-known
popular leaders, has decided to form a new
party. Among the planks will be: Withdrawal
from Russia, amnesty for Tom Mooney, repeal
of the Espionage Act, in fact everything the
Right Wing wants, including repudiation of
Proletarian Dictatorship.

Never mind the National Emergency Con-
vention, comrades of the Right Wing, wait
till you see what will happen when the Repub-
licans meet!

Judging from the reports of the Amsterdam
Trades Union Congress Sammy Gompers
wants the war to start all over again—the
German delegates are not nearly humble
enough.

But while Sammy's lashing the Germans
quite a lot of union men, who have not had the
opportunity of traveling abroad, have an al-
together mistaken idea of their functions—they
are talking about One Big Union.

It certainly looks like as if Mexico was going
to be found guilty of having oil wells.

The English Crown Prince is on his way
to America according to press reports. The
Prince of Wales must not, however, be con-
 fused with that other Crown Prince. It is a
fact that they are both crown princes, and
that the chances of either of them ever sitting
on a throne are rather slim, but it is also a fact
that they are related to each other, but the one
that is coming to America is a democratic prince—he was down in a coal mine once.
FOR the past year or so many people have been calling Woodrow Wilson a hypocrite. Mollie Steiner got fifteen years for doing it; Oswald Garrison Villard hasn't been arrested yet. The defenders of the President still repeat, after every new atrocious act of his, that he just doesn't know.

The Soviet Government of Hungary has fallen, and the capitalist press is exulting over the fact that this catastrophe is due chiefly "to the pressure of Captain Thomas Gregory, American food controller in Hungary. In other words, the United States Government starved the Hungarian People's Government to death; and that by direct order of the President of the United States. Can Wilson's friends still tell us that he doesn't know?

They will have very little to say after the latest Presidential pronouncement—that the purpose entertained by the U. S. troops in Siberia, and why they must be kept there. It contains a number of misstatements of fact which, if they had been by the friends of the other, would be called lies, and treated as lies. However, having been emitted by the Great White Father, the people of the United States will probably suppress their uneasiness; the stock market will react favorably, and President Wilson will continue to prosecute his private war against the Russian people.

The President's statement follows the recurring reasons for sending American troops to Siberia, on August 5th, 1918: in that extraordinary announcement of Intervention in Russia, "the President's statement alleges the following:

1. To save the Czecho-Slovak armies from "destruction by hostile armies organized by, and often largely composed of, enemy prisoners of war."

2. "To steady any efforts of the Russians at self-defense, or the establishment of law and order, in which they might be willing to accept assistance."

3. To protect Mr. John F. Stevens and a corps of American Engineers who are operating the Siberian Railroads under an agreement for the purpose of:
   a. Feeding, clothing, and supplying the people of Russia and Siberia.
   b. "The forces of Admiral Kolchak are entirely dependent on these railways for the evacuation of the British and American Military Missions, who journeyed through Siberia at the request of the Soviet Government, and reported to their Government that these military "armies of enemy prisoners" did not exist.

We refuse to believe that the President is still ignorant of the kind of Russians who are making efforts at establishing law and order, or of the kind of law and order they want to establish. The corrupt adventurer Kolchak and the reactionary Denikin are the sort of Russians whose "efforts" American troops are supporting. There was the shadow of an argument to be advanced while Messrs. Akvistzen, Zienzinov & Co. maintained their soap-bubble "Government" at Omsk; although these shameless politicians represented no one in Russia except themselves, still they upheld the tradition of capitalist "restoration." But Woodrow Wilson knows it. He knows it. He dares not ask Congress to sanction this expedition in support of brigandage, nor has Congress ever declared war on Russia. There is much in the papers lately about American soldiers in Siberia being killed by "Bolsheviks." It is considered a dastardly thing for people to defend themselves against invaders of their country—even though these invaders be Americans, who as everybody knew, gave a "solemne public promise" not to interfere with Russia.

The President has the nerve to repeat this promise. He says, "The instructions to General Graves direct that no interference in Russian affairs, but to support Mr. Stevens when ever necessary." Well, what then? Apparently Mr. Stevens' purpose is to keep the Siberian Railways running. Why? A few paragraphs on the President says, "The forces of Admiral Kolchak are entirely dependent upon these railways."

Don't interfere into Russian affairs, but help Admiral Kolchak overthrow the Soviet Government! Let us use plain words about these matters. The American troops sent to Siberia by Woodrow Wilson, and kept there by him alone, were dispatched to help overthrow the Government set up by the Russian people of their own free will, and are engaged in supporting tyranny against human liberties. In every contact Woodrow Wilson has had with the world, his decision has lain with that of the enemies of freedom and real democracy—in Hungary, Egypt, China. He has told to that course he has pledged this nation.

We come now to the very important detail concerning Mr. John F. M. Stevens, whose activities (running six trains a day on the Chinese Eastern and Trans-Baikal Railways, and other democratic triumphs) fill the body of the President's statement.

