

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

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The Struggle of the New Year

THE birth of the year 1919 finds the world on the threshold of a new era. Out of the chaos of international war, national ambitions, commercial rivalries and diplomatic trickery is gradually emerging the real struggle—the war of the classes. Since the cessation of hostilities it is becoming gradually clearer that there are but two nations in the world, the working class nation and the capitalist nation. And between these two the battle line is flung.

Already two great countries have thrown aside the pretense of peace between the classes, and in one of these, Russia, the workers are definitely in the ascendancy, while in the other, Germany, the struggle is raging for the conquest of power, the proletariat slowly gaining the upperhand. Throughout the rest of the world reaction is, for the moment, holding sway. Flushed with the visionary triumph of victory in the international war, the workers of the Allied nations have paused in the fight, and capitalism is endeavoring to prolong the pause sufficiently to re-entrench itself, while at the same time preparing to crush the Russian workers and to uphold reaction in Germany.

Because of this very pause, because reaction is now riding the crest of the wave, Capitalism is becoming increasingly arrogant, is forgetting to be careful and is revealing its sinister designs. Frightened into caution by events in Russia, Capitalism made haste slowly at first and then forgot its danger sufficiently to openly aim at the destruction of the Russian workers, only to again receive a shock by the developments in Germany, but, reassured by the inaction of the workers of the Allied countries and spurred on by the necessity of its inherent greed, Capitalism is again forgetting its danger and is riding for a fall. The voices of the more farsighted of the capitalists are gradually being silenced and drunk with its own success Capitalism is throwing discretion to the world.

But the broad masses of Russia and Germany have felt the pulse of life in their veins, have glimpsed the possibilities of the future and having overcome their initial fear of action, are gathering power and momentum with amazing rapidity. The revolutionary instinct of the people having found expression at last is sweeping all before it, and is forcing the capitalists into open war. The revolutionary cry, "Workers of all coun-

tries unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain," sounded by Karl Marx half a century ago and since then voiced by Socialist propagandists in every country of the world, is now thundered from two hundred million throats.....

The year just gone saw the spread of this watch-cry from Russia to Germany, and in that year the thunder of the guns, the cries of the wounded, the groans of the dying and the weeping of the forsaken dulled the strength of Russia's voice. But in the year just born

the noise of international war is deadened, the triumphant cries of victory will soon be silenced, and then the voices of the advancing proletariat will be heard in many lands.

Every day brings the real issue into bolder relief. Capitalism has no choice, it must combat the advancing workers; but it can only combat them with other workers and the watch-cry is infectious. Only by obscuring the real issue can Capitalism hope to be successful. But the nature of the struggle that is at present develop-

ing tends to reveal, rather than obscure the issue. No longer can the workers be successfully rallied to battle against their brothers by the fear of a dread imperialism. The German and Russian workers have killed their imperialism and it is only in the Allied countries that Capitalism holds sway. But in the Allied countries the workers have been fighting and dying side by side, and any war that may develop between these countries can not rally the workers to the support of their various governments as did the last war.

On the fields of battle, on the grey stretches of the ocean, in the mills, mines and factories, and in the homes of the workers the dread import of international war has been realized. While the fight was actually in progress, the wounds were obscured, the grief was hidden, the hysteria of war kept the nations keyed up, but with the end of the fighting the workers are beginning to realize the enormity of the sacrifice and are beginning to balance it with the gains accruing from victory.

When the emptiness of victory is revealed, then the class struggle will flare up in the Allied countries. The old antagonisms of nation against nation will disappear and in their places will develop the antagonism of the class war. The year 1919, although it has been issued in to the ringing of bells proclaiming "peace on earth, good will to men," will not be a peaceful year. It will be a year fraught with perils, a year more momentous than any ever witnessed in the history of mankind, and although its days will be stained with blood, the blood of brothers shed by brothers, though it may not, in itself, be a happy year, yet the historic watch-cry of the workers, swelling loud and strong, foretells that 1919 is a year pregnant with happiness for the workers of the world.

Karl Marx

The International

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth.
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations.
We have been naught, we shall be all.*

CHORUS

*'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The International Party
Shall be the human race.*

*We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall.
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.*

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French Syndicalism

ON another page we publish the program of the French Syndicalists. It is a program of petty bourgeois paltering. It faces none of the real issues arising out of the war and the march of the Socialist movement in Russia and Germany. It attempts to safeguard labor by all sorts and sizes of legislation; it throws phrases about like a liberal politician; it approaches the vital questions of the hour, makes a bow and then veers off again, leaving them as it found them.

After fighting for democracy, the best the French Syndicalist movement, the one-time red, revolutionary terror of the moderate Socialists, can do is solemnly meet through its Federal Committee and demand the eight-hour day, a living wage, compulsory education and old age pensions. No wonder the capitalists tremble in their shoes! No wonder the "Tiger" of France boldly declares his program of reaction!

All through its wordy pronouncement we find not one word that would give an inkling that any of the representatives of French Labor ever heard of Capitalism. On every issue it discusses it declares for cooperation between the workers and their masters. It presupposes that the French soldier returning from the suffering of the battlefield is worth nothing more than a life of eight hours daily toil in the mine, factory and the field for the benefit of the few who own industry, that his child shall be entitled to go to school until the age of fourteen and that it shall go to the factory when its brain is just reaching the best stage of development, that his womankind shall work in the factory by day, but, in deference to his having won democracy, they will be prohibited from swelling the profits of the capitalists at night also!

The high cost of living shall be reduced, so that the French workers may not starve to death, sick benefits must be paid him when he falls a victim to some horrible disease contracted that his masters may live in luxury, old age pensions shall be dangled before his eyes, though he will never suffer long enough to receive them, and if through the graciousness of French imperialism a brother worker from another country shall be permitted to increase the wealth of the French capitalists, why that fortunate member of the human race will also work eight hours a day, get enough to live on, and be allowed to long for an old age pension!

It is an admirable program for the capitalists and they are indeed foolish and lacking in foresight if they do not immediately institute it all over the world. The French syndicalists are indeed the friends of their masters and they use their knowledge of the workers to the best interests of those masters. We wait with interest that day when they will be rewarded for their good offices.

The Situation in Ireland

WHATEVER else may be left in doubt by the result of the recent elections in Ireland, one thing stands out clearly: the Irish people by an overwhelming majority have declared for independence. The election was fought primarily on the issue of self-determination, the Irish Labor Party withdrawing their candidates at the eleventh hour in order to let the people declare themselves squarely on the question. Irish Labor stands for a republic, not merely for political independence, but for a Workers' Republic, and as in Ireland, as is unfortunately the case at the present moment in the majority of the nations of

the world, a large section of the people have not yet arrived at the stage where they are ready to embrace the real solution of the problems that trouble mankind, the labor party withdrew from the fight in order that the people might declare themselves on the question of political independence. Seventy per cent. of the voters have decided in favor of a republic.

Having been given such a clear mandate by the people it was only logical that the Sinn Fein party should immediately translate that mandate into action and call into being the republic created in Easter Week, 1916. The men who will assemble in Dublin as the representatives of the new republic have a tremendous task ahead of them, but, as McDonough said in his speech to the English court-martial after he had been sentenced to death, "There is always a chance for brave men who challenge fortune."

If these 72 men and one woman, with the example of Russia and Germany before them, are gifted with sufficient clearness of vision to see that the day of the workers has already dawned, and have the courage to act accordingly, then they will rally round them, not only the workers of the east, south and west, but also the victims of the sweatshops and factories of the industrialized north-east of Ulster and banish for all time the religious bigotry, based on lies and misunderstandings, that have kept asunder the workers of Ulster from their brothers in the rest of Ireland. Jim Larkin, with not one-tenth of the opportunity, united the two sections in the great industrial battle of Belfast in 1907 and on that foundation can be raised the structure of Irish working class unity.

But there is a still greater opportunity lying before the Sinn Feiners, if they adopt a fearless policy and institute the rule of the workers in Ireland they can swing behind them the broad masses of the industrial proletariat of England, Scotland and Wales and once this is accomplished the English government is powerless.

If, however, they adopt a policy of petty bourgeois republicanism, if they waste their efforts on reforms, if they pander to the property owners, the industrial masters, the slum landlords, the small landowners then they will fail and the struggle will continue until such time as either the Irish or British workers awake to the realities of the situation and, freeing themselves, help free the world.

