

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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Shall They Put it Over?

HERE is a conspiracy in action against the peace and liberty of the world, against the peace and happiness of the workers. This conspiracy is comprised in international Capitalism and Imperialism and the governments they control.

The workers are not conscious of the fact, generally, that events today are shaping the destiny of the world for years to come. Nor are they conscious of the fact that what is being decided by international Imperialism however remote it may appear, directly affects the interests of workers.

There was a period when the average American considered international affairs, and particularly European affairs, as wholly alien to him. He could not understand how they affected the interests of American citizens, of the workers. The "splendid isolation" of the United States developed complacency; Americans gloried in the fact of enormous strength and self-sufficiency. Why bother about Europe? Years ago conditions determined that no nation any longer be sufficient unto itself. Modern

Soldiers who are demobilized can't get jobs. Or they get jobs where they meet the abominable conditions of old. Capitalism has secured enormous profits, has become richer and mightier; but the workers must meet the old conditions and the old struggles. The working class has secured nothing out of the war except death and misery, while our Capitalism has secured virtual world power.

That is the new world! Capitalism, out of the war, is snatching new life and new power. It is organizing itself to maintain the exploitation and oppression of the workers. It is trying to continue its domination of the world, to make reaction and oppression supreme.

To this end, it forms a camouflaged League of Nations which is simply an instrument to maintain the power of the strongest imperialistic nations. This League is based upon Capitalism, to promote the profits and supremacy of Capitalism. Under its shield, colonial peoples are being subjected to new slavery and oppression; under its shield, the world is being territorially and financially divided among the great powers, —England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. The Imperialism of these nations is ascendant. The slavery of colonial peoples is necessary to them, and this slavery is made more intense.

This is a threat to the peace and liberty of the world, a direct threat to our own workers' peace and liberty.

The European workers didn't bother much in the past about their governments enslaving colonial peoples. It seemed far away, and not concerning them directly; but out of the competition to secure control of colonial peoples came the war, in which the European workers paid an enormous price for their blind policy on international affairs. Imperialism is directed against the proletariat, and unless the proletariat overthrows Imperialism, the workers will ultimately pay the price in death and agony.

The Peace Conference at Paris, by its imperialistic policy, is preparing new wars. That is inevitable. Capitalism cannot exist without wars; and in these wars it is the proletariat that pays the price.

But the workers apparently are not interested. They do not concern themselves with these problems. They do not realize that their own destiny as workers is intimately connected with the great conspiracy in Paris against the peace and liberty of the world.

But this conspiracy is equally in action at home. Unemployment is on the increase; violence is used against strikes and Socialists; the government of the capitalists is preparing to impose a reign of terror upon workers who are conscious of their class and who engage in the struggle against Capitalism. Reaction is ascendant, and will become more brutal in the measure that the American proletariat does not protest and act.

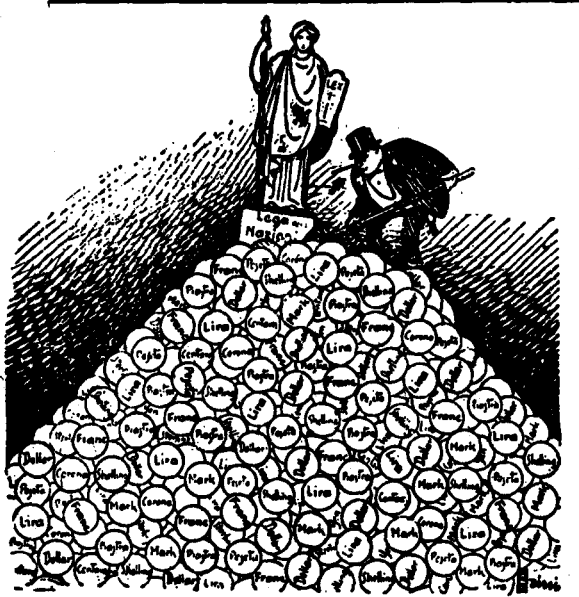
We were promised a new world out of the war. But that new world is coming only in those nations where the proletariat has acted for the overthrow of Capitalism and Imperialism, where the workers have crushed the power of capital and organized their own government,—the Soviet Republics of Russia and Hungary. Everywhere else the "new world" is the old world of oppressive Capitalism, made much worse by new means of oppression and exploitation. There is no hope for the workers unless they con-

sciously engage in the struggle for Socialism.

This struggle for Socialism means a struggle of the workers to secure control of their own destiny, to organize the world for the workers. It means a struggle for workers' control of industry,—for a new social system in which the workers will control their own jobs, in which industry will be managed for the happiness of the workers and not for the profits of the employers. It means a new government of the organized workers, and of the workers alone.

Workers' control of industry, exercised by means of their own organizations in the shops and the industrial vote, is the basis of the new social system proposed by Socialism. Not the state, not politicians and bureaucrats, but the workers themselves shall manage industry for the workers—for peace and liberty and happiness.

Capitalism is breaking down. Capitalist parliamentary government is breaking down. But Capitalism tries to maintain its supremacy. And this means



La Lega delle Nazioni sulle basi malferme del capitalismo

From "L'Avanti"

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS ITS BASIS IN CAPITALISM

Capitalism, with its enormous concentration of industry, with its iron necessity of securing new markets for surplus products and surplus capital, with its struggle for undeveloped territory,—ended the isolation of nations. It is characteristic of Imperialism, the projects of which are universal, to drag within its scope all nations and all peoples, willy-nilly. The United States, with its giant development of industry, was being drawn into the maelstrom of international politics, of world Imperialism,—a process of which the vast majority of our people were unaware. Developments are largely determined, not by the conscious will of peoples, but by the iron necessity of economic development.

The clash of Imperialism provoked the European war. The issue in this war was world power—which Imperialism should dominate the development of the world economically and financially. This war, apparently of no concern to America, drew our country into its sweep, because in a struggle for world power the United States could not afford neutrality. The American workers were conscripted, mobilized, and shipped to Europe. In this new epoch, all nations are concerned in the struggle of Imperialism.

The war was considered as a means of realizing a new world, a new civilization. But the war is now over. Instead of peace and happiness—more misery and oppression; instead of democracy—more reaction.

That is the new world that has come out of the war!



THE RETURN FROM THE WAR

(L'Avanti" is the Central Organ of the Socialist Party of Italy)



From "L'Avanti"

THIS IS HOW WE SETTLE QUESTIONS OF NATURAL FRONTIERS

that the proletariat must suffer, that the proletariat must be crushed,—unless it acts for Socialism.

That is the great conspiracy. It is the purpose of Capitalism to maintain its power, come what may; and to carry out this purpose, it is dividing the world territorially and financially, enslaving colonial peoples, adopting measures to crush the workers.

Life will not be worth living if this great conspiracy proves successful. Life will be a nightmare of misery and oppression, of new wars and threats of war, if Capitalism maintains itself in power. The proletariat must act against Capitalism. The proletariat must realize its class position, must organize to crush Capitalism. The accomplishment of the overthrow of Capitalism alone can assure the peace and liberty of the world. The coming of Socialism alone can assure bread and work and happiness to the workers.