The State Department's announcement of Intervention, as I recall it, doesn't say a word about Mr. Stevens. At that time the United States Government was "saving" the Czecho-Slovaks, and combating fearful acts of un armed German prisoners. Mr. Stevens, then, was explained, and the President does it. Only he doesn't tell all the facts. After relating the story of how Mr. Stevens and the Railway Commission went to Russia at the Assistant Commissary of Ways and Communications, with complete authority over half the transportation lines of all Russia. The American Railway Mission was to have charge of removing all guns, ammunition and supplies from the front to where the Germans couldn't get them, and oversee the entire work of the Russian railroad.

But the American Government was not interested, evidently, in saving men from the Germans; it was more interested in upsetting the Soviet Government. So Mr. Stevens was ordered to go to Japan until some reactionary figurehead could be found in Siberia to undertake the Holy War against the Soviet Russia. What a dirty story!

The core of the whole miserable excuse is contained in the following clause: "All elements of the population in Siberia look to the United States for assistance, and help Russia from being assisted by President Wilson! Let him call off the Chinese war, and call home the American boys he has sent to Siberia to shoot and be shot at upon pretexts which are obviously inacure.
Draft of the Russian Communist Party Program

1) The Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917 has introduced the proletarian dictatorship, which—with the aid of the poorest peasantry and proletariat—is laying the foundation of Communist society. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries, and the world phenomena and development of the Soviet formations, which directly and immediately realize the proletarian dictatorship, and last, but not least, the beginning and course of development of the revolution in Austro-Hungary and Germany—all this indicates clearly that the era of the proletarian, Communist world-revolution has come.

2) The correct comprehension of the cause, significance and purpose of this revolution requires an interpretation of the essence of Capitalism and its development through Imperialism and the imperialist war which accelerated the collapse of Capitalism.

3) The nature of Capitalism and bourgeois property is still prevalent in the majority of the civilized countries, and the evolution of which inevitably leads to the Communist revolution of the proletariat of the world, was correctly characterized in our old program—if we do not consider the indefinite name of the party, "Social-Democratic"—in the following thesis:

4) The main peculiarity of such a society is its commodity character of production, based on capitalist relations of production, by virtue of which the most important part of the means of production and distribution of commodities is the property of a small, class, while the great majority of the population, the proletarians and semi-proletarians, who are forced—due to their economic circumstances—to sell their labor-power continually or periodically, i.e., to become wage-slaves in order, by their labor, to create the income of the superior classes and of society as a whole.

5) The sphere of capitalist production is enlarged, i.e., it is expanded and developed, and, with the constant growth of technology, the economic significance of large enterprises is increased, leading to the elimination of small independent producers, minimizing the role of the rest in the social economic life, and lowering them to the position of dependence on Capitalism.

6) The growth of industrial science gives the exploiters an opportunity to utilize to a greater extent female and child labor in the process of the production and distribution of commodities. And as, on the other hand, it leads to the relative diminution of the demand for human labor by the employers, the supply of labor power in thus greater than the demand, consequently the dependence of wage labor upon capital increases.

7) Such a condition of affairs in the bourgeois countries, and their constant reciprocal competition, becoming ever more acute, in the world market make more and more difficult the conditions which were produced in constantly increasing quantities. Over production, manifesting itself in acute industrial crisis, and as a result of periodic periods of industrial stagnation, is an inevitable consequence of the development of productive forces in bourgeois society. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation, on the other hand, still more degrade the small producers, still more increase the dependence of wage-labor upon capital, still further increase the material possibility of supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist, i.e., that social revolution which impregnates the activity of the International Communist Party as a conscious expression of the class movement.

8) Thus the growth of technology, which means the increased productivity of labor and the growth of social wealth, enlarges the social inequality of bourgeois society, increases the chasm between the possessing and non-possessing classes, swells the ranks of the unemployed, and makes more acute the want of larger and larger masses of the working classes.

9) With the increase and development of all these contradictions characteristic of capitalist society, the dissection of the laboring and exploited masses with the existing order of things also grows adding to the number and the unity of the proletarians, and thus their combat against the exploiters becomes ever more acute. At the same time the concentration of the means of production and distribution and the socialization of the process of labor in all branches of industry creates ever faster the material possibility of supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist, i.e., that social revolution which impregnates the activities of the International Communist Party as a conscious expression of the class movement.

10) Supplanting private ownership of the means of production and distribution by cooperative ownership and introducing a systematic organization of the process of social production in order to secure the welfare and full development of every member of society, the social revolution of the proletariat will end in the division of society into classes and will thus liberate all oppressed humanity, insomuch as it will end every form of exploitation of one part by society by another.

11) The dictatorship of the proletariat is a sine qua non of this social revolution, i.e., the installation of the proletarian political rule, which will effectively suppress any resistance on the part of the exploiters. Taking it as our task to make the proletarian capable of fulfilling its great mission in the interest of all humanity, the International Communist Party has organized itself into an independent political party in opposition to all bourgeois parties, to direct all manifestations of the class struggle of the proletariat, which reveals the growing realization of the present interests of the exploiters and the exploited and indicates the historical significance and inevitability of the coming social revolution. At the same time the Party reveals to the rest of the laboring and exploited masses the hopelessness of their circumstances in capitalist society and the necessity of the social revolution in the interest of their deliverance from the yoke of Capitalism.

12) The party of the working class, the Communist Party, invites into its ranks all strata of the working and exploiting classes as far as they accept the proletarian standpoint.