They Are Still There!

AFTER the announcement, more or less unofficial, that the Allies would not send any more troops to Russia, the movement of French troops was reported near Odessa, and the British fleet, after bombarding the coast of the Baltic Provinces, landed troops in Riga.

Immediately upon the result of the British elections becoming known France announces her intentions of continuing the offensive against Russia. None of the allied countries have declared war on Russia, yet from all sides the troops of the Great Powers war on the people of Russia. From all sides they advance on the Soviet Republic of the workers and the people of the allied countries know nothing of their movements except from vague reports in the newspapers.

Are these people who fought to make the world safe for democracy not to have any voice in what their governments are doing in Russia? The common people of the world have no cause to fight with Russia; she is not menacing any country; she desires to send no armies into foreign territory to bring destitution in their wake. She is not looking for "a place in the sun"; she merely wishes to conduct her own affairs after the manner of the wishes of the majority of her people.

There can be no question that the Russian people, as a whole, are overwhelmingly behind the Soviets. The Bolsheviks have remained in power over a year in the face of tremendous opposition, both from within and without. Counter-revolution has employed every weapon it is capable of using against the government of the workers, foreign troops have supported Czaristic and reactionary dictators, but still the Russian workers support the Soviets, support them with their lives. It is absurd to suppose that the presence of the Allies in Russia is for the benefit of Russia. There

can be only one reason for intervention. The Soviet government menaces the rule of Capitalism everywhere; it is the personification of the new ideals of the workers. Are the peoples of the world willing that their brothers in Russia should be crushed because they stand for the emancipation of the world's disinherited? Are the common people going to allow themselves to be made the tools of the capitalist interests?

Since it has become clear that the Allies are not wanted by the majority of the Russian people, since the fall of the German autocracy it is plain that the Bolsheviks are not pro-Kaiser, and new excuses have to be manufactured to explain the presence of foreign troops. The press has started to wage a new campaign of misrepresentation in order to strengthen the interventionists: it now develops that the Allies have promised to aid the Czecho-Slovaks, that this aid has not been forthcoming and as a result the poor Czecho-Slovaks are in imminent danger of destruction, that they are trying to get out of Russia but are unable to move unless the Allies help them and that the Allies must fulfill their promise to these poor people.

This story is in line with all the stories that the bourgeois press has given to the people of the Allied countries. The Russians are and have been all along desirous that the Czecho-Slovaks leave Russia. The Soviet government has no desire to wage war on the Czecho-Slovaks, they have offered to allow them to depart in peace many times, but the Czecho-Slovaks have allowed themselves to be made the backbone of the counter-revolution. They fought against the Russians but if they wish to they may depart to their own country. Why don't they go? Why don't all the foreign troops leave Russia? Russia wants to be left in peace. The workers of the Allied countries have no quarrel with the Russians. But alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok. . . .

The British Elections

THE result of the British elections is a clear victory for reaction. Disguise it under what sophistry it may, the British Labor Party was soundly thrashed. Lloyd-George supported by a tremendous tory majority has swept the country and the landed gentry and the industrial barons are in the saddle as a result of the recent victory for democracy. All the so-called leaders of the British working class went down to ignominious defeat. Arthur Henderson, the idol of the liberal bourgeoisie of the Allied countries, was beaten and the British Labor Party is left leaderless. Asquith, who declared war, also met defeat, and the official Liberal Party, that raised Lloyd-George to prominence, is leaderless. Even the coalition Liberals will have to eat humble pie; only the tories, the aristocrats of the aristocrats, have gained a victory and Lloyd-George must henceforth toe the mark, even in utterance, as he has so long toed it in action.

The result is a clear mandate for the crushing of Germany, the invasion of Russia and the stifling of Ireland. The Khaki election of the Boer war days was a liberal victory in comparison with the recent halloing. But the result is not so discouraging as would appear at first sight. The election of a liberal parliament, with a strong Labor minority would have been a safety valve for the unrest that will develop in England as unemployment increases, wages drop and hours lengthen. Reaction is the scion of victory, but revolution is the daughter of defeat. And the defeat of the British workers is not yet apparent, but it will develop much more clearly under the present conditions than if the liberals had succeeded. The issue will become sharper as a result of the election. Lloyd-George and the tories have been swept into power on a false conception of the situation, and when the illusions of victory have passed the reaction will swing farther to the left as a result of the tory ascendancy.

There is, however, another aspect of the question. The fact that none of the liberal-labor leaders of the Henderson type were successful merely shows that the attempt to hold the middle of the road is futile. None of the so-called strong men of Britain adopted a fearless policy. They were continually compromising with both sides. Declaring for labor and acquiescing with the government that was jailing the fearless advocates of labor's cause, declaring for the International and at the same time refusing to accept

the logical actions of internationalists, supporting the Bolsheviks and refusing to make their acts square with their words. While these men were adopting this vacillating policy their opponents were standing strongly on their program; they were insistent on the fact that Germany must be crushed; that she must be made to pay to the fullest extent of her capacity; that revenge is sweet. . . . And in the first flush of victory the country rallies to their policies.

And the Tories the world over are unable to understand the limitations of their victory. Already the British elections have borne fruit in France. Clemenceau comes out flatly for a victory of conquest and, not satisfied with the military defeat of Germany, he turns his eyes to the conquest of the workers of Russia. Lloyd-George's hand will also be forced and the peace conference will reflect the result. Out of the demands that the Tories will insist upon as a result of their victories, the intervention of the proletariat will develop.

This new government of England will not retain its present form for any length of time. After the Boer war election the reaction was swift; after this war it will be swifter and stronger in proportion as the sacrifices were heavier. British Socialism must recognize the fact that it has for the moment faced defeat. It is useless to count the vote all over the country and prove by figures that the election was really a victory because a few more labor men have been elected. The labor men in the new parliament will have no power. The division of the house is not such as to enable them to influence its acts; in fact, the British working class has no voice in the new government. Reaction holds sway and indications are not lacking that it is going to make the most of its advantage. A big navy is to be forced on the people, a large army will be retained and the offensive against the Bolsheviks will be continued on larger lines.

The retention of the German colonies is assured and such retention by Britain means the giving of concessions to Italy and France at the expense of some other peoples. As the revolutionary proletariat of Germany gains the ascendancy the cry will be raised in England for the suppression of "Bolshevism" and Lloyd-George will probably be forced to act against Germany. All these actions will add to the discontent that is gradually becoming apparent among the British masses. Unrest at home and dissatisfaction with the attitude of the government abroad, met by a policy of repression, which is the Tories' only answer to the discontent of the people, will tend to strengthen the revolutionary proletariat.

Western Europe is afire with revolution and when the British workers see their real condition it will be surprising if some of the sparks from the European fire do not burst into open flame. The Irish situation will also contribute to the general discontent. Tory governments are notorious for their inability to handle the Irish question, even in the slipshod manner of the Liberals, and Ireland is in no mood to be trifled with. Taking into consideration the recent actions of the workers in Australia and the present temper of the Canadian people it is evident that all the artifices of the best liberal statesmen will be necessary to stave off Bolshevism. But the liberal statesmen have just met defeat. Even if Asquith and Henderson succeed in obtaining seats at a By-election, they will have no power. Reaction rules, the Tories, booted and spurred, are in the saddle. . . . Liberalism no longer intervenes between the Tories and the workers. The revolution is brewing. . . .

The International Socialist Congress

THE New York Call of December 31 carries a dispatch from its Paris correspondent to the effect that "a high American official" had intimated that passports would be granted to "American Labor Socialist delegates in order that they may attend the International Socialist Congress," scheduled to meet in Lausanne, Switzerland, on January 6.

What the makeup of this "International Socialist Congress" will be is at the moment shrouded in mystery. All that appears to be known about it on this side of the Atlantic is that Camille Huysmans, the

Belgian social-patriot and pre-war secretary of the Second International, has sent a cablegram asking the American Socialist Party to appoint three delegates.

To put it mildly, it is astonishing that the holding of this congress should be of such immediate importance as to render it necessary to fix such a date for its opening that prevents the members of the Socialist parties of the various countries from electing their delegates, or from instructing those delegates as to what stand they shall take on the various momentous questions now facing humanity. All the more is this haste astonishing when we remember that during the month of July, 1914, it was not thought necessary to call the International together. During that crisis the time was too short!