All the world problems are, after all, simply problems of industry. The complex problems at Paris, the sinister purposes of Imperialism, can be disposed of in a very simple way: by the workers using their industrial power to overthrow Capitalism, organize workers' control of industry, to realize the industrial democracy of communist Socialism.

The workers possess the power. They must use the power. Capitalism must not put it over. The proletariat must rally to the cause and the struggle of international communist Socialism.

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The Militant Strike

THERE is a revolutionary movement of the proletariat developing in Canada. Labor is awakening to a consciousness of class and the necessity of militant action. The demobilized soldiers are not accepting deception, and express a radical spirit. In Winnipeg at this moment there is a general strike which controls the city. It is not the old passive strike, but a militant strike,—the sort of strike out of which develops the mass action for the proletarian conquest of power. The strikers have issued the following statement:

"There will be no more newspapers until we decide to let them appear. We know the effect that a newspaper has in molding public opinion, and that in the past such opinion has been molded against our class. We realize that had we left the press open it would have taken advantage of the hard situation by trying to show the public that the strikers were weakening in their position by the opening of food depots."

The American bourgeois press is indignant at this action. But facts are facts. The class struggle of the proletariat is a form of civil war; and in civil war, you must break the weapons of your enemy. Unless the proletariat adopts more militant tactics in its strikes it is bound to meet disaster.

Starving Russia

THE Soviet Government of Russia has rejected the plan of Dr. Nansen, approved by the imperialistic Peace Conference in Paris, for "feeding" the Russian people. The capitalist press, corrupt to the bone, is stigmatizing this rejection as proof of the fact that the Bolsheviks are deliberately starving Russia. On the contrary, it is proof that the Allies are deliberately starving the Russian people, in order to crush the Soviet Socialist Republic, that menace to international Imperialism.

Dr. Nansen's plan was political. Its purpose was to weaken the Bolsheviks politically and strengthen the counter-revolutionary Omsk "Government," directed by Czarist generals and financed by the Allies. The Soviet Republic does not want "to be fed," it does not want charity; it asks simply opportunity to trade with the world on equal terms. But the Allies refuse to raise the blockade, a blockade which is one of the most infamous acts in history.

In addition to waging war against Soviet Russia by means of the most cruel blockade of recent history, the Allies are waging military war against the Soviets. British war ships are in the Gulf of Finland. While the press reports that American troops were to be taken out of Russia, 8000 more American troops have been sent to Archangel. It is war, deliberate and unscrupulous. It is murder of the women and children of Russia. It is Capitalism in one of its vilest manifestations. Labor—speak!

Partial Disarmament

THE army of Germany is to be limited to 100,000 men, according to the terms of peace. Drastic regulations are imposed which will prevent Germany doing to the Allies what Prussia did to Napoleon—build up a large army surreptitiously. There are bourgeois liberals—yes, there are!—who greet this as a great victory for disarmament. But the Allies are not disarming. On the contrary, they are all preparing to depend more than ever upon a large army and a large navy. An offensive and defensive alliance is to be concluded between France, Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain is maintaining an army of 900,000 men and its all-powerful navy. Universal military service seems about to be "put over" in the United States. The terms of peace, instead of

bringing universal peace and disarmament, are bringing new threats of war and more armaments. The disarmament of Germany is not a step toward universal disarmament, but a means of protecting the Imperialism of the Great Powers. The ideals of the war—but why waste words?

Which International?

THE first Congress of the Communist International, which convened at Moscow March 2-6 upon the initiative of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) adopted a Manifesto and Program which is the new charter of international revolutionary Socialism. This Manifesto and Program is in accord equally with the facts of contemporary development and the spirit of revolutionary Socialism. It calls upon the proletariat and the Socialism of the world to organize in accord with its fundamental proposals, to engage or prepare consciously and aggressively for the final revolutionary struggle against Capitalism.

The test of the revolutionary spirit of a Socialist Party will be acceptance or rejection of this Communist International. Will the American Socialist Party, in spite of its N. E. C. aligning it with the Congress of the Great Betrayal at Berne, accept the Communist International? The membership has the opportunity to decide by means of the following referendum:

That the Socialist Party shall participate only in an International Congress or Conference called by or in which participate the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacists).

This motion is clearly an acceptance of the Communist International, in spite of the fact that it was worded before news came of the first Congress of the Communist International being held. Every militant member of the Socialist Party, who adheres to the class struggle and revolutionary Socialism, must vote "yes" on this referendum.

It is sheer sophistry at this moment to discuss whether or not the old International still exists. It tried to hold a Conference at Berne, at which the Ehrerts and the Scheidemanns were represented, at which the Bolsheviks were denounced, at which the spirit was directly counter-revolutionary. This old International, which collapsed miserably during the war and which acted against the proletarian revolution, betrayed Socialism and the militant proletariat. It is now a corpse that has become stinking carrion.

The Second International has been dominated by moderate Socialism. It was an International largely of Socialist parties which pursued a petty bourgeois, parliamentary policy, which represented the interests of the middle class and the aristocracy of labor. The policy of this International was comprised in social-reformism, in legislating Capitalism out of existence, in the gradual penetration of Socialism into Capitalism. It was nationalistic, and broke down under the test of the war.

That the Second International contributed much to the movement, is indisputable. But its utility largely ceased upon the definite emergence of Imperialism at the start of the 19th century; and during the war and the proletarian revolution the moderate Socialism represented by the Second International developed into the worst enemy of the militant proletariat and revolutionary Socialism.

The new Communist International breaks definitely and completely with the Socialism of the Second International. It harks back to the revolutionary Socialism of the *Communist Manifesto*, planting itself firmly upon the basis of revolutionary Marxism, upon revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship. The new Communist International is the product of life itself, of the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the Spartacan Revolution in Germany. Socialism must accept the Communist International, or it ceases being Socialism.

The President's Message

CONGRESS is in session. It meets at a time when enormous problems press down upon it, when new social forces are coming into action. Congress, during the war, proved itself utterly incompetent, a mere lackey of the President. It demonstrated no initiative, no imagination, no understanding of the constructive needs of the people. Investigation—that was the only activity of Congress, compounded of camouflage and incompetence. The new Congress is equally incapable of dynamic action on vital problems.

President Wilson has issued an address to Congress. At a moment when the world is in crisis, the President proves himself as incompetent as Congress. The problems that press down upon the country require deeds,—but when the President turns from words to deeds, he breaks down utterly. This is not simply a personal tendency, but inherent in Capitalism.

In his message, the President says that "the question which stands at the front in every country amidst the present great awakening is the question of labor," and proceeds:

How are men and women who do the daily labor of the world to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions of their labor? . . . How are they to be given their right advantages as citizens and human beings? . . . There is now in fact a real community of interest between capital and labor, but it has never been made evident in action. It can be made operative and manifest only in a new organization of industry. . . . The new spirit and method of organization which must be effected are not to be brought about by legislation so much as by the common counsel and voluntary co-operation of capitalist, manager and workman. . . . The organization of industry is a matter of corporate and individual initiative and of practical business arrangement. . . . The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they are to play in industry.