13) The concentration and centralization of capital, undermining free competition, has led to the creation of mighty monopolistic combines and exploiting masses, with the proletariat—trusts—which control the whole economic life; the amalgamation of financial interests (bank capital) with concentrated industrial capital; the invasion of foreign countries by the big interests; and the actual economic division of the world among the wealthiest capitalist nations, and, last but not least, the world war. This is an epoch of financial interests—the epoch of the hostility of the big interests of one country towards the big interests of another, which led to the world war. This strife has led to the imperialistic war—for markets, for spheres of investment for capital, of raw material, of cheap labor-power, i.e., for world domination and for the strangling of the small and weak nations. Such is the nature of the first imperialistic war of 1914-18.

14) The high degree of development of world Capitalism in general, the supplantation of free competition by state-monopolistic Capitalism, the creation by the banks and also by industrial corporations of a capitalist machinery for public regulation of the process of production and distribution, the increase—which is intimately connected with the growth of capitalist monopoly—of the cost of living and the suppression of the working classes by the trusts, the bondage of the proletariat by the imperialistic state, the hindrance of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat, the terror of poverty and the devastation produced by the imperialistic war—all this accelerates the transition from Capitalism to the new era of the proletarian-Communist revolution. This epoch has come.

15) The imperialistic war could not result in a just peace, of course, but in more or less steadfast peace under the prevalence of bourgeois governments. It inevitably developed and develops into a civil war of the exploiters and against the proletariat as their vanguard, against the bourgeoisie. The increasing offensive of the proletariat and especially its triumphs in individual countries augments the resistance of the exploiters and forces them to create new forms of international unity of capitalists (as the League of Nations, for instance, as a world entity direct all their efforts against the proletariat in order to suppress the revolution by movement of the working class of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to civil within individual countries and to revolutionary wars of proletarian countries defending themselves against invasion as well as small suppressed nations revolting against the yoke of the imperialistic powers. Under these conditions the slogans of pacifism, of international disarmament (under Capitalism, arbitration, etc.), are not only reactionary and utopian, but they are intended as a direct deception of the laboring (Continued on page 7).
The British Workers and Soviet Russia

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

British movement to join in a demonstration strike against the Soviet Republics. Henderson, merely announced, "as a matter of information only" the Executive had agreed with the French and Italian delegates to arrange urgent anti-intervention negotiations for July 20 and 21 in France, Italy and Britain: the demonstrations to be "in the form best suited to the mass of the workers in the various countries." The resolutions to be submitted to the demonstrations stated: "To this end it is the further duty of the working class movement to authorize action in the various countries, and to bring to bear whatever pressure it can command, in view of their national circumstances against the governing authorities of the various countries.

Of course some delegate ought to have jumped up and moved the suspension of the Standing Orders, in order that a resolution might be moved declaring a general strike on July 20 and 21. No one was ready enough to realize the significance of the moment; but if any delegate had done it, old experience proves that the Chairman would probably have refused to accept the motion. The resolution actually adopted by the Conference was: "Instructs the National Executive to consult the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress on the measures which are to be taken to ensure these demands by the unreserved use of their political power, and to bring them to bear on Governments, and to bring to bear whatever pressure it can command, in view of their national circumstances against the governing authorities of the various countries." There is no one to try to go one better. There is already a movement to authorize action in the various countries, and to bring to bear whatever pressure it can command, in view of their national circumstances against the governing authorities of the various countries.

The Conference at Westminster. He was introduced to the Conference by Arthur Henderson and received a great ovation from the delegates who had not thought enough about Russia to understand that he was the tool of the Czarist counter-revolution. Those of us who protested against his being allowed to address the conference as an honored guest were howled down or ejected. Our demand that Maxim Litvinoff, the duly accredited representative of Soviet Russia, who was present in the gallery, should be allowed to reply to the charges Kerensky had made against the Soviets, was ignored, at the bidding of Arthur Henderson.

At the Blackpool Trade Union Congress, the following fact no effective protest was made against the intervention: no delegate was found bold enough to express solidarity with the Soviet Government. But now all is changed: the working class movement to authorize action in the various countries, and to bring to bear whatever pressure it can command, in view of their national circumstances against the governing authorities of the various countries.

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It will be seen that this resolution leaves it to the joint Executives to put the will of the Conference into operation. The Executive of the Trade Union Congress is openly opposed to industrial action for political purposes and cares nothing for the Soviets and the majority of the Labor Party Executives is openly opposed to action. McGurk, the retiring chairman of the Labor Party, at once gave an inter­vention to the Resolution of the Congress, as "a very virulent anti-Labor paper, in which he said that nothing would come of the resolution.

But already something is coming of the reso­lution. The spirit that is behind it is growing in strength and decision of purpose: Ben Til­lett, the Secretary of the Dockers' Union, re­cognizing the facts of the situation, said with Havelock Wilson, the reactionary Secretary of the Sea­men's Union, that they would send a food ship to Russia and that the dockers would load it without pay: that food ship does not seem to have materialized and when the other day Ben Tillett spoke in Poplar (a London dock district) until lately one of his strong­holds, he was howled down by the dockers.