Since the last International Socialist Congress was held many changes have taken place, many men and women whom the Socialist movement, the world over, was wont to trust have long since betrayed that trust. Have these people, who kept silent during the bloody years since August, 1914, when the workers, misled and betrayed, writhed in the agony of international war, suddenly got a message of such import that they can't wait a month or so longer, until the membership of the International Socialist movement voices its desires? Are these men and women going to meet in the name of Socialism and again betray the revolutionary proletariat of the world?

Are they suddenly going to attend an International congress, who a short time ago refused to sit with the delegates from certain other countries, because, forsooth, their particular capitalist masters were at war with the capitalists of those countries; who, a few short weeks ago, were denying the existence of the International? Are these men and women, who betrayed the International and practically forced the workers into the holocaust of fratricidal slaughter, going to again be allowed to disgrace the name of Socialism?

Has Huysmans the insolence to address the movement to which Debs, Lenin, Liebknecht, Trotzky, Jaures, Merrheim, Connolly, Luxemburg, Roland Host, Fritz Adler, Larkin, Hardie, MacLean, Lazari and the thousands of martyred, jailed, exiled men and women have given their lives and their energies? Are the social-patriots of the various governments, who have taken office and by their presence in those governments, sanctioned the invasion of Russia, going to meet in an International Socialist Congress with the representatives of Russia, are they going to stretch out their blood-stained hands to the Russian delegates and call them "comrade"? Or are they, like the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, going to foist Kerensky or some other Russian reactionary such as Mastov or Axelrod on the congress? Perhaps this hastily called "International Socialist Congress" is going to "frame-up" Russia and Germany after the manner of the English and French "Socialist" delegations who tried to push Russia back in the war, or as Schiedemann tried to force Italy in on the side of Germany.

The Socialist movement has had enough of international congresses dominated by such as these. No wonder Huysmans, Vandervelde & Co. call an "International Socialist Congress" in such a hurry that the rank and file of the Socialist movement will have no voice in the selection of the delegates.

Are these valiant apostles of democracy going to confer with Scheidemann or are they going to repudiate him? He was partly responsible for the war, according to their own statements; he is at this very moment threatening to bring fresh war upon those workers of Germany who will not forget that they are Socialists; he acquiesced in the Brest-Litovsk "peace of violence." . . . If they confer with Scheidemann how are they going to condone his actions in supporting Imperial Germany, if they are going to repudiate him how are they going to explain their own actions in supporting their respective imperialisms?

Does the International know these people who, a few months ago, knew not the International? Does the International Socialist movement desire a congress

picked on the old slate? Does the American Socialist movement desire to participate in a congress convened by Huysmans, and of which it knows nothing? The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party has been unable to meet since the armistice was signed. Although several branches and locals have urged the convocation of an emergency convention nothing has been done regarding it, no preparation has been made for the election of delegates to attend an International Socialist Conference, nor has the membership been given an opportunity of saying under what conditions it would agree to participate in such a conference. It is true that we are committed to the Zimmerwald International and have thus, in a limited measure, declared ourselves, and certainly the St. Louis Majority Report, which is the last considered expression of the membership, would not give any grounds for the supposition that we favor a yellow International.

The Second International is dead, killed by these very people who would now resurrect it, and the Zimmerwald International stands as the only expression of the movement. Upon the framework of the Zimmerwald Conference the new international must be built if the Socialist movement of the world is to remain true to itself. The only International that can ride the crest of the wave sweeping over Russia, Germany and on westward is the Red Third International and Camille Huysmans is not the man to call it.

Bolshevikjabs

ALL this discussion regarding the future of the German colonies seems very strange when we have heard so much about self-determination. But perhaps the determination depends on who the particular "self" refers to.

* * *

Still judging by the recent action of the Irish there appears to be something in this self-determination after all, although we are sure that Lloyd-George will feel very much annoyed at the translation of his words into action.

* * *

We would like very much to extend our congratulations to Mr. Asquith on his defeat. Although the newspapers have not yet awakened to the fact, Henry Herbert is in a very strong position. What with the Bolsheviks, the Irish, the Tories, the coming unemployment in England and the consequent awakening of the workers to the realization of the truth of the old proverb, "All is not gold that glitters," Lloyd-George is in for a very awkward time, to say the very least. And Henry Herbert can always write a letter to the papers explaining exactly where David made the mistake and adding a postscript to the effect that, of course, one could hardly expect anything better from the present government.

* * *

It is reported that General von Ludendorff has gone to Russia and has been in conference there with Lenin. Although it has not yet been officially reported, we have the best reasons for believing that Admiral Kolchack has gone to Germany for the purpose of conferring with Liebknecht. The purposes of such conferences are not yet very clear, but it is assumed in responsible quarters that Ludendorff is an applicant for the position of doorman at the Bolshevik headquarters and that in view of the fact that he is the possessor of a fine collection of uniforms and decorations he will in all probability get the job.

* * *

Samuel Gompers is going to represent American Labor at the Labor Conference, which is merely another instance of self-determination.

* * *

M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, is reported as saying that the Czar and his family were put in a small room and jabbed with bayonets all night long and then shot in the morning. Which merely goes to show that royalties are like cats—they have many lives. M. Pichon's informant is Prince Lvoff, which, doubtless, accounts for the fact that the late Czar's family is still alive, and although in reduced circumstances, from a financial and social standpoint, yet in good health.

The Bad Russian Bolsheviki

INDEED, nothing is more frightful in this world than these Bolsheviki—a bad omen in the night! For instance, to mention only their chief—Lenin. He is the very image of a beast, an assassin, if we are to believe the local newspapers and magazines (and it is said they may, nay, must be believed). His exterior may be described thus: colossal in stature, squinting Chinese eyes, a large belt under which are always thrust at least a dozen revolvers, in a large brimmed hat—indeed, a very picture of Villa, perhaps a trifle more dreadful! So much for his exterior, and as to his deeds, things look still worse. As morning comes he thrusts a half dozen, and sometimes a full dozen, bombs into his pockets and goes out in the street where he starts to throw them at every passerby and to shoot from the revolvers! Killing thus about half a hundred men he returns home and rests till lunch time; during the lunch hour he engages in the same sort of business and night finds him doing the same thing all over again. So it comes to pass that each day he murders at least a few hundred individuals. Is it not dreadful? This sort of things forms the subject of the newspapers, and we cannot but to believe—for they know everything. Such is Lenin, but the rest of the Bolsheviki are really not much better. Their only occupation consists in torturing and killing bankers, factory owners, engineers, artists and writers. Here is M. Gorki, for an example. He is indeed a genius, a universally known writer, but that could not spare him from the Bolsheviki. They have tortured and beaten him up so much that

finally he could bear it no longer and . . . himself became a Bolsheviki! And he threw in his wife into the bargain; she has turned Bolsheviki. At the present moment they work together with Lenin. Poor Gorki! He must be now such a frightful sight!

Or, there is Breshkovskaya. . . . The Bolsheviki several times sent her to the world beyond! Kind-hearted folks scribbling in one of the local Russian papers (A Menshevist paper; hence, also, a quite reliable source) shed even a few tears over her death: "The poor dear old soul was murdered; gone is our grandmother—a murder, a murder!"—such were the mourning wails over the dead body. "The Czars tortured her—the incomparable one—and yet they could not kill her; the Czar's servants tortured her, but could not make an end of her. But . . . came the Bolsheviki and killed her! . . ."

Yes, they killed her—nay, she was several times killed. Are not the Bolsheviki monsters after that? Not satisfied with killing her once, killing her several times!

And suddenly . . . suddenly news is flashed to the effect that the "grandmother" is still alive, is, in fact, on her way to America to her "grandchildren," and, sitting in their editorial offices, these "undertakers" grumble: "The idea! An old woman like her! We have gone to the trouble to hold a mass over her, furnished the funeral and even delivered the funeral orations and written obituary articles in honor of her. . . . Well! She might have

known better! She had better lay quietly under the earth! But no. . . . Now she gets up and troubles her own old bones; why has she elected to resurrect herself! However, the worst of it is that the deuce takes her over to America! Really, the old woman has lost her senses!"