What do the President's words mean? Years ago, he sensed that the peoples yearned for universal peace and a new world; he articulated that yearning in order to develop the ideology of "carry on," and then betrayed the yearning by accepting a peace that threatens the peace and liberty of the world. The President now senses that labor is awakening, that it yearns for a larger life; and he expresses this new yearning in words, while preparing to betray it in deeds. The President is making this yearning for a larger life the means of oppressing and subjugating labor.

Great Britain in deeds is attempting to realize the words of the President. Through "Industrial Councils" and "Industrial Parliaments" the British Government is trying to realize the "community of interest between labor and capital," to "democratize industry." But the President does not even propose the plans of the British Government, nor anything definite. Britain's schemes are not captivating the workers; the workers sense that all these plans are simply means for maintaining the ascendancy of the employers and the capitalists, of baffling the action of the workers. Militant labor is in revolt against the plans of the British Government.

The vital issue, the most pressing problem of the day is precisely this democratization of industry. Industrial democracy alone can bring peace and liberty and happiness to the world, end war and realize universal peace. But industrial democracy, in its very nature, implies the end of private ownership of the means of production, implies workers' control of industry. But the "democratization of industry" proposed by the President proceeds upon the basis of private ownership, of the supremacy of the employers and the capitalists. Until the revolutionary proletariat breaks the power of the capitalists, industrial democracy is unrealizable.

We do not know whether the President will propose any specific plans for realizing his "democratization of industry." His urging of conciliation is not a means to realize industrial democracy, but a means of baffling the action of the workers. But whatever plans are proposed, they will not satisfy labor. "Industrial Councils" or "Shop Committees" which bring employers and workers together are incompetent, and do not realize labor's purposes. They have been tried—particularly in the Standard Oil plants, where labor is brutally oppressed—and proven of no value: the employer can always interpose his veto, the veto of the might implied in ownership. This ownership must be broken.

Industrial democracy is the great issue. And this democracy is realizable only through workers' control of industry, established after the power of the capitalists is broken. Shop committees and the industrial organizations of the proletariat, exercising their functions through the industrial vote and centralized in an industrial government,—that alone can realize industrial democracy. And that means the conscious, definite struggle for communist Socialism.

Manifesto Edition

Anticipating a good demand for our issue No. 23, containing the amended "Left Wing Manifesto," we printed several thousand additional copies which are available at 2 cents per copy while the supply lasts.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE
885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Split the Party!

THE situation in the Socialist Party of Local New York has become a real scandal, a menace to our integrity and a challenge to the party throughout the country.

A group of bureaucrats, drunk with power, clinging desperately to that moderate Socialist policy which is the worst enemy of the militant proletariat, is not only determined to split the party, but are actually accomplishing their sinister purpose. They are accomplishing this purpose by means of intrigue, by usurpation of authority, by using the tactics of gangsters.

The situation in Local New York is no longer a local issue, but national in scope. These are the facts:

The revolutionary comrades in New York, in order to articulate the revolutionary sentiments of the membership, in order to align the party with the Bolshevik-Spartacan policy and practice and the new Communist International, organized as the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City. They issued a Manifesto and Program, which has been adopted by local after local of the party, and which is in accord with the policy and practice of the new Communist International. Every branch in the Socialist Party of New York City which adopted the Manifesto elected delegates to a City Committee of the Left Wing. The purpose of this Committee was to unify the revolutionary forces in the struggle against the reactionary bureaucracy; *it was not a dues paying organization*: this is a deliberate lie circulated by the moderates. Local Queens affiliated as a whole with the Left Wing; Local Bronx, at a general membership meeting, adopted the Manifesto and Program. The Left Wing threatened to conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism,—its avowed and legitimate purpose.

The moderates, equally of the Right Wing and the Centre, at first sneered at this mass movement of the militant membership. Then fear caught them by the hair, as they realized the tremendous strength being acquired by the Left Wing. Unable to answer the arguments of the revolutionary Socialists, they resorted to terrorism.

At a meeting of the State Committee of New York, a motion was adopted to expel any local or branch of the party affiliating with the Left Wing. It was decided to put this to a referendum vote of the membership. But before even the referendum was issued, much less the decision known, the bureaucrats of Local New York, about to lose their majority in the Central Committee, determined to act immediately. Meetings of the Central Committee were suspended, and the Executive Committee proceeded to "re-organize" the local. This is now being done with whole branches and thousands of members being "reorganized" out of the party—expelled.

Not only are branches being "re-organized" out of the party, but the ballots of the left wing branches are being thrown out—the ballots on an Emergency National Convention, and on candidates for the National Executive Committee and for International Delegates. By this action, Left Wing candidates are to be deprived of perhaps 2000 votes—unless the general membership of the party acts to rebuke and defeat this deliberate, contemptible means of retaining the moderates in power.

These tactics are abominable. They are used calculatingly and insolently to defeat the will of the membership. Thousands of party members are being disfranchised, in order to defeat the Left Wing candidates, in order to assure success for the referendum to expell all locals and branches who affiliate with the Left Wing.

The moderates claim that the Left Wing represents only a small clique in the party: why, then, not allow the membership to make its decision through the referendum? Why disfranchise the revolutionary Socialists? Why steal votes away from the Left Wing candidates? These desperate tactics are understandable only on the theory that the moderates feel that the revolutionary Socialists are a majority, that they will meet defeat in the referendum votes and revolutionary Socialism conquer the party.

In spite of the corrupt tactics of the moderates of the Right Wing, who try to muddy the situation by bringing in all sorts of irrelevant issues, the controversy in the Socialist Party of Local New York is definite: it is a controversy between moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism, which collapsed during the war and which is directly counter-revolutionary, and that revolutionary Socialism which accepts the experience of Bolshevik-Spartacan practice, which accepts the new Communist International, and which alone is in accord with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the tasks of the epoch of the final struggle against Capitalism into which the world has definitely emerged.

The moderates in New York City are deliberately sabotaging revolutionary Socialism. They are sabotaging the Russian Soviet Republic and the Bolsheviks,

who realize that only the international proletarian revolution can save the Workmen's and Peasants' Republic and who are placing their faith in the revolutionary Left Wing of every Socialist Party in the world. The Left Wing is the only real ally of the Russian Soviet Republic—of Socialism.

This is the issue which emerges stark and clear in the situation prevailing in Local New York.

It is an issue which affects the whole future of the American Socialist Party. It is an issue which affects the part that American Socialism will play in the international revolutionary movement. It is an issue that cannot be dodged, but which requires the militant action of the militant membership of the whole party.

There must be an emphatic protest. Local after local of the party should protest against the expulsions in New York City, should protest against the treachery and chicanery which have become the last line of defense of the moderates.

Branches of the Party must not be expelled until the membership speaks, every member of the party must have the right to affect decisions.

Votes must not be stolen from revolutionary candidates in order to assure the supremacy of the moderates who are directing the party straight to disaster.