Now the London district committee of the dockers has decided to declare a strike on July 20 and 21, and it has decided to advise its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia or assisting in any way the overthrow of the Russian proletariat. Moreover it demands that the money invested by the Dockers' Union in war loans shall be immediately withdrawn. The Executive Committee of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Fire­men is issuing a circular to its members asking them to support the demonstrations on July 20 and 21. This is very important, as though this Union necessarily is small, it controls a powerful and absolutely essential element, so there is the greatest rivalry between it and the National Union of Railwaymen; and where the smaller craft union leads the big industrial union is cer­tain to try to go one better. There is already the possibility of an immediate railway strike on industrial grounds and the railway men are seething with discontent.

The miners supported the strike resolution at the Conference and the Triple Alliance is itself calling a conference on industrial action to stop the intervention. Altogether it seems that British Labor is beginning to move. We are slow, but let us hope, we are sure.

Draft of the Russian Communist Party Program

(Continued from page 6)
The Versailles Peace

By F. Loriot

Of the Left (Communist) Wing of the French Socialist Party.

The Versailles Peace

The National Left Wing Conference received the following letter at its first session, June 21, 1919.

We, members of the Socialist Party now constituted as political prisoners in the U. S. Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, send our cordial greetings and hearty encouragement to the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

We place our hope for the future of American Socialism in Left Wing control of the Party.

Curt Huesler, Milwaukee; A. V. Alexander, Passaic, N. J.; E. H. Winger, St. Paul; Jacob Schneider, Boston; Leopold Weinstein, Newark, N. J.; Richard Carlson, St. Paul; Leopold B. Baher, Philadelphia; Carl Johnson, St. Paul; Lazaro B. Marmo, Kings County, N. Y.; Gustave King, St. Paul; John Flagg, Virginia, Minn.; Jacob Miller, New York City; Emil Ngayd, Duluth, Minn.; Frank E. Royer, Cleveland; Stanley A. Marshall, Cincinnati; John Gross, Hudson County, N. J.; Axel W. Carlson, St. Paul.

We, political prisoners here but not party members, endorse the above.


In addition there are many, both party members and sympathizers, who would sign this statement but are in solitary confinement.

C. H.
The Hara Ministry and the Bolsheviki

By Sen Katagama

will some day destroy the present bureaucratic government. The government feels this, the ruling classes feel it, and the working masses are becoming daily more conscious of the pressure of these burdens and are looking for a chance to get rid of them.

It is true that the study of Marxian Socialism recently became very popular. The study of Das Kapital has been taken up by the press of the country. Several persons and groups have announced their intention of translating Kapital, and several months have appeared which are devoted to the study of Socialism, though mostly confining themselves to the academic and theoretical side of the subject and not venturing into the field of its application to present day conditions. The government's fear of the spread of Socialism and of the Socialists has changed recently to fear of Bolshevism and the Bolsheviki. Theoretical discussions from books and foreign magazines are plentiful, but any discussion of Japanese social conditions is sternly prohibited. The government and the ruling classes fear that the people may awaken and begin to act from a Socialist standpoint.

Present day conditions cause many dangers to the bourgeoisie. The prices of food are much higher than those of last August, when the rice riots occurred. The armistice and the coming of peace brought much unemployment while rent and other expenses are increasing enormously. The wages of those who are employed are being cut down on account of the prevalence of unemployment.

Among the middle classes also there is much unrest. In Japan the middle classes are numerically dominant. They comprise petty army and naval officers, whose incomes from Siberia and the islands have become Bolshevik propagandists. They are all reservists and, from all parts of the country, on their return to civilian life they mingle with the workers. It is often reported with terror that Bolshevism is spreading in the Japanese army.

Such are the conditions in Japan just now, and the Hara ministry is attempting in a thousand ways to stop the spread of Bolshevism. The government feels this is a country of indirect taxation, more than any other in the world; as the hangman for Allied capitalists. In order to conceal the worst phases of the Paris treaty the capitalist press of the entire world is endeavoring to paint the Shantung crime of Japan as blacker and worse than any other.
Petrograd During the Early Part of 1919

By Arthur Ransome

nior officer leading our escort walked solemnly to the middle of the bridge. Then the luggage was dumped there, while we stood watching the Finnish lieutenant took the list of his prisoners and called out the names "Vorovsky, while the Finns, with a sentry box to match. The Finns seemingly had not yet had time to paint their bar of a lucky win over Litvinov, who is really a better player. By Sunday night we reached Terijoki and on Monday started slowly to the frontier of Finland close to Bielostrov. A squad of Finnish soldiers was waiting, excluding everybody from the station and seeing that no dangerous revolutionary should break away on Finnish territory. There were no horses, but three hand sledges were brought, and we piled the luggage on them, and then set off to walk to the frontier duly convoyed by the Finns. A Finnish lieutenant walked at the head of the procession, chatting good-humouredly in Swedish and German, much as a man might think it worth while to be kind to a crowd of unfortunate people just about to be flung into a deep and frozen river by the Liteini Bridge. The trams were running as usual. No soldiers were about the railway station, combined with the feeling that we were no longer under guard. As soon as the rooms were allotted we got leave from them, and shyly, step by step, went forward into the new struggling civilization of Russia. Crossing that bridge we passed into the dark, which is never quite dark because of the profanity and passport difficulties. There were no pickets, nor groups of soldiers, nor anything to show that I had been lucky enough to get one in Astoria, I drove off across the frozen river by the Liteini Bridge. The trams were running as usual. The town seemed absolutely quiet, and away down the river I saw once again in the dark, which is never quite dark because of the snow, the dim shape of the fortress, the town dropped suddenly into a sort of somnolence. The town seemed to have come to know so well during the last six years —the Summer Garden, the British Embassy, and the great Palace Square where I had seen armoured cars flouting about during the July rising, soldiers camping during the mysterious days of the Kornilov affair, and, earlier, Kornilov himself reviewing the Junks. My mind went further back to the March revolution, and I saw once more the picket of fire of the revolutionaries at the corner that night when the remains of the Czar's Government were still frantically printing proclamations ordering the people to go home, while they themselves were being besieged in the Admiralty. Then it flung itself further back still, to the day of the declaration of war, the town seemed absolutely quiet, while the Czar came out for a moment on the Palace balcony. By that time we were pulling up at the Astoria and I had to turn my mind to something else.