Well, why should we trouble so much about her? . . . The grandmother, as everybody knows, is an old woman! But the young ones have been slaughtered by the Bolsheviki. They killed Tereschenko; Spirodonava was tortured to death, and many, many others. Oh, murderers!

The other day a correspondent of one of the big American bourgeois newspapers warned his readers thus: "Lenin," he wrote, "is a man of great talents, deep thoughts and a statesman, and we make a big mistake not reckoning with him. . . ."

There you are! As for myself I do not believe all this thing. Why the deuce do they talk about the Bolsheviki being capable people and all this rot? Why they—the Bolsheviki—cannot even kill in a proper manner: today they kill a person, and tomorrow the murdered one is resurrected and walks abroad the sinful earth as if nothing had happened. If the capitalist hand will press a little harder and crush our brother-workmen! Then, of course, do not expect any resurrection business! Our capitalists, once they kill, make a clean job of it. But with the Bolsheviki it is different. All their victims of today are resurrected tomorrow!

The Brotherhood of Sham

By Samuel Smalhausen

THE season of Uriah-Heapy hypocrisy and universal fakerie is, alas, once more here. The earth resounds with the glad tidings of the re-birth of the Christian spirit. And what, pray, are these good tidings that fill the tremulous air at this high tide of the year? There be first, good brethren, the exhilarating Christian narrative of the most bloody war ever waged by mortal man in which (for the greater glory of God, no doubt) ten million Christian souls were murdered and twenty million Christian souls were mutilated (for the greater glory of God, no doubt). There be second, good brethren, the exhilarating Christian narrative of the occupancy of Governmental seats of (irresponsible) authority by the most reactionary clique of pompous politicians that ever conspired against the destinies and hopes of the common people.

Never before in the history of Parliamentary institutions was misrepresented government so powerfully entrenched as in the year of our Christian Lord, 1918. There be third, oh fellow Christians, the hair-raising knowledge that as a consequence of a world war motivated (as all good Christians believe, no doubt) by the thrilling ideal of a whole world made utterly safe for real democracy, we discover strangely that the only forces *not* represented at the culminating "Peace" Conference are the forces of *De-*

mocracy, Laborism, Socialism, Feminism, Internationalism, Sovietism, in sober truth, all the liberating radicalisms of our emerging social democracies—what of them in this, the most appalling crisis in the evolution of the modern State? We are piously exhorted to thank the Christian God for having brought us peace on earth and good will to man (and just before Xmas, too). This bloody Peace, stained with the counter-revolutionary invasion of Russia; this guilty Peace, stained with the anti-human creed of the competing imperialisms; this unclean Peace, botched by vainglory, sacred-egoism, secret manoeuvring, capitalist collusion—we humbly thank Thee, oh Christian God, for thy abundant mercies in this the unforgettable year of our common undoing. We thank Thee for having entrusted the Christian Capitalist Bourgeoisie with the high pacific task of undoing (by the employ of the historically legitimate Christian methods of blood and iron and steel) the revolutionary aspirations of the common folk of Finland, the Ukraine, Germany, Russia, Italy. . . . No one who surveys with coldly impartial eye the habitable globe can longer doubt that the dream of Christ (that enigmatically bellicose pacifist) is illuminating the Christmas horizon! Behold the Allied occupation of Siberia; behold the Japanese throttle-grip on meek unchristian China; behold the tantalizingly dem-

ocratic ambitions of an unchastened "Italy"; behold the unaccustomed spectacle of east-European pogroms; behold, oh my Christian brethren, these blood-red symbols of peace on earth and say not we owe aught but homage and unconditional soul-surrender to the beneficent, all-wise, all-merciful God of the truth-loving Christians.

Come, little brother, be not downcast. The swelling chorus of the Brotherhood of Sham fills the discerning heart with a richer music than heathen man is attuned to. Let thy wicked heart be straightway purged and thy conscience be made whole and thy face be clean uplifted, for the merry yule-tide is here. The Lord be praised. . . . *Truth* (as witness the American newspaper reports on Russia); *Justice* (as witness the punishments meted out by gentle Christian Judges to American-Revolutionary Socialists); *Charity* (as witness the reign of profiteering in our God-fearing land);—these three, Truth, Justice, Charity, dwell side by side in our land, the healing virtues of a civilization founded on force and fraud and rescued from a bloody oblivion by the sensitive reverence for their betters, by the superstitious acquiescence in the tyrannical rule of the mighty *Federalism* on the part of the overawed masses. The war of the nations is well nigh over. The war of the classes has well-nigh begun.

The Lettish Socialists in America

From the "Novy Mir"

THE Lettish Federation of the American Socialist Party is a good example of revolutionary organization, unity and Socialist consistency. In this respect it can serve as an example, not only for national federations grouping around the Socialist Party, but also for the party itself. It can be stated without exaggeration that the cause of revolutionary Socialism would have considerably profited in America had all organizations comprising the S. P. acted as the Lithuanian organizations.

The round number of the membership of the Lettish Federation is about 2,000 and almost all of them are consistent Bolsheviki adherents of the Russian Soviet government and fully conscious. In the American Socialist Party they comprise the core of the left wing. The Lettish Menshevism is a quantity not to be reckoned with. The organ of the Let-

tish Mensheviki, "Darba Bals" (The voice of Labor"), ceased to be published and the small group of Mensheviki formerly with the Lettish Federation has begun to dwindle.

Now almost all Lettish Socialists are partisans of the Third International and the principles of the Communist Party (Bolsheviki). These principles they try to introduce into the American Socialist Party. In this case they do not merely limit themselves to words, but are doing active work.

It is of interest to learn how the Lettish Bolsheviki struggled for mastery in the Lettish Socialist movement. This struggle was a desperate one. Almost up to 1914 the leaders of the Lettish Socialist organizations in America stood on the platform of the American Socialist Party, in which revolutionary phrase

lives in perfect harmony with an actual opportunism. They did not wish to lend their ear to revolutionary Socialism in the slightest degree. Instead of an uncompromising struggle with opportunism they advanced the idea of a co-operation of Bolshevism with Menshevism, intimating, in fact, that there was not any great difference between the two movements. The arrival in America of the old Lettish revolutionary and theoretician, Rosin, with the active help of his partisans put Bolshevism on a firm footing in the Lettish organization. Already before the war our Lettish comrades had the opportunity of getting acquainted with the principal differences expressed in the Socialist movement. "Strahdnoeks," the organ of the Lettish Federation has become the fighting organ of revolutionary Marxism and expresses current affairs from that particular point of view.

The Background of the German Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

I

Socialism and the War

THE German Revolution is a product of the war and of the proletarian revolution in Russia. In turn, the war and the Revolution are products of the development of Capitalism and Imperialism, of the sharpening of class antagonisms generally and of the proletarian class struggle in particular.

Imperialism, the war, the attitude of Socialism during the war, the proletarian revolution in Russia, the aggravated economic and political crisis and its consequent development of class action—these are the causative, objective and subjective factors in the coming of the German Revolution, which, jointly with the proletarian revolution in Russia, is determining the destiny of the world.

The war was a product of Imperialism—of the economic, financial, political and territorial antagonisms and appetites of Imperialism.

What is Imperialism, its relation to Capitalism and Socialism?

Owing to the concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital, the development of technology generally, competitive Capitalism develops into monopolistic Capitalism. As industry concentrates and capital becomes monopolistic, three acts emerge: one, industry comes under the domination of finance-capital and the banks, finance-capital being the unity of industrial capital with banking capital; two, the home market becomes insufficient to absorb the energy of capital, it has become industrialized, and new, undeveloped regions must be acquired and industrialized; three, the terrific accumulations of capital produce a surplus capital which is not absorbed by the means of the national economy, and which must be exported. The export of capital, accordingly, and its correlative industrial aspects, becomes the nerve-centre of monopolistic Capitalism and Imperialism; and a struggle ensues between each national Capitalism and Imperialism or control of foreign investment markets and undeveloped territory which can absorb equally surplus capital and means of production, of money and machinery.