This struggle is a struggle which is being waged in the whole party. The bulk of the membership is revolutionary, but its will is being baffled and misrepresented by desperate bureaucrats. Let the membership assert itself! Let the national party rebuke sternly and uncompromisingly the official chicanery, insolence and criminal practices of the moderates of the Right Wing of Local New York!

The Russian Revolution has issued a challenge to the proletariat and the Socialism of the world. Life itself is emphasizing this challenge. The most important task of the militant Socialist at this moment is to re-organize the Socialist movement in accord with revolutionary experience, to cleanse the movement of moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism, of that "Socialism" which consciously and unconsciously is the enemy of the proletariat and the revolution.

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the party for moderate Socialism!

The slogan of the Left Wing is: Conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism—for the Communist International!

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Boston, (Louis C. Fraina, Secretary), Local Cleveland, (C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary) and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City.

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party; the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practiced on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the Congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events,—all this, and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action.

This call is therefore issued for the holding of a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

1.—The crisis in the party, and action thereon; the conquest of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

2.—The New International; ways and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "International" of the social-patriots, of the Ebert-Scheidemann gangsters, and the wavering centre; affiliation with the Bolshevik-Spartacan International alone.

3.—The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes of a national scope of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

4.—Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing, for propaganda, securing of information and spreading information.

5.—To express and draw together the revolutionary forces in the party; to consider other means of furthering the cause of revolutionary Socialism.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branches and Left Wing groups within the party. The test of admission, provisionally, will be acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Where a local officially refuses to participate, branches or minority groups in the party accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send delegates.

Representation—one delegate for every 500 members. No local or group should send more than four delegates. Locals, branches or groups of less than 500 are entitled to one delegate.

The conference will be held starting Saturday, June 21, at some central city to be decided after the distribution of delegates is considered.

Left Wing Locals and Branches, act! Send communications to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, New York City.

Bolshevikjabs

WE still hold to our opinion that the Allies are up against a hopeless job. If they ease down the terms so that Ebert and Scheidemann can sign without losing their jobs, then Clemenceau will surely lose his.

Bolshevism in Germany if the terms are insisted upon, Bolshevism in France if the terms are not insisted upon, Bolshevism throughout the world if a new war is started to make the Germans sign.

Pitting platitudes against peoples and machine guns against ideas results in Bolshevism no matter what the university text books say.

Mayor Hylan offers tents to the New Yorkers instead of houses and get away with it, while poor Marie Antoinette lost her head for suggesting cake as a substitute for bread to the Parisians. Which merely goes to show how foolish Marie Antoinette was for not being a member of Tammany Hall.

The terrors of Bolshevism are aptly illustrated by a comparison of the attitudes of Mike Hylan, former judge, now Mayor of New York, and Bill Shatov, former I. W. W. organizer, now Commissaire of Petrograd, towards the housing problem. Shatov, the Bolshevik, gives the people of Petrograd room and bath in the vacant palaces. Hylan, the Democrat, puts the people of New York on the street where they can get a bath every time it rains. Let's stamp out Bolshevism.

American labor is being offered fine things by President Wilson—in words. The world is appalled at Wilson's words on peace now become deeds. Labor—watch out!

The A. F. of L. national bureaucracy is against a general strike to release Eugene V. Debs and other class war prisoners. Why should they favor it? It will never become necessary to pull a general strike in order to release Sammy the Gomp from prison.

But isn't it time that the militant workers in the A. F. of L. released Samuel from his job?

"Leninism in Winnipeg," say the press reports. Lenin, apparently, is omnipresent and omnipotent. Is it Leninism or just proletarian consciousness of class?

Or are Leninism and proletarian consciousness of class the same thing?

The Master is in Paris, but the "Master's voice" is still being heard by Congress.

Former President Taft urges the "square deal" as an antidote to the I. W. W. Aren't most prison cells square?

The sign of Capitalism is not the square deal, but the double-cross.

The Peace Conference refuses to publish the full text of the peace treaty. Is it, then, still more terrible than the summary?

All this talk condemning the Peace Conference for sabotaging "open diplomacy" is unjust. The diplomats at the Conference are gentlemen: since when do gentlemen wash their dirty linen in public?

The new Congress already has more than 1200 bills to consider. The overwhelming majority of these concern property rights. They speak of democracy—but what time has the worker to consider all this legislation? Bourgeois legislation is the noose that strangles democracy—and the worker.

Ole Hanson, the bourgeois demi-god of Seattle, is still inciting to murder and riot against the I. W. W.'s, Bolsheviks, and Socialists.

And radicals are still being imprisoned on fraudulent charges of doing the things that "Oily" Hanson is actually perpetrating.

The gangster tactics of Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. are being burlesqued by the Right Wing in Local New York. But the New York "Socialist" gangsters are furious that they can't use machine guns against our revolutionary comrades.

Do the moderates still believe that you can't crush an ideal by force?

The Left is right!

The Mass Strike in Action

IN CONSIDERING the period of revolutionary strikes into which the American proletariat—and the proletariat of other nations—has emerged, it is important to remember that the coming of the war occurred during a time of great industrial disturbances. Strikes of great magnitude had shaken Capitalism to its basis—class antagonisms on the industrial field were being sharpened while they were officially being modified in politics; new strikes were developing; everywhere there was potential action against Capitalism. Then war was declared; and the strikes ceased, proletarian energy being directed in the channels of war instead of proletarian action.

But the war, while breaking short this phase of industrial unrest, introduced a new phase—more conscious and definitely revolutionary. The miserable collapse of bourgeois society; the agony of the war; the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia and the developing proletarian revolution in Germany—all these have loosed the initiative and energy of the proletariat. The epoch of strikes into which we have emerged is, on the one hand, a consequence of the revolutionary stimuli of Russia and of Germany; and, on the other, of the problems of economic reconstruction which press down upon Capitalism.

In the United States, there is no program on "reconstruction." The Capitalist Class, accustomed to a docile proletariat, is not bothering much with the problem; and, moreover, its unprecedented prosperity during the war developed a fatalistic attitude. President Wilson, shortly before his departure for France in December, "put up" the problem of reconstruction to Congress; but Congress did absolutely nothing, was bankrupt and impotent. Soldiers are being demobilized who cannot get jobs; workers are being thrown out of jobs; the employers are trying to lower wages to pre-war standards—and all this is producing protest and strikes.

Outstanding among the recent strikes are the strikes

in Seattle and Butte. In Seattle, the strike was forced upon the conservative union officials by an upsurge of the spirit of action in the workers; it developed into a general strike—the first of its kind in recent American labor history; it developed revolutionary sentiments, in the proposals of the strike committee to assume municipal functions while the general strike was on. The strike was crushed by the betrayal of the conservative union officials and by the display of military force by the municipal government. The Butte strike was equally important and dynamic; it was directed by an actual Soldiers', Sailors' and Workmen's Council; it showed the I. W. W. to be a real industrial force; and again it was the conservative craft unions that broke the strike. In these two strikes there was manifest that primitive initial mass action which, when developing into the final revolutionary form, becomes the dynamic method of the proletariat for the conquest of power.