I inquired for a meal, and found that no food was to be had in the hotel, but they could supply hot water. Then, to get an appetite for soup, I went out for a walk, and I did not much like doing so with nothing but an English passport, and with no papers to show that I had had a lovely day. I wept for a moment, and then got into the same carriage that was sent to meet me, and we struck out another way. We drove along the Moika to the Nevski and so back to my own hotel. The streets: like the regiments at the corner that night when the remains of the Czar's Government were still frantically printing proclamations ordering the people to go home, while they themselves were being besieged in the Admiralty. Then it flung itself further back still, to the day of the declaration of war, the town seemed absolutely quiet, while the Czar came out for a moment on the Palace balcony. By that time we were pulling up at the Astoria and I had to turn my mind to something else.

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flower designs, on white and chequered back­
grounds, with the masses of snow in the road before them, and, bright-karched women and  
peasants in ruddy sheepskin coats passing by,  
they seemed less like futurist paintings than like  
the brilliant spring blossoms of Moscow with the Middle Ages. It is perhaps  
interesting to note that certain staid purists in the  
town, until the revolution, railed against these  
processions of people shod in snowshoes and less  
violent. 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 Socialist  
Labor Party, who was tireless in helping the Americans last year, and is a prodigy of know­ 
ledge about the revolution. He must be nearly  
every time I passed them.  
He complained of the lack of transport, a  
complaint which I must have heard at least  
three times a day from different people  
who had corn, as it were, in sight, they could  
though economically it was very bad. When  
the room was perfectly clean. The chamber­ 
maid who came to tidy up quite evidently  
took a pride in her work, properly, and  
protected against ants in the right place on  
the floor. She said she had been in the hotel since  
it was opened. I asked her how she liked the  
new regime. She replied that there was not  
more than a hundred roubles a month.  
In the afternoon I went downstairs to the  
main kitchen of the hotel, where there is a  
temporary suspension of happy-go-lucky way.  
One enormous kitchen is set apart for the use of people  
living in the hotel. Here I found a crowd  
of people, all using different parts of the stove.  
There was an old grey-haired Cossack, with  
a scarlet tunic under his black, wide skirted,  
narrow-waisted coat, decorated in the Cossack  
fashion with ornamental cartridges. He was  
washing his cutlery side by side with a little  
Jewess making potato-cakes. A spectacled el­ 
terly member of the Executive Committee  
bought something with a little bit of  
meat. Two little girls were boiling potatoes  
in old tin cans. In another room set apart for  
big cauldron. And all the time people  
people, all using different parts of the stove.  
who are brought to Moscow, where they are  
told me that on hearing in Moscow that some  
to Archangel and state his case, promising him safe­ 
home and leave Russia alone. Finally the  
offered his back as a desk, on which a safe­ 
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**Report of the National Left Wing Conference**

**Maclepine:** I move to suspend the regular order of business and go to the discussion of the advisability of forming a Communist Party.

**Larkin:** In putting the motion, I suggest that we adjourn and have Comrade Hourwich draft a brief resolution. We want the advisability of starting a Communist Party here and now, or waiting until the 30th August, settled.

Hourwich and Ruthenberg, thereupon drew up the following resolution.

"Be it resolved that this National Conference representing the Left Wing within the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Party, and that we begin immediately the organization of the Communist Party.

The Chairman: We will vote on Comrade MacAlpine's motion to suspend the rules. (The motion was made to suspend the rules and this was unanimously carried.)

For you understand of course, that in moving this resolution, I did so by instruction of the body, and not because of any sympathy with what the resolution proposes. I believe personally that the proposition contained in that resolution would be the best way in the world to hinder the Left Wing movement in the organization of a virile Communist Party in the future. We have thus far endeavored to carry on our fight within the Socialist Party. We have won the fight within the Socialist Party, and now some comrades have come here and ask us to scuttle the ship and run away when we have won a victory. We only need to press that victory in order to take hold of the existing order. (Applause.) By this conference going on record to organize a Communist Party, we are taken away from the position which we now hold before the membership of the Socialist Party. We carried on a fight through the machinery of the party organization—and remember there is in the heart of most members of the organization some feeling of loyalty to the organization, some feeling that this party under the name of the Socialist Party which they have sacrificed for, for so many years, is something they don't want to easily let go of, and if we take this step and go there to govern all the organization, we are not going to carry with us as many members of that party those who are in sympathy with our purpose and our manifesto and program—than if we continue to fight through the two short months that still lie before the National Convention. And I submit that at that National Convention will be the appropriate time for us to proceed—not at the end, but at the very beginning of that convention.