Capitalism, at the stage of Imperialism, becomes international, but its form and control remain national; and the contradictions inherent in this condition produce acute antagonisms and war. Imperialistic Capitalism, moreover, is the final stage of Capitalism in this sense: that it has become parasitic, depending upon the exploitation of "backward" peoples, that it has developed fully the means of production compatible with the limitations of the private ownership of these means of production, and that it has projected the necessity of international production, a necessity that implies either the Social Revolution and Socialism, or war and the explosive antagonisms of imperialistic Capitalism. Only Socialism could solve the multiplying contradictions of Imperialism: but as Capitalism cannot accept Socialism, it chooses the desperate means of war.

Under Imperialism, the broadening of the economic opportunity of one nation necessarily means limiting the opportunity of a competing nation; each nation struggles, at first peacefully, for control of investment markets and undeveloped territory; but a time comes when this competition is insufficient, the antagonisms flare up, implacably, and war results—and out of war comes the revolutionary crisis and revolutionary action, the proletarian class struggle against war, against Capitalism and Imperialism.

The "national" question in the Great War, of Serbia and others, were of minor importance. The clash was between two groups of imperialistic belligerents; the war for which Serbia served as the pretext had been preparing for years, and might have flared up at the time of the Agadair crisis, when the issue was clearly imperialistic: whether French capital or German capital should exploit the resources of Morocco, which Imperialism should conquer the other.

In this imperialistic clash, Germany, because of peculiar historical causes, was immediately on the aggressive. Her two great rivals, France and Great Britain, were established; they had colonies which served as investment markets and undeveloped territory, and had penetrated financially all corners of the world; but Germany, having arrived later as a capitalist nation, possessed none of these advantages; and Germany, accordingly, had to assume the offensive in the great imperialistic struggle. But all these nations were imperialistic; and all were fundamentally on the aggressive, since Imperialism itself is the aggressor, actively or negatively.

The war flared up in August, 1914. And a momentous thing happened: Socialism, majority Socialism which had prophesied the war on the basis of the

antagonisms of Imperialism, which had declared against the war, accepted the war and the government policy immediately upon the declaration of war. Each national Socialism, the majority Socialism in each nation, declared that its own country was on the defensive and that others were the aggressors; majority Socialism declared that the aspirations of the proletariat and Socialism depended upon victory for its own nation, its own Imperialism, and justified the war, manufacturing the popular ideology for the war. The German majority Socialists voted the war credits; the French Socialists voted credits and accepted direct responsibility for the war by sending its own representatives into the bourgeois cabinet; Austrian Socialism, British Laborism and Belgian Socialism acted identically. (Serbian and Italian Socialism, and, with the exception of Plekhanov & Co., Russian Socialism, remained faithful to Socialist and international ideals and acted against the war.) The call had come for the revolutionary struggle, but the dominant, petty bourgeois Socialism accepted Imperialism and the counter-revolution.

This brought the collapse of the International, since the most important parties of Socialism accepted nationalism and social-Imperialism. The collapse did not consist in failure to prevent the war, but in accepting and justifying the war, manufacturing its ideology, declaring that an imperialistic war was in accord with Socialism, acting to prevent proletarian action against the war. It was betrayal of Socialism and the proletariat. Socialism, the dominant Socialism, had become nationalistic and petty bourgeois, a phase of the national liberal reform movement—had abandoned the revolutionary tasks of Socialism and developed into a conservative and conserving factor in the governing system of things.

Imperialism and the war had objectively introduced the social-revolutionary era—and the war had precipitated the revolutionary crisis. The policy of international Socialism as formulated at the Basel Socialist Congress was that, should war eventuate, it was the task of Socialism to use the economic and political crisis to develop revolutionary action for the overthrow of Capitalism. Majority Socialism argued that; since the proletariat did not make a revolution upon the declaration of war, there was no alternative but to support the war, "revolution" having proven an illusion. But this was a miserable subterfuge—it was majority Socialism that abandoned the revolution and the masses. Revolutionary Socialism never imagined that the war would immediately bring a revolution; it affirmed that the war would objectively create a revolutionary crisis which it was the task of Social-

ism to struggle to convert definitely into the Social Revolution. Majority Socialism abandoned this task; and under the stress of the war and its nationalistic, social-patriotic policy, developed into a counter-revolutionary instrument of Capitalism and Imperialism—against Socialism and the proletariat.

The collapse of the dominant Socialism was most miserable and complete in Germany. The Social Democratic Party there had been the most powerful of all Socialist parties, the exemplar of international Socialism; and the disgrace of its acceptance and justification of an imperialistic war of conquest was as great as its previous prestige.

Majority Socialism in Germany developed into a shameless ally of the government and the war. It sent its agents to Italy to urge Socialists to compel the government to enter the war as an ally of Germany—just as the French Socialist Jules Guesde urged similar action to make Italy an ally of French Imperialism. The class character of Socialism was abandoned. While the German proletariat was being slaughtered in a war of conquest, German majority Socialism justified the slaughter and urged the proletariat to acquiesce. A certain section of German Socialism proclaimed boldly that Imperialism was necessary or the realization of Socialism. Majority Socialism allied itself with the Imperial Government and the General Staff, against Socialism and the proletariat, allied itself with the police against groups representing revolutionary Socialism.

On August 4, 1914, the Socialist representatives in the Reichstag, through Hugo Haase, had voted solidly for the war credit. But in the caucus there had been a division, eighteen having opposed the affirmative action, including Karl Liebknecht; the "party" discipline prevented them from voting "no" in the Reichstag. But in December, Liebknecht voted "no" on the credit; and this vote on a subsequent credit grew to eighteen. In May, 1916, Hugo Haase and others who voted against the credits were expelled from the German Socialist Parliamentary group; and in April, 1917, Haase and the growing minority within the Social Democratic Party organized a new party, the Independent Socialist Party. This party was, largely, against the war, not on revolutionary Socialist grounds, but on liberal, petty bourgeois and pacifist grounds; Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and others attacked the party bitterly as not being in accord with revolutionary Socialism. The revolutionary Socialists organized in the Spartacus Group and the Group Internationale, their policy being the struggle for the proletarian revolution in Germany—representing the real tendency and policy of revolutionary Socialism.

It was inevitable that the war should intensify Socialist divisions. The masses, abandoned by their unions and by majority Socialism, had to march quietly to the shambles; but as the war continued and the crisis became more intense, the masses began to stir, revolutionary currents developed against the war—all of which influenced organized Socialism. The Socialist minority against the war developed increasing strength everywhere; but this minority itself was divided: one faction, represented by the Independent Socialist Party in Germany and by Jean Longuet in France, was "against the war" on pacifist grounds; it did not embrace revolutionary Socialism; it wished to reconstitute the Socialist movement as it had been prior to August 4, 1914—this action did not realize that the old movement, its immediate purposes and tactics, was dead, and that the new social-revolutionary epoch of Imperialism required new immediate purposes and tactics: the revolutionary struggle against war and Imperialism by means of mass action and civil war. This revolutionary policy was the policy of the other faction, represented by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, by Loriot and Merrheim in France, by most of the Socialists in Italy, by Anton Pannekoek and his party in Holland, by MacLean and others in England, and by the Bolsheviks in Russia. The struggle of Socialism against the war could be nothing else than a struggle for the Social Revolution. . . .

The horrors of the war, its slaughter, its demoralization of industry, its hopeless character, more and more developed the subjective conditions for revolutionary proletarian action. The Revolution flared up first in Russia, because of the more acute disorganization there, the inefficient character of Czarism and the revolutionary consciousness and reserves that the proletariat had acquired in the Revolution of 1905. The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, was the first break in the imperialistic war, the initial call to the European Revolution.

MASS MEETING

to demand the release of all
Political Prisoners

Sunday, January 5, 1919

at 2 p. m.

...in...

Grand Opera House

cor. Washington and Dover Sts.

SPEAKERS:

Jacob Panken

New York Municipal Judge

Eadmonn MacAlpine

Music and Revolutionary Songs

ADMISSION FREE

Auspices Boston Socialist Party

Tschitcherin's Report to the Fifth Soviet Congress, July, 1918

Translated from the *De Nieuwe Tijd*, the Dutch left wing Socialist magazine, by B. Auerhaan.

I

DURING the period that followed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace, we find that our foreign policy developed along different lines than those followed during the first few months after the October Revolution. (October Revolution according to the Russian calendar, is known as the November Revolution, the proletarian revolution of November 6 and 7, 1917.) The basis of our foreign policy since the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 has been a revolutionary offensive.