There is still a mass strike in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass. Strikes are breaking out all over the country, are multiplying. This is the peculiar characteristic of the period into which we have emerged; it is the attitude of the Socialist toward these strikes that will hasten or retard the coming of Socialism. Out of these strikes the Socialist must develop larger action, must marshal and direct the proletariat for the conquest of power; and our parliamentary action must be a means of serving the industrial proletariat in action, of developing mass action.

Out of these strikes, moreover, the Socialist must try to develop the *political strike*. The political strike is a strike in which the proletariat uses its industrial might to accomplish political purposes, to bring pressure to bear upon the bourgeois state. It is out of the political strike that develops the final mass action; and the political strike is a supreme form of political action.

There is, at this moment, an opportunity for a polit-

ical strike of the first magnitude. Union after union has declared in favor of a strike to demand release of Tom Mooney; some unions have gone further and insisted that this strike should include all political prisoners. But the movement is being sabotaged by the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor; and even by men active in the Mooney Defense. They decide to call a general strike on July 4—a legal holiday, a day on which it is absurd to speak of a general strike; and, moreover, they decide that it should be a strike for Mooney alone, and not include other of labor's prisoners. Moreover, the general strike is again being sabotaged by the union conservatives; it is now in a sort of leptic state.

In this emergency, the whole force of the Socialist Party should be concentrated on propaganda for a great mass demonstration on July 4, and for a general political strike on July 5, to demand the release of class war prisoners. Large sections of American labor are prepared for such a strike, but they are being baffled by the bureaucracy, by reactionary union officials. It is the task of the Socialist to engage in this struggle, to concentrate on this fundamental issue. Our comrades are languishing in prisons; a nesty cannot reach them, and we don't want arms for them. *We want them to be released by the industrial might of the proletariat, by class conscious action.* If the political strike materializes, it will blaze a new trail in American labor history; it will set precedent for the future; it will mean real class action by the proletariat, an appreciation of the political character of its struggle.

The political strike is new to American labor. It is indispensable. It must come. It is the task of the left wing Socialist to develop an intense propaganda in favor of this method of struggle, to drop out of the strikes of the proletariat the action concept of the political mass strike.

Socialist Parties in England

By N. Mescheriakov

From the Moscow "Pravda"

THERE are a number of Socialist parties in England.

At the front of the Left there is the British Socialist Party. It is Marxian in theory and its sympathies are with the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism.

The party's leaders (Newbold, Fairchild, Sylvia Pankhurst) follow with great interest the march of the proletarian revolution in Russia. They are particularly interested in our organization of worker's control of industry and the structure of our Soviet Government of Workmen's Deputies. Its leaders proudly call themselves Bolsheviks. The British Socialist Party has expressed its solidarity with the Russian Revolution in one way, by publishing a Manifesto protesting bitterly against the sending of English troops to crush the Revolution.

Alongside of the British Socialist Party there exists in Scotland another party revolutionary in its nature—the Socialist Labor Party. Theoretically, this party strives to combine Marxism with the teachings of the American Socialist, Daniel De Leon, teachings as yet slightly known in our own country. Newbold, in the memorandum he gave me for Lenin (as the coming leader of the revolutionary labor movement of the world) characterizes the Socialist Labor Party in these words: "These are the most enthusiastic Bolsheviks. In my opinion, they are the real Bolsheviks of England. The S.L.P. is very consistent and carries on a wide propaganda; it has a large quantity of literature. The members of the S. L. P. propagate as much as possible the ideas of Bolshevism, published the secret documents, defend the Bolsheviks from attacks, and call themselves the party of the British Bolsheviks. They are our Leninists." It must be taken into consideration, in evaluating this description, that the writer—Newbold—is not a member of the S.L.P.

Away from us stands the most influential English Socialist Party, the so-called Independent Labor Party. Those of its leaders whom I met (Snowden, Bruce Glasier, MacDonald, Brailsford and others) are not at all revolutionary. They do not believe that there will be a revolution in England after the war. On the contrary, they believe that after the war there will be a reaction in England. They expect a still more reactionary wave in France. However, the ideas of this party have always been opportunistic. Nevertheless, even these leaders show sympathy for the Russian Revolution, and are greatly interested in it. They have also protested against sending English troops to fight the Russian Revolution.

But the rank and file of the Independent Labor Party is much more sympathetic toward the Russian

Revolution. In his memorandum, Newbold, who as an agitator has traversed England from one end to the other, is thoroughly acquainted with the English labor movement, characterizes the I. L. P.: "Their rank and file, insofar as they understand our movement, approve of it; they are proud of the name Bolshevik and without hesitation will follow your example at the proper movement."

Unfortunately, all these Socialist parties are numerically very weak. The British Socialist Party has 10,000 members, and the Independent Labor Party 45,000. The majority of the English workers are not affiliated with the Socialist parties, but are in the

trade unions which form the so-called Labor Party semi-socialistic in its program and extremely inactive in its tactics. In that party the notorious so-called patriot, Arthur Henderson, wields great power. At the beginning of the war the Labor Party concluded a "civil peace" with the bourgeois parties.

But the mass of the English workers are not yet gradually being revolutionized. Their sympathy for the Russian Revolution grows steadily. Following our example, the English workers tried to form Workmen's Councils. But the English workers do not yet clearly understand that Councils—as organs of the revolutionary struggle and proletarian dictatorship—can work successfully only in the atmosphere of a proletarian revolution. Accordingly, nothing far has been accomplished by these Councils in England.

The old leaders—adherents of coalition with the bourgeoisie—and the old unions are gradually beginning to lose their influence over the laboring masses. More and more often the workers violate the "peace" by calling strikes in spite of the advice of old leaders and the prohibitive orders of the old unions. The Workmen's Councils are in conflict with these strikes.

The revolutionary spirit among the English workers is gradually increasing, though the process is slow. The food crisis and the dislocation of industry must assume more acute forms in order to provoke a revolutionary outburst in England.

Even among the petty bourgeois radicals in England there is noticeable a sympathetic attitude toward the Russian Revolution. The most enthusiastic among them is King, the famous member of parliament. The radical papers, the Manchester *Guardian* and the London *Daily News* give the best information concerning Russia. These two papers also resolutely protest against intervention in Russia and interference with the Russian Revolution.

The English Labor movement is at the crossroads. New and younger leaders are coming up from the depths of the working masses, taking the places of the old leaders, the opportunists and social patriots who are losing their influence. Newbold says in his memorandum: "A number of riots have occurred in the coal regions; to the surface have come a considerable number of fine young comrades, they are not yet able to oust the old leaders in the centres of trades unionism in Britain."

The inevitable disruption for which the war is responsible and the industrial crisis which will result out of this disruption will accelerate the process of creating a new revolutionary labor movement in England.

Socialism and the "Majority"

By N. Lenin

IN attacking the petty bourgeois "Socialists" of the year 1848, Marx particularly and violently condemned their uncontrolled phrasemongery about "the people" and the majority of the people in general.