**MacAlpine:** But what do you find? Some of us here say that the reactionaries will control that convention. How? They will control, then, step by step, your Communist Party. But if we go there and delegates from the several expelled organizations, if we go there with the delegates of all the organizations inside of the party, and the secretary calls that convention to order, who is going to be in control on the floor of that convention? Who is going to elect the chairman? Who is going to be in the majority? Why, the members of the Left Wing. And if they adopt some scheme, some parliamentary action to eliminate these outlaws, then, when we major will simply start right there on the floor of that convention and proceed to organize the Communist Party. (Great applause.)

**Zucker:** Comrade Ruthenberg states that we have won the fight within the Socialist Party until now, and that we shall proceed to carry on the fight in the same manner as in the past, until August 30th, in spite of the fact that the majority of the organization committee has reported that in their opinion the N. E. C. is going to expel nearly seventy-five per cent of the membership of the Socialist Party, in order to continue their control of the organization. Comrade Ruthenberg still labors under the delusion that we have the majority of the votes, therefore the machinery comes our way. We have been shown the fallacy of the Right Wingers who claim that when we shall have captured fifty-one per cent of the votes on election days, then we shall have control of the State. We tell them that is an absurdity. In order to control the State, you must destroy the capitalist state. And so it is. In the referendum of the membership we had at least 75 per cent of the membership voting our way. But a group of seven individuals have attempted the destruction of half the membership of the Socialist Party—have expelled them from the Socialist Party—and what is more, they are determined to expel the other half. At a meeting of the N. E. C., they elected a Board of Trustees that took over the control of the property of the Socialist Party, which means that they—the Left Wing, if it shall by some miracle, capture the Socialist Party, there will no doubt be a legal fight as to whether the present N. E. C. is the legal Socialist Party. Comrades, I say it is absurd. It is criminal for the Left Wing to bring its case before the tribunal to decide the justice and legality of our act. Comrades, the Left Wing has not only been spited in the face in Chicago—they have been kicked down stairs, and now it is proposed that the Left Wing shall come crawling back to plead for justice and for legality and for rationality. Comrades, it is impossible to imagine that in 1912 between Hillquit and Hayward, when the Socialist Party adopted a revolutionary program—the St. Louis Program, . . . No sooner was it adopted, than it became a mere scrap of paper, and the machine muscles, which have never relented, and which are always been with the Left Wingers in principle. I will read from an official organ of the Socialist Party. It says, 'It is true, comrades, that the new conditions require a change in policies. I am sure that I am speaking for the majority of the committee in stating that we intend to make such changes. But I say, comrades, let us not wait. You adopt your manifesto and tell us to swallow it or smash the party.' And that is what they will do on August 30th. They will go out and start with a similar program, the August 30th. They are going to adopt the principles of the Left Wing, and then come before the members of the Socialist Party and say, 'Comrades, why you lot? We have always been with the Left Wingers in principle.' We want the advisability of starting a Communist Party, and then some comrades, it will play the same trick that they did in 1910 and 1912 and every other fight, where the revolutionary rank and file tried to assert its power and gain control of the party machinery. Comrades, now it the time for action. If we wait for August 30th—the historic moment to organize the party and the machine will remain in control. They feel that we have been unfairly dealt with by the machine, and, comrades, we know that a great many of those within the Left Wing are not Left Wingers because of conviction. The great mass within the Left Wing are there because of sentiment, because we have been wrongly dealt with. Comrades, let us have the courage to start not with the great mass, although I say without the masses no revolution can succeed. We want the mass of our program, and on our principles. Let us have the courage to start with a small number, if possible, but let us start as real revolutionists, and ask the rank and file to join us on all principles to organize the Communist Party. (Great applause.)