This policy kept step with an immediately expected World Revolution for which the Russian October Revolution would have been the signal. It was especially meant to reach the revolutionary proletariat of all countries and to arouse them to combat imperialism and the present capitalist system of society. (We remind our readers that at this time until the peace of Brest-Litovsk, not Tschitcherin, but Trotzky, was People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs.)

After the proletariat of other countries refused their direct support for the destruction of revolutionary Russia, our foreign policy was radically changed through the occupation of Finland, the Ukraine, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Lithuania and White Russia by the armies of German-Austrian Imperialism. In the last four months (March to June, 1918) we were compelled to make it our object to avoid all the dangers which menaced us from all sides and to gain as much time as possible: in the first place, to assist the growth of the proletarian movements in other countries, and in the second place, to establish more firmly the political and social ideals of the Soviet government amongst the broad masses of the people of Russia and to bring about their united support for the program of the Soviets.

Soviet Russia, with as yet no force sufficient to protect its own boundaries, surrounded by enemies waiting for its downfall, suffering from a period of unbelievable deterioration caused by the war and Czarism, and always cognizant of the dangers which threatened it at every step, had to be constantly vigilant in its foreign policy. The policy of delay was possible thanks to the diversity of interest, not only of both coalitions (the Central Powers and the Allied Powers), but also within each of these groups and in the respective imperialism of all the warring countries. The position on the Western Front (Belgium-France) bound the powers of both coalitions temporarily to such an extent that neither of the two decided to aim at the direct and entire destruction of Russia.

A section of these imperialistic groups in both coalitions thinks of the future, of after the war, of economic relations with Russia, with this world market especially ripe for development. This element in both coalitions would prefer a compromise instead of an annexation policy for the sake of economic advantages. The hope to embroil Russia in the war, while her army is not built up, plays a part in the calculations of both coalitions. The military party in each group would prefer an attack for the suppression of the Soviet government of Russia.

The Soviet government, although it had decided upon a waiting policy because it did not strive for a war of revenge, was, nevertheless, compelled, after the peace of Brest-Litovsk, to work for armed resistance and at the same time to reckon with those elements who were opposing the war parties. These elements are as yet weak and we are not able to strengthen them through our own military power. The ever-growing proletarian movement has not as yet come to a climax and therefore our report is a grave and serious one. A report about our retreat, about the great sacrifices which we make in order to give Russia an opportunity to get on her feet, to organize her forces and to wait for the moment when the proletariat of other countries will help us to bring the So-

cialist Revolution of October, 1917, to a successful conclusion.

The period following the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace is characteristic because the German offensive was not marked on the whole Eastern Front by a distinct line. Finland and the Ukraine were free of Soviet troops, but the masses of these parts continued the struggle. The Entente Powers withdrew during this time their entire military support, at the same time remaining as rulers in places from which they should have withdrawn. As a momentary proof that the relations between Russia and the Central Powers was changed to ordinary peaceful relations, we must point to the arrival of Count von Mirbach (who was afterwards assassinated by Russian counter-revolutionists) in Moscow on April 23, 1918, and the arrival of our Russian comrade, Joffe, in Berlin on April 20, 1918.

Concerning the former allies of Russia, we must look upon the landing of Japanese troops in Vladivostok on April 5, which landing was, nevertheless, accompanied by assurances from Japan's allies that this fact was not meant as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. In the meantime a great section of the English and French press was carrying on propaganda for the occupation of Russia under the slogan that such intervention was meant for the saving of Russia. But the government of the Entente Powers adhered to a very careful policy regarding Russia, especially did the government of the United

States of America adopt a decidedly friendly attitude.

The time which now followed was indeed critical with regard to Germany. The German-Finnish and the German-Austrian armies after having occupied the whole of Finland and the Ukraine, invaded the territory of the Soviet government and came face to face with Soviet troops, so that there were continuous skirmishes along the whole line of debarkation and Petrograd was directly menaced. The White Guards (Finnish counter-revolutionists) led by Germans drove into the Murman territory and Port Ino, the key to Petrograd, was in grave danger. At the same time the German army continued its march on the Ukraine front into the governments of Kursk and Woronesj, into the Donnetz basin and on to the River Don. In the south the Germans occupied the Crimea and, continuing their march beyond the Don, attacked Batoisk (opposite Rostof in the Don valley, near Azof). Counter-revolutionary bands forced their way into the Don and Kurban districts (the western part of the north Caucasus) under the protection of the Germans.

At last the German troops landed in the vicinity of Porte (harbor in the South Caucasus on the Black Sea) while the Finnish troops on the other side began their march in the Caucasus in the direction of Baku (on the Caspian Sea). This critical period was settled on the Finnish frontier by an agreement between the German and the Russian governments concerning a basis for a treaty between Russia and Finland. A gradual relaxing of military skirmishes on the Ukraine front was directly noticeable, caused by the beginning of peace negotiations in Kiev between Russia and the Hetman government.

The result of our so sharply conducted political dealing was: the retreat of that part of the Russian fleet (the Black Sea fleet) to Sebastopol and from there it sailed to Noworossysk (the harbor of the German menaced Koeban district). The demand for the return of this district was considered as an indispensable condition to territorial, as well as political and economic relations between Soviet Russia and German Ukraine.

Up to this moment (beginning of July, 1918) the most critical question seems to concern the Caucasus and can be attended by grave consequences, also the crisis in the Don, where counter-revolutionary activity is not yet settled. But the retreat of the fleet to Sebastopol made it possible for the mixed commission in Berlin to commence its work. This commission was made up of two parts; one a financial and judicial committee whose work consisted in planning a basis for peaceful economic relations between Russia and Germany; the other, a political committee whose task it was to solve the questions arising out of the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

A new negative moment in the relation between Russia and her former Allies was the uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks. In this case it developed that the governments of the Entente stood with those elements who, like the Czecho-Slovaks, served to support the counter-revolution in Russia.

Directly after these events followed the landing of English troops on the Murman Coast and in the press and the declaration of the diplomats the question of intervention becomes more pronounced. But those elements in the Entente countries whose aim is to reach a complete and friendly relation with Soviet Russia continue their struggle, and reveal at the same time the extraordinary shortsightedness of the policy of attacking Russia. Thus we see how complicated the problems are that the Soviet Commissaires are called upon to solve; we have been careful in our deliberations to avoid all dangers which would lead to irreparable actions from the side of our opponents, and have taken all possible steps to bring about a peaceful solution of our difficulties with both coalitions.

The Socialism of the Left

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.—A study in Socialist Reconstruction. By Louis C. Fraina. The Communist Press, New York. Price 75c, pp. 246.

This is a very interesting, suggestive and constructive book on present-day international and revolutionary Socialism. The book is the present-day interpretation of what I may call Socialism of the first class, for the Socialist tactics and policies of the Second International are dead and in their places have arisen those of the Third International—the principles and tactics promulgated and applied in Russia by Lenin and Trotzky, with such marked success for over a year. Fraina expounds and analyzes the great historic Marxian Socialism centered in the Bolshevik government of the Russian Soviet Republic, and already spreading like wildfire in Europe and throughout the world.

Socialism expounded in the spirit of fairness and justice, and interpreting the Russian Bolshevik revolution, is of the greatest value just now, for the works on Socialism written before the Bolshevik revolution, and even since then, by those of the "right" and "center" are of practically no value as an interpretation of the present and future International Socialist movement, which is truly Marxian and revolutionary to the core.

The book is the more valuable in that it deals with that stage of development which is now dominant all over the world, namely: Capitalist Imperialism and its relation to the world proletariat.

As an interpretation of the present economic, political, social and international situation, "Revolutionary Socialism" is the best book I have ever read. Peace has at last come to a stricken world. But it is a peace of capitalist governments. The peace of the workers of the world is not yet. Wars between Capitalist imperialist groups will continue. . . .

Our veteran generals have just taken the field of battle for the Social Revolution. Liebknecht, Fritz Adler, Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, will lead on the fight to the successful conclusion of a Socialist proletarian peace. For this battle Fraina's book is the best and most valuable guide. I hope every true Socialist will read and circulate it widely.

SEN KATAYAMA.