In order that the majority should really rule in a country, it is necessary to have definite, actual conditions, namely: it is necessary that such a form of government be established, such a governmental authority, as would furnish the opportunity to have affairs decided by a majority and to assure the development of that opportunity into reality. From another point of view, it is necessary that the majority, in accordance with its class composition and in relation to any other class within that majority (or outside of it) should be able to direct government co-operatively and successfully. It is evident to every Marxist that these two real conditions play a decisive role in the question of the majority of the people, and in the course of governmental affairs in accordance with the will of this majority.

If the power of government is in the hands of a class whose interests coincide with the interests of the majority, the administration of the government can then be, in reality, identical with the will of the majority.

If, on the other hand, the government power is in the hands of a class whose interests diverge from the interests of the majority, then every attempt to govern inevitably becomes a fraud upon or a subjugation of that majority. Every bourgeois republic furnishes us with hundreds and thousands of examples of this.

They Must Work, But Not Rebel

By Frank R. Lopez

Impressions While at Ellis Island Awaiting Deportation

If I were a writer, historian or novelist, I would have enough material for a large work, in my notes taken during my residence at Ellis Island. But, as I am not, I write only a few lines for the workers, who may be future guests of "our dear" Uncle Samuel—at the "Hell's Island Hotel"—a few things they should know before they "accept" the "invitation" to the lodging house at the Island, a house built to receive and welcome the oppressed workers of other nations who sought refuge in this "land of the free."

The progress of America is due to the "greaser" and the "dago," to those "foreigners" who were received here to produce the wealth of the country, and who built America, the America of to-day.

The stains of the blood and sweat of the "foreigners" on the buildings, the stone, wood and marble, are a fantastic vision which mocks the ugly faces of the corrupt bourgeoisie in their sumptuous palaces.

The "foreigners" who built your railroads, your subways and your automobiles; and operate your mines, mills and factories; the "foreigners" who dug out of the bowels of the earth the diamonds you wear, the money you spend,—these are the "foreigners" you so viciously persecuted today. To those "foreigners" you owe a great debt, you owe not only the clothing and shoes you wear, but the bread you eat. We produce your wealth, your luxury and all the necessities of life, and die by the thousands daily from cold and hunger.

Who are the undesirable citizens of the community? The worker, the producer, the lover of art, science and literature, or the parasites who live on the product of others' toil? The bourgeois, whose crimes are innumerable and indispensable in acquiring gold and supremacy, the legislator, the priest and the judge, the one who dictates, the other who lies, and the other who condemns—these are the real undesirable citizens.

* * *

Gathered from every industrial center of the country comes the rebel worker, the dreamer of a new and peaceful society, the lover of freedom and the emancipation of his class. Separated from his family, his friends and comrades by the hirelings of Capitalism, they are brought together as a herd of cattle to the sea port, to be shipped back to their former country, branded as a "damaged merchandise, unfit for the market."

* * *

The social movement of the United States is nearly a century behind other countries (not so civilized, of course) where almost every worker knows his friend and his adversary. In Europe, when militant proletarians fall into the hands of their enemies, a special place is provided for them, and very often an amnesty is obtained and they return to the struggle, to liberty and their families; but here there is no distinction made between a political prisoner and a common criminal. In Boston, for instance, I was taken from the jail to the court several times, handcuffed to two professional safe-blowers. The public didn't know the difference between us three "criminals," but the two half-covered their faces with caps as if to hide their crimes and their identity; but I was different, looking onward, head erect, with my hat thrown backwards. I had no crime to conceal.

At the Detention Department, in Ellis Island, the prisoners are treated all alike, (except the aristocratic Germans). If you are there for an Ideal, for Freedom, or for killing half a dozen human beings, makes no difference: for robbery, forgery, white slavery, stowaways and all kinds of criminals of this capitalist society were there during the past months, many of them sick, very sick, mentally and physically. Some cases of pulmonary tuberculosis and syphilis were discovered among the prisoners, and more than one case of degeneracy was discovered but not isolated. Doctors? Yes, of course, we have doctors come to the room once or twice a day; but it seems that they are afraid to contract some sickness and run out very quickly without asking any body about his condition.

Some of the prisoners, especially stowaways, are without clothes except for a few rags to cover their skin, and the windows must be kept closed on account of that, which imperils the health and life of many. In such a room, where almost every one, sick or in good health, spits on the cement floor, the lack of air and light is terrible, either for human or animal.

The majority of the guards are brutes, beasts in human form, every one considers himself in the Island as having more authority than any petty King.

At first glance the observer will notice their brutality and their stupidity. Such are the men whose orders we must obey.

Their savage instincts were shown in the case of Frank De Rubbis, a young Italian comrade, who does not speak the English language. For the "crime" of not answering quickly enough, when his name was

called in a way that he had not understood, De Rubbis was thrown down to the floor by five of the guards, handcuffed and dragged out of the room, leaving behind his hat, coat and baggage. (these things were sent to him afterwards).

Another case of brutality was when a young man (we knew him as "the Turk of Palestine") tried unsuccessfully to gain his freedom. He was beaten over the head and body, and kicked all over; and for trying again and again to escape, was sent to the insane house and kept there for about two months, until he with others was transferred to Boston.

* * *

The food is of the worst quality, the dogs of the rich would refuse it. It would seem almost impossible for a man to live on such a small quantity of nutritious food, but we still live, although causing many cases of illness. All of us are physically weak, and very often the food is left untouched because of its bad quality.

Some nights we can't sleep because of our empty stomachs. During the day some fellows lie down on benches after eating, to prevent the quick digestion of the food, and the pain of an empty stomach.

The sleeping quarters consist of large rooms with "bunks," ship style, piled up in three upwards and two side-ways, one over the other without enough space to get in, and after you lie down, be careful, don't raise your head or you will kiss the top bed spring. The bedding consists of three rags, small and rotten, (some people call them blankets, but they are not), one to cover the bottom of the bed, spring or canvas; the second to be rolled up and used as a pillow, and the third to cover you. Steam heat dies out during the night and the quarters very often feel like a meat refrigerator. After being locked all day in the Detention Quarters, filled with corrupt atmosphere and steam, you begin to feel the effect very soon, no matter how physically strong you may be. If you try to open a window to breathe the pure air of the night, you surely will get into trouble with some one. The same thing happens in the Detention Quarters. Bugs and other insects very often "call" on you during the night. One comrade suggested collecting some of these creatures, not for the purpose of sending them to the zoo, but to send them to Mr. Baker, or Mr. McKee, the Emperors of the Island, the Rulers of the "Hotel."