**MacAlpine:** Comrade Chairman and Comrades: It is all very well to talk about the Communist and so forth. Any person who is a delegate to this convention can get on this floor and make an emotional appeal on the name 'Communist.' We all know that the name 'Communist' is covered with the blood of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. We all know that this name has been adopted in the fatal error of waiting until August 30th before we shall organize our party. The machine in the Socialist Party is wise. They have always adopted the policy whenever the revolutionary movement of the Socialist Party becomes powerful, of seeming to adopt the program of the revolutionists, and once this is adopted the machine will remain in control. Comrades, I want you to think back to the historic fight of 1912 between Hillquit and Hayward, when six months later Hayward was kicked out of the Socialist Party. I want you to remember how in 1917 in St. Louis, when the rank and file of the party demanded a revolutionary program, the reactionaries in the Socialist Party adopted a reactionary program—the St. Louis Program. . . . No sooner was it adopted, than it became a mere scrap of paper, and the machine muscles, which have never relented, and which are always been with the Left Wingers in principle.
Russia by the workers and peasants who are facing the bayonets of the entire capitalist world. We know that it has been adopted in Hungary. But this is not the time for us to act on emotions. This is the time for us to act with regard to the future of the American movement. If our movement is worth anything, we can march forward to our success with no concern for a revolution among the masses. The revolution is already manifested in the majority report. Our answer will be the Communist Party. Frightened men—a weak man strikes wildly and at random. But a man who knows a why and a wherefore of his acts is poised from the moment, and when he strikes he strikes with deadly effect. And that is what we strike. But are we men or are we children? If we have been kicked downstairs, we can walk upstairs again. Our part is not to play the part of some little miss who is in tears, but of a refugee who has already had experience in the revolution. Our part is to be a helps to the refugees. We have been outlawed and expelled for wanting to organize the Left. I sympathize with those who have been outlawed and expelled for wanting to organize a Communist Party and the rank and file will flock to us. Now, comrades, you either decide to establish the Communist Party or you decide to annihilate the Left Wing. If this conference is disbanded without any division about establishing a Communist Party, it will mean that we are going to lose the confidence of the rank and file and they will not have confidence in the present leaders of the Left Wing. Comrades, the rank and file have followed you until now because they hoped that this conference would build a Communist Party for them. But if they are disappointed in you, they will establish a Communist Party over your heads. Then, Comrades, you will beae, and you will come secondary in importance and not the leaders, as you would be if you said the word now. You will be in the same position as those traitors of the party that are now waiting to see how the official majority will go. Whether it will be with them or against them. Comrades, don't make that mistake. Don't go away from this place tonight. With or without deciding to have a Communist Party. (Great applause.)

Balham: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The proposition that we have to consider is a very important and a very definite one. We here need hesitate to make up his mind definitely. Those comrades from New York who have made contact with each other, and who have fought the leaders of the party, are in a very different position in this conference than the comrades who have come here as delegates from states and from locals recently adopting the Left Wing program. I am one of these delegates. Now, the Left Wing program to me as an individual, is not a new one except in some of its phases. I have been on the Left, I have been in the minority of a minority ever since I have been a member of the democratic movement, and that was in 1898. Now, Comrade Chairman mentions 1912 and 1917. But, 1912 and 1917 is not 1919. The conditions that existed then—the minds of the comrades and the political environment existing at that time were not the same as they are now. What the officials of the Socialist Party tell us, we can get away with I maintain they cannot do to-day in the present state of mind of not only the class-conscious workers organized in the Socialist Party, but of the working class in the United States, that the Socialist organizations throughout the world are watching the Left Wing conference. They are watching it from the Rand School, from the New York Call, from Chicago, and they are anxious—tickled to death to have a movement of separation at this time. Now, don't mistake me. Don't misunderstand me—you who have gone to the Left of the Left. I sympathize and I understand your position. I understand it only too well. I could not blame you at all—you who have been outlawed and expelled for wanting to take advantage of what you considered the psychological moment. Now, the Left Wing comrades I would say—remember what Marx says, "The proletariat of each country will have to deal with its bourgeoisie in its own country first." (Applause.) The Russian comrades in Russia, the Hungarian comrades in Hungary, and the Spartacists in Germany, and the Bolsheviks in the United States, that bourgeoisie and dealing with them well. Now, it is us to, and we have a movement to which and conditioned by the historical traditions and backgrounds existing on this continent. In view of this fact, we have to deal with a large percentage of un-emotional Anglo-Saxons, whose psychology is moulded by Anglo-Saxon traditions, history and psychology. We have to deal with that, and we have to take into consideration, that those members of the party who are not everlasting, and that they are not stirred with us yet. We have the majority with us on the proposition of organizing the Left Wing Conference, but we may not have them with us to organize a Communist Party here and now. They may repudiate that action, while they may be willing to back up in the convention in Chicago on August 30th, and then if we go there with our full rank and file and from this place tonight, our position and the knowledge that we can win, and the determination to win, will see us through all the rest of it. Comrades, I hold it a blunder for which we will pay and pay dear, to be not an error in principle, but in tactics, if we adopt this resolution now.
Correspondence

An Open Letter in reply to Alexander Stoklitsky in "The Communist."

PERSONALLY I do not care what attacks are made against me, either by the politicians of the Right Wing or of the Left Wing. I have long been immune to sensitiveness on the point of personal attacks. I realize, too, that it is sometimes necessary to discuss individuals as a means of getting at a question of policy, and those who participate in party work should be prepared to accept the most extreme kind for their errors—and anything done will be wrong in the eyes of some group or other. But your general condemnation of the Left Wing is hardly excused by enthusiasm for the Communist Party. You had better blend this passionate enthusiasm with a little judgment if you expect to make it possible for others to work with you without absolutely accepting your judgment as infallible at every moment on every point.

I have been laboring here in New York for one purpose: to bring all the Left Wing elements together, in spite of the split in the Party, on the program of a Communist Party on September 1. At this moment it appears that this goal is attained, and the majority and minority of the Conference will be represented by correspondence of the Right and the Left and the National Organization Committee. Meanwhile the Revolutionary Age has carried the consistent propaganda for a Communist Party, and everything done by me as National Secretary of the Left Wing has been focused on the organization of the new party. Nor am I to be rated as less valuable or of less credit for their contribution to the work of promoting the new party. The task is much too big for all of us together, and it will take much effort—and a spirit bigger than the bandying of names—to create in this country a real party of revolutionary socialism.