The Reconstruction Program of the French Syndicalists

Translated by Andre Courland

At the threshold of Peace, the C. G. T., in the name of organized labor, renews its adherence to the 14 points of President Wilson, proclaiming that the basis of a "People's Peace" depends on the following principles:

1st. Constitution of a "League of Nations" through the free co-operation of all the people, having for its principle aim the disappearance of all causes of future wars and the establishment of international justice.

2nd. No economic war, which starting in one country will inevitably compel the nation in question to rely on reciprocal measures in the desperation of self-defense. The principle mercantile waterways should be free to the merchantmen of all countries under the protection of the League of Nations. No economic protectionism, which finally leads to the spoliation of the working class.

3rd. Every section applying a specialization of its forces of production through wise selection, conforming to its material and physical resources. The release of its products throughout the world should be made on a scale of free and rapid exchanges without interference to others. For this an International Bureau of Transportation and Repartition of Raw Material should be created, and the internationalization of the Colonial Domain should be affected, with a view to the best utilization of all the resources of the soil and under-soil for the general welfare of humanity at large, and for the purpose of relieving the moral and material needs of nations.

4th. No repressions, based on revengeful intentions but material reparation of the damages done to the invaded regions. No territorial annexations and the acceptance of the rights of all people to self-determination.

5th. The League of Nations, bringing forth a new constitutional jurisdiction, shall begin at once a general disarmament and bring it to a complete end. Thus only will militarism, all shades of militarism, be defeated and international democracy shall triumph.

Syndical Rights

The C. G. T. for the above reasons and in order to defend the labor clauses that will be included in the peace treaty, demands an official place at the Peace Table and demands that the peace covenants shall be open and public. It also declares the necessity of an international labor congress.

Greeting the Russian, Austrian, Hungarian, German Revolutions the C. G. T. claims that the French democracy must not be inferior in its social realizations. Consequently it demands the re-establishment of constitutional freedom of speech and assemblage, the suppression of the censor, a complete and general amnesty for all civil and military war prisoners.

Considering that labor shall no longer be accented as a commodity to be handled at its mercy by capital, and that industrial slavery must disappear the C. G. T. demands the National recognition of syndical rights for all workers and for all employees of departments, cities, communes and municipalities and for all the state and administration employees. It insists on the acceptance and regulation of an international Seamen's Act and the freedom of seamen to leave their ships at every stop. The right of the syndicates to intervene in all labor questions must be recognized. The application of a national industrial scale of wages shall be generalized to all forms of industry, by collective agreements under the supervision and control of the syndical organizations.

Believing that the development of industrial progress will result in perfecting and modifying the tools and methods of production, the C. G. T. proclaims that the working day in industry, commerce and agriculture shall be not more than eight hours, that night work shall be forbidden to women and adolescents under 18 years of age. Compulsory education must be extended to 14 years of age.

Economic Reconstruction

In application of the above principles the C. G. T. demands, so far as the general demobilization and also the rapid readjustment of war productions into peace production are concerned, the institution of a National Economic Council, co-operating with regional councils in which the syndicalist organizations shall have their direct representatives, who, in harmony with the working class, shall determine the general rules governing the demobilization and the return to normal

economic conditions. That funds for idle periods and unemployment should be created under the care of labor organizations. For the reconstruction of the invaded regions the French labor movement energetically opposes the accumulation of new fortunes made out of public misery and demands that these works should, to the largest possible extent be effected by the organized "collective" bodies, including in their administration and technical staffs qualified representatives of the producers and consumers.

The principal of employment being assured, it is advisable that the cities, consumers, and plants rearrange themselves to suit the latest formulas of progress, applying also the highest principles of hygiene, sanitation and aesthetics, including workmen's habitations and open spaces for public health and the physical development of children.

Future National Efforts

As for the future, the C. G. T. claims for organized labor its due place in the direction and control of national production.

The economic reorganization must be based on the ever-increasing development of national industrial tools and machinery, the unlimited spreading of general and technical free education, and to that end the employment of old talents, the utilization of material resources, and the application of the best and latest inventions and improvements. The stimulus of private initiative must not be made an excuse for the voluntary restriction of production, and the overwork of the producers, the consequences of which are harmful to production itself.

The working class, therefore, shall direct the national effort towards this end.

The nation cannot, without compromising the collective right of which she is the sole guardian, abandon her social right to the control of her economic organizations, which were created by the labor of past generations, maintained and developed by the common effort. In order to secure the permanent exercise of this social right the nation must have complete control of all branches of production, which from their inception to their fullest development profit by the protection and help of the state.

The nation shall maintain under the strictest dependency all private enterprises which in addition to the advantages already named profit by certain powers delegated to them by the state, county or commune.

The State Rights

If it is objectionable to have the state control applied to everything without the active and healthy assistance of individual initiative, it is not less essential to see that all the necessities of life, whether personal or national, should be handed over to private interest without then being required to direct their efforts toward conformity with the interest of the people.

This control, exercised in the name of the state for the producers and consumers, should be exerted in the most active and practical way and not in the passive and retrospective form that is actually in use.

It must be vigorous enough to keep the mastery of production and its values of technical developments and conditions of labor, of wages and various insurances, also of the just repartition of profits above normal interest in limited dividends, including loss insurance.

Thus established this control will insure the functioning of a regime of association between the state and industry and those instances where private initiative and free competition is still permitted.

But if at any time through the concentration of capitalist agreements in the field of raw materials, essential organs of production, or any necessary product, market values are in danger of being manipulated, government control should be imposed as a means of equilibrium between values and production. In this in an excessive fiscal taxation on monopolized products should not aggravate the perils and abuses of private industry making these products a menace to the national industries.

The economic reorganization will not produce any effect if the nation does not take over, maintain and establish her social right over property, over collective riches and the means to produce and exchange them and if she does not give more and more power to the various departments, communes, co-operatives and new collective organizations to conduct their business in co-operation with the civil administration, where qualified representatives of the producers and consumers should sit.

But it is highly essential that at first strict measures regarding education, prevention of disease and insurance should be provided.

The security of the individual is of more importance than the security of property.

In consequence nothing should be neglected to see that society allows to everyone the full development of his intellectual faculties, that it prevents the spread of alcoholism, that by social insurance it sets a guarantee against unemployment, sickness and old age for all members of the producing class so that it should constantly maintain an equilibrium between their resources and their means, particularly so when they assume a larger charge by an extension of their families to the social profit.

Foreign Help

For all the above reasons, the C. G. T. proclaims that every worker, no matter what his nationality may be, has the right to work where he can best occupy his activities. That every worker shall enjoy the privileges and guarantees of syndicates, and also have the right to participate personally in an official capacity in the country where he exercises his activities.

No worker shall be expelled for his syndical or co-operative activities.

No foreign worker shall receive lower wages or be submitted to inferior working conditions than the current and normal conditions prevailing in the same town or region and in the same occupation or specialty.

That these conditions and wages should be specified in contracts between workers' syndicates and employers' associations, that the immigration of workers shall be organized and placed under the control of organizations comprising representatives of national workers' organizations as well as employers' associations.

The recruiting of workers in foreign lands is not to be permitted, unless submitted to commissions of the lands in question, who will have to take into consideration the real need of the industry or the region and that the contracts of employment should clearly define the salaries and working conditions which must be in conformity with the above prescription. The recruiting of immigrants is to be placed under control of the working organization in the emigrating countries, the contract execution shall be under the same control.

In case it will be necessary to call upon colored help the recruiting should fall under the same ruling as that affecting European workers and they shall enjoy the same rights and privileges.

Furthermore, the industries employing colored help must organize, at their own expense and under the control of the public service, the necessary schools where they shall be taught to speak, read and write the language of the country.

Labor Legislation

That the workers, injured in their work, should receive their full salaries during their incapacity. This to be also applied to foreign labor. That occupational sickness should be considered as accident and come under the above conditions.

That every worker has a right to old age and invalid pension enough to allow him to live normally. To this end pensions, having their base on sickness, shall be instituted.

Against the High Cost of Living

To obviate the difficulties of the high cost of living on the working class the C. G. T. declares that all tariffs and taxes on foodstuffs, on all heating and lighting materials should be abolished.

That a public service, national, communal and co-operative, of foodstuffs shall be organized; this office will furnish its products without profit, thus establishing a minimum price of production equivalent to the sale price, thus regulating the market price.