* * *

Six weeks are almost long enough to study the conditions of such a place as a military hospital. If "Jean de la Hire" happens to be there he can add a second volume to his work, *The Hell of the Soldier*. At the beginning of December, I was taken to the hospital in company with another prisoner, Fernando Masso, (a stowaway) and put to bed in ward 31, among "our heroes" just returned from Europe. I felt happy at first, being among men able to speak about the war—but, what atrocious things! . . . Almost every one shows me a souvenir, to obtain which you must kill their owner. A young man from Chicago showed me a nickel watch (worth less than two dollars) and he said with a proud air, that the former owner was a prisoner; he asked him to give up his watch, and upon refusal, killed the damn German with a blow on the head. Another man, from New York, showed me a ring with two German helmets engraved on it, to obtain which he ran a bayonet through a wounded prisoner's stomach, an officer. . . . Another from Kentucky, showed me some German coins, one mark in silver, one brass beer check, and a few copper coins. After a man falls, he says, run through his pockets in search of souvenirs.

Of a blind sergeant with three years' service, I asked: "Well, young man, what are you going to do now, without your sight?" "Well," he answered, "I expect to get a pension." "Yes, but the pension, if you get any, is never worth as much as your eyes. Do you see any thing?" "No, but don't you worry, friend, I see enough to tell every man what military life is, and what war is." Another man, from Chicago, said: "If Uncle Sam called me again for the army, I would first jump from the highest bridge in Chicago, head down." Another from Virginia, said: "After I get my discharge, I will never tell the people that I was a soldier, I shall be ashamed. I have read some books about military life, but I never believed them until now. You will see, after a few months, a sign on gentlemen's piazza or door, reading, 'Soldiers are not allowed here.'" Another, from Louisiana, said: "Before I join the army again I will see the foreign armies landed in New York." All of the patients have similar histories, but many of them, as they explain it, are afraid of court-martial,

and keep their mouths shut. That's why I name no names. My heart thrilled with joy and my pains stopped while these brave boys talked about their hatred of such life, but my pains were double and my sufferings were more acute when their brutality and ignorance were exhibited.

Some of the patients were able to get out of bed and jump around, while others were very sick, as in the case of F. Masso, who was delirious for twenty five days before his death. The treatment he received was terrible. He was a malatto from South America, and the nurses in charge of the ward absolutely refused to help him in any way, but I must say that the officers were not aware of that.

A Lieutenant one day asked the nurse "How does Masso take nourishment?" "Very well, sir, very well," was the answer; and I counted four consecutive days that he has been without any nourishment at all, because it took too much time to feed him, and the women nurses (some of them) were very "busy" sitting on patients' beds talking for hours, while others who needed care and help, but not very nice looking, died without any help.

The conditions of military hospitals are nearly all alike, but here, too, I found three women nurses, in all, with a human heart, helping the patients. The men nurses, or "Ward Sergeants," were better fit for a stable than for a hospital. The Doctors one day ordered a watch to keep Masso in good shape, one soldier during the day and two at night, half night each. The patient, in his delirious state, trying to get out of bed, cried that those people were starving him. After the Doctors went out the supposed attendant, instead of watching Masso, tied him to the bed with a sheet, to keep him in place; while he played cards with others during the day, and the night watch does the same thing and goes to sleep.

The Doctor ordered a window opened near his bed to give him fresh air after the pneumonia was over, but as soon as the Doctor walked out of the Ward, one said: "Hey, shut that window, let that yellow beast die there." And they did. . . . And he died.

After two weeks in bed battling with "Flu," I was ordered to get up. I refused at first, because my condition was not good enough to get out of bed, but thinking that probably they knew my condition better than myself, I accepted; with the aid of two men I was seated on a chair for a while, until I called for their help to put me back to bed.

The same day I began to feel an acute pain in my chest and back, and head. At that moment, I had lost all hope of winning the battle, at the same time the Doctor told the nurses that I was gone. "Flu and pneumonia, he is gone." One day at dinner time the nurse came in and asked: "How many of you have had no dinner?" She began to count, "One, two, three," turned to the other row of beds and begun, "One, two," . . . "All right, three whites and two immigrants," she said. The immigrants were as white as the others.

In my fifth week, I was transferred to Ward 12 on a wheel chair, without enough cover to protect me from the cold, across the long and narrow path, and sick again for a few days. At this Ward there were no bed patients except one invalid young Greek, about seventeen years of age, in bed for nearly two years. The Ward Sergeants here were more cruel and abusive than the others. When the Greek asked for any thing, the first answer he received was, "I wish you die, George . . . you will save a lot of work for us." This Greek in the morning of January 17, was beaten with clenched fists by one of the attendants, and Joaquin Flores, another patient, was also beaten during the last week of January, for refusing to wash the floors, and one of his eyes very badly discolored.

At the pneumonia Ward one day at eight o'clock in the morning, the Ward Sergeant called to the telephone the officer in charge and said: "Captain — we have a new patient—Broncho-pneumonia, it seems to me that he is dying. Will you please come down and see him?" At 9 o'clock that night, he called up again and said: "Captain —, did you forget what I told you this morning about the new patient? He is dying. Will you please come down?"

The answer could not be heard, but the Sergeant entered the Ward excitedly and said: "What do you think of Captain —, I called him this morning about a new patient, and he said 'all right!' and now I call him again and he says, 'just a minute. . . !' and closed the connection." . . .

My persecutors have been active for a long while stealing my letters, in order to find material upon which to build up their case. Now, they can use some of these notes if they want to. But they must remember that the Voice of Freedom cannot be strangled. The spectre of the dead and the mutilated victims of egotism of the rich, in war and in industry, is arousing fear and action.

Anglo-Saxon Military Ideals

IT is to an English, not a German, writer that we owe the first explicit enunciation in modern form of the doctrine that militarism is the noblest expression of human energy, and that war is the highest means of social progress. *The Philosophy of War* by James Ramsay was published in 1877, while as yet, Treitschke was as unknown in Germany as he was in England before the outbreak of the present war, and more than thirty years in advance of Bernhardt's *Germany and the Next War*. The author argues that war and the fitness for war are an integral portion of the conditions of creative advance: an essential part of the struggle for existence by which development proceeds. He advocates "lending ourselves (the British nation) diligently to the prosecution of Nature's plan (warfare) for the advancement of the inhabitants of the earth to higher forms of being." "We occupy," he tells us, "one of the topmost places in the world; we must war or we must be crowded out by those inferior to ourselves." Treitschke and Bernhardt express themselves similarly with respect to Germany. To him also military glory is the highest glory—"The life of a soldier commends itself in the abstract to the imagination as more than any other worthy of honor." Nevertheless, he will have no compulsory service. "As for Conscription," he says, "if England cannot command voluntary soldiers enough to defend her homes and maintain her Empire, the sooner we give up the role of a powerful nation the better. A nation that cannot find voluntary soldiers of her own stock deserves to be conquered by any other who can."

The late Professor J. A. Cramb, who was one of the first English publicists to draw attention to the writings of Treitschke and Bernhardt and to the menace of Germany's world-conquest ambitions, was himself among the first and the boldest champions of the self-same militarist ideals for England. In his lecture, *Reflections on the Origin and Destiny of Imperial Britain*, delivered in 1900, he hailed "with joy, tumultuous joy" the advent of the new era of military conquest in England, and appealed for conscription. In his *Germany and England*, published shortly before the war, so far from condemning Treitschke and Bernhardt for their militarist megalomania, he commends them and passionately appeals to Britain to adopt similar national ideals. Nothing in Treitschke or Bernhardt can exceed the enthusiasm with which he speaks of war.