Yours in Communist Comradeship,

E. FERGUSON.

Petrograd in 1919

(Continued from page 11)

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Yours in Communist Comradeship,

E. FERGUSON.
FOR several weeks it has been the effort of the National Left Wing and the Russian-speaking Federal Council to stir up enthusiasm and proletarian ideals on our side. The best way of doing this was a communication from the Secretary to the Executive Committee of the Russian Federation asking for an official statement as to the stand of the Russian Federation with regard to support of the Left Wing, in view of the assurance by the Left Wing comrades that they were carrying a book of these stamps with them to the shop and union meetings and selling them to his comrades.

The following is an extract from the letter: "We have had the privilege of carrying a book of these stamps with us to the shop and union meetings and selling them to our comrades. The stamps are now ready and can be procured at this office. The fore-going resolution came before a regular meeting of the National Council on June 38th, and the following resolution was carried:

1) The National Left Wing Council stands for a Communist Party on September 1st. 1919. The Left Wing Conference for a September 1st Convention to organize the Communist Party under its own control, barring the minority group to form an independent Communist Party. It seems beyond question that this group is out for a little political maneuvering for control. But this is evident, also, that the National Executive Committee has left nothing undone to assure the formation of the Communist Party. We appeal to the comrades of the Majority group to clarify their desire in forming the Communist Party through participation in the Convention which is being called by the Minority of the Left Wing Conference on September 1st, 1919.

2) We associate ourselves with the N. E. C. in relation to the August 30th Emergency Conference, the following resolution was submitted to the National Secretary by the National Council:

"Having discussed the written statements issued by the National Left Wing Council and the telegram of the socialist: party reported by the Secretary of the National Left Wing Council, we the Central Executive Committees of the Lithuanian, Esthonian, Ukrainian, Polish and Russian Federation, came to the conclusion that these documents justify once again the position taken by the Minority of the Left Wing Conference, and call upon all the comrades to carry on the work of the creation of the Communist Party. We appeal to the comrades of the Majority group to clarify their desire in forming the Communist Party through participation in the Convention which is being called by the Minority of the Left Wing Conference on September 1st, 1919.

3) We associate ourselves with the N. E. C. in relation to the August 30th Emergency Conference, the following resolution was submitted to the National Secretary by the National Council:

"For the establishment of a Communist Party on September 1st, 1919, and in this convention..."

* * *

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Due to the tremendous success obtained at the "Left Wing Excursion" to Great Bear Mountains, last Saturday afternoon, July 12, the 1st and 2nd Assembly District Branches of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, decided to run a second excursion for the benefit of the Socialists who missed the first excursion. We are sending out the first excursion and were not able to get on the boat, as well as for the benefit of our comrades.

This second and last excursion will be held on Saturday afternoon, August 9th at Socialist Hall, 41 West 29th St., New York. The boat will leave the Pike Street Dock at 5:30 P.M. sharp. Dancing, singing, rowing, and other entertainments are on the program for this day. Tickets for the first excursion and were not able to get on the boat, as well as for the benefit of our comrades.

The Left Wing Executing Committee meets every evening at 7:30 at the Socialist Hall, 41 West 29th St., New York. Tickets are now ready and can be procured at this office.

* * *

Special Propaganda Stamps are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should see their branches to the basis of one for every twenty-five members in the Left Wing. The stamps are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should see their branches to the basis of one for every twenty-five members in the Left Wing. The stamps are now ready and can be procured at this office.

* * *

Branch secretaries should send in the place and date of their meetings so they can be published in this issue 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.

* * *

The 18th A. D. will hold an Entertainment and Dance on Saturday, August 9th at Socialist Hall, 41 West 29th St., New York. The proceeds will go to rebuild the branch headquarters, raised by the Right Wing.

* * *

MANHATTAN BRANCH NOTICE:

Nominations for delegates to the National Executive Committee will take place in every branch. Each branch will be made up to twelve members. These should be sent to the office in the names of the candidates so their names can be published in the "Age."

* * *

BRONX NOTES:

A special meeting of the Lettish branch will be held on Saturday evening, August 9th at 7.30 at 96 Hands Avenue. This branch will be held on Saturday evening, August 9th at 7.30 at 96 Hands Avenue. This branch will be held on Saturday evening, August 9th at 7.30 at 96 Hands Avenue. This branch will be held on Saturday evening, August 9th at 7.30 at 96 Hands Avenue. This branch.
THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Must Have Funds Immediately

Do you want this paper to suspend publication?

Do you want its revolutionary Socialist propaganda to stop?

Unless we have $1,000 before August 16, this paper will be forced to suspend publication.

Its increased size, its various improvements, are not covered by the price of 5 cents.

Owing to the controversy in the Left Wing movement, the donations upon which the paper is dependent have been reduced. This is only a temporary condition, but it must be overcome, now.

If you desire The Revolutionary Age to live send donations at once to

BENJAMIN GITLOW

Business Manager

43 West 29th Street, New York City