This office will be placed under the supervision of the delegates of organized workers and consumers.

The C. G. T. declared that this is its minimum program and shall be immediately put into practice. For this it asks the syndicalist organizations to make this the basis of their action until complete satisfaction is obtained.

For the C. G. T. Federal Committee, Toutiaux Section,

A White New Year

By John Reed

RED is the color of the revolutionary working-class. White is the color of the capitalist class.

In Russia, Finland, and now in Germany, the Red Guards, composed of armed industrial workers, made and are making the Revolution. And in all those countries the White Guards, made up of volunteers from the capitalist class, sons of factory-owners, bankers, university students, took up arms to defend their property. And when, as in Finland, the White Guards beat the Red Guards, they slaughtered the workers by tens of thousands. This state of things is called the White Terror. It is much more terrible than the Red Terror. If anyone doubts that the Governments of the Allied nations are capitalist Governments, let him remember that the Government of the United States protested against the Red Terror, and not only did not protest against the White Terror in Finland, but allowed representatives of the Finnish White Guards freely to come to this country, while at the same time the Finnish White Guards were supported by German troops.

Not only are there White Terrors in Europe, however, but also in our own country. The suppression of free speech and press, the jailing of Socialists and champions of the working-class, the lynchings, the tar-and-featherings, the assaults of soldiers on Socialist meetings, the ban on the red flag in New York, all this is called in the European Socialist press—the French and Italian papers, among others—the White Terror in America. The whole manner of the conduct of the war at home revealed very clearly what kind of a war it was, and for whose interest. The killing of Frank Little in Montana, the deportation of the copper miners in Arizona, the continued persecution of Tom Mooney in San Francisco, the establishment with arbitrary powers, of White Guard organizations all over the United States—local Councils of National Defense, American Protective League—all these incidents ought clearly to have proven that, in the eyes of the capitalist class, this was anything but a “War for Democracy.”

Every working-man, no matter how patriotic or how much in sympathy with the war he might be, must have been irritated at the way he was forced to buy Liberty Bonds and subscribe to the Red Cross, with the alternative of losing his job. The people of the Middle West will not soon forget the reign of terror which was inaugurated there by the bankers, the factory-owners and newspaper-editors during the war. The cloud of Government and private spies which made every man, loyal or disloyal, foreigner or American, be careful what opinions he expressed. . . . Is this free America, fighting for liberty, or Czarist Russia, the Kaiser's Germany?

Many honest and conscientious workers, however, argued that all this was a necessary condition of war. Moreover, their wages were comparatively high, work was plenty, and the Government was fighting their battles for them. When the bosses refused to listen to their just grievances, couldn't the workers appeal to the War Labor Board, where Frank Walsh was their powerful friend? Was not the War Labor Board compelling the bosses to allow organization—and even organizing the workers itself, forming committees which were empowered by the Government to deal with the employers' committee? Weren't wage-scales and conditions officially fixed by the Government? And finally, the coming of that Democratic Peace for which the American working-class gave up

half its power, and allowed its unions to be shot to pieces—Peace would surely mean an end to all injustice for the working-class.

But now that Peace has come, and instead of some kind of Government arrangement, the working-class discovers to its astonishment that the United States Government *has no plan of reconstruction*. Government contracts are cancelled overnight, throwing thousands out of work. Union organizations are destroyed, and the employers of labor intend to see that they remain so. Labor itself, leaning on the promises of Sam Gompers and President Wilson and Frank Walsh, suddenly wakes up to find that it has no plan of reconstruction, and is in a worse condition than it was before the war. The only class of people who *have* a plan of reconstruction are the employers of labor, factory-owners, bankers—the active capitalists. And their plan is simple. The open shop—even the old Unions destroyed; and the breaking down of the slender frame-work built up by the War Labor Board.

The workers of Bridgeport, the workers of Bethlehem, are now witnessing the discharge, not only of all active Union men, but also of members of the workers' committees instituted by the United States Government's War Labor Board. In these days, and increasingly as the days go on, it is clearly seen that the patriotism of the capitalist class only lasts as far as its profits.

Out in Arizona the detectives and hangers-on of the Copper Mine owners who deported striking miners—a great majority of them A. F. of L. members—these rich men and their paid thugs, who deliberately broke the law and spat on the Constitution, have been acquitted. Does any American worker now doubt the innocence of Tom Mooney, or the filthy crookedness of the California court and District Attorney which convicted him? The President of the United States sent a commission to California to investigate the Mooney case, and this commission demanded a new trial for Mooney—and yet he is sent to prison for life. And the I. W. W. leaders, sent up for terrible terms because of their alleged pro-Germanism, when not a shred of evidence against them was ever brought into court. And Eugene Debs, sentenced to ten years, and Rose Pastor Stokes, and all the brave men and women who dared tell the truth when it was dangerous, and now suffer in prison. . . . Is it difficult to guess why they were punished? While at the same time the grafters who looted government contracts, the profiteers—how many of them can you think of who are now serving jail terms? With such clear demonstrations before them, how is it possible for American workers to believe that Labor could ever get a square deal after the war?

The old-fashioned individualistic American workman says: “Well, what about it? Debs and Rose Pastor Stokes are Socialists; the I. W. W.'s are anarchists. Mooney—well, Gompers and President Wilson will see that he gets treated right. And besides, he isn't a member of my Union. All that isn't any of my business.”

But the capitalist doesn't talk that way. He says: “I don't care what they call themselves. They're members of the working-class, and they've got dangerous ideas. I can't let them corrupt the contented workers.” Capitalists stick together. And they treat the working-class as one class. In the Pittsburgh district the steel workers are forbidden to organize. When they want to hold a meeting for the workers it is al-

most impossible for them to get a hall. And when they succeed in getting a hall, the company detectives and the police line the street for a block in every direction, and take down the names of the men who are going to the meeting; and next morning, those men are fired. . . .

The capitalist class controls the American Government. Even Woodrow Wilson pointed that out in *The New Freedom*. The working-class supports them in power by voting for the Republican and the Democratic parties. Controlling the Government, naturally the capitalist class makes the laws, and makes the laws for itself. But even then the capitalists do not obey these laws, when it goes against their interest. Only the working-class obeys laws; it has to, for the police and the army are on the other side.

And yet the working-class not only composes the army and the police, but also turns every wheel and swings every tool in the country. If the working-class were to stop work, altogether, for even a few days, the control of the capitalist class in America could be shaken to its roots. If they voted their own candidates into public office, and passed their own laws, and *then threatened to lay down their tools unless those laws were obeyed*, America would belong to the workers, as it ought to belong to them.

Not only, however, does Organized Labor in America fight all other organizations, but the different craft Unions fight each other, pay little attention to each other's grievances, and sometimes even scab on each other. This is what is desired by the capitalist class, who, when the craft Unions become too strong for them, secretly support them against Industrial Union propaganda; it must not be forgotten that the capitalists are always struggling to get back to the Open Shop. . . .

In international affairs, today, the issue is beautifully clear. Soviet Russia is a Union on strike—a dangerous kind of Union, an industrial Union. The Governments of the Allied countries are trying, by every means possible, to break that strike. Armies of French, British, Japanese and American soldiers are in Archangel and Vladivostok. The Labor movements of the Allied countries feel sympathy with the great Russian strike—but, after all, Russia “doesn't belong to our Union”—or else, “Those Russians are just a bunch of anarchists.”

They like the German Revolution a good deal better. It is more “orderly.” Of course this Ebert and Scheidemann are Socialists, but, at the same time, they seem to be pretty “sensible” guys. So runs the thought of the old-fashioned Union man.

But the Capitalists also like the German Revolution. Their newspapers show every day how anxious they are that the Ebert-Scheidemann Government shall continue in power. The reason is clear; the Ebert-Scheidemann Government promises that “all the people” shall be represented. It stands for “democracy”—that same “democracy” we have, under which Tom Mooney goes to jail for life, and the Arizona copper kings get off without any punishment; under which the steel kings in Pittsburgh won't permit their men even to attend a Labor meeting, and the machinists of Bridgeport are re-classified.

There is but one alternative to this: Industrial Unions, the Socialist Party, the general strike and Labor Democracy, in which those who do all the work shall have all the power.

Then it will be a Red New Year. . . .