"In war and the right of war man has a possession which he values above religion, above industry, and above social comfort; in war man values the power which it affords to life of rising above life, the power which the spirit of man possesses to pursue the ideal."

So enraptured was this British professor with the blood and iron theory of national greatness that he, by anticipation, wholly reprobates the anti-German tirades that have poured from platform and press in England since the present war began. He declares:

"Amongst the Powers and States of the continent and of the world that [the strife from a high to an even higher reality] seems Germany's art at the present hour. And here let me say with regard to Germany that of all England's enemies she is by far the greatest; and by 'greatness' I mean not merely magnitude, not her millions of soldiers, her millions of inhabitants, I mean her grandeur of soul. She is the greatest and most heroic enemy—if she is our enemy—that England in the thousand years of her history has ever confronted."

"The Germany of Bismarck and the Kaiser," he goes on to say, "is a greater power, greater in conception, in thought, in all that makes for human dignity" than was the Spain of Charles V. and Phillip II. and the Holland of De Witt "and a more august power than France under Louis XIV."

Professor Karl Pearson speaks from a "scientific standpoint" in a similar strain:

"It is to the real interests of a vigorous race to be kept up to a high pitch of external efficiency by contest, chiefly by way of war with inferior races, and with equal races by a struggle for trade routes and the sources of raw supply. This is the national history view of mankind, and I don't think you can in its main features subvert it."

Another eminent professor, W. Ridgeway (Professor of Archaeology and Classics, Cambridge), is no less Prussian in his point of view. He says:

"A modern world filled with democratic States would be a stagnant pool in some shady spot in which no higher forms could live, but overflowing with all the baser sorts of life. In a word, in perfect peace humanity would perish from its own physical and moral corruption."

Mr. E. B. Osborn appraises war similarly as a sort of biological divine providence:

"That is why war for war's sake appeals to so many. It is a gymnasium of the naked soul, in which virtue renews her hardihood after the corroding comfort of a long period of peace. . . . War has always been and still is the ultimate secret of progress throughout the demesnes of life. . . . But for war, millions of battles extending over millions of years, we might even now be nothing but mudfish, peacefully reposing in the secular slime."

Perhaps the most high-sounding, and the most impudent of the more recent apologetics for war comes from Mr. Harold Fraser Wyatt, the joint founder and honorable secretary of the Imperial Maritime League. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* of September 1914, he expounds the gospel of militarism with the fervour of an evangel. "Efficiency for war," he oracularly declares, "is God's test of the nation's soul." For, says he:

"Victory is the result of efficiency, and that efficiency is the result of a spiritual quality. . . . And the efficiency or inefficiency of its armaments is the determining

factor in a nation's success, or of a nation's failure at that culminating moment of long processes of commercial and diplomatic rivalry—the moment of war.

He emulates the Bishops in the religiosity with which he contemplates the results of collective homicide as an evidence of the Divine purpose in human society:

"The Lord of Hosts has made righteousness the path of victory. In the crash of conflict, in the horrors of the battlefields, piled with the dying, the dead, and the wounded, a vast ethical purpose prevails. . . . In the great majority of instances which determine general result, the issue of war has made for the ethical advantage of mankind. It must be so; it could not be otherwise, because ethical quality has tended always to produce military efficiency.

"War remains the means by which, as between nations or races, the universal law that the higher shall supersede the lower continues to work. From Greece, Britain and from the United States, whence the military spirit is passing away, this bleat of feebleness is now proceeding. But it is not heard among the two most energetic and efficient peoples now upon earth. It is not heard in Germany, and it is not heard in Japan. The wolf who has lost his teeth does not wish to fight, but the wolf whose jaws are still strong does not share his pious desire."

Colonel F. N. Maude, a leading military writer, also gives a pietistic turn to his materialistic ideology. He assures us that:

"War is the divinely appointed means by which the environment may be adjusted until ethically 'fittest and 'best' become synonymous."

Mr. Austin Harrison, the editor of the *English Review*, who is said to have written "the best book about the war," and is alleged to be "one of the soundest English minds of our time," states that only by war can civilization be saved. His imagination becomes erotic as he dilates on the theme, as thus:

"I do not myself understand our theoretical craze for no-war, which would mean a constipated civilization; . . . all great creative movements have flourished in, or sprung from, warlike conditions. Even the power of the churches waned the moment they ceased to be State Fighting Institutions. The idea that as the result of this war Europe is going to develop into a abode of Arcady, where men no longer fight, or learn to fight, or want to fight, while lawyers and politicians rule over us with unctuous infallibility, and there is no longer need for a stout heart and a "dripping sword"—this is one of the drollest views ever kibbled for the Democratic table. . . . The spirit of fighting is direct associated with the sex instinct. Atrophy of the or inevitably brings about atrophy of the other. . . . I talk of the abolition of war is to conceive of life without strife, which is its inherent reason and beauty."

Stages of Revolutionary Socialism

THE first Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow, March 2-6, recognized its obligation to the left wing of the Zimmerwald Congress, which was held in September, 1915, to bring together the International. This Conference, however, was dominated by the "centre" Socialists, represented by the Independent Socialists of Germany and Karl Kautsky; it adopted, accordingly, a hesitating and compromising policy, not in accord with the revolutionary requirements of the moment.

It was considered necessary by the revolutionary left wing delegates to issue a declaration of their own as against the majority declaration of the Conference. This resolution included among its signers Lenin and Anton Pannekoek, and was signed by a delegate of the revolutionary Socialists of Germany—the "Group Internationale" (practically another name for the Spartacans), a delegate of the revolutionary Socialists of Switzerland, the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia (Bolsheviks); the Executive Committee of the Social Democrats of Russian Poland and Lithuania, the Central Committee of the Social-Democrats of Lettland and the Norwegian Socialists. The minority left wing party in Holland (the Social Democratic Party—now the Communist Party) accepted the resolution as the basis for a second International conference.

This is the resolution of the Left Wing of the Zimmerwald Conference:

The world war now ruining Europe is an imperialistic war waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, to secure markets, raw materials, investment markets, spheres of influence, etc. It is a product of capitalist development, which, while it makes production international, perpetuates the national capitalist states with their conflicting interests.

The bourgeoisie and the governments, in trying to disguise the imperialistic character of the world war

as a war forced upon the nations for national independence, deceives the proletariat, as this war is waged for the very purpose of subjugating foreign peoples and countries.

Equally fraudulent is the legend concerning the "defense of democracy" in this war, since Imperialism means the unscrupulous supremacy of Big Capital and political reaction.

The overthrow of Imperialism is possible only by the overthrow of the conditions in which it originated, which means the Socialist organization of capitalist society, for which objective conditions are ripe.

At the beginning of the war the majority of the representatives of the proletariat refused to use this only possible tactic against Imperialism. Overwhelmed by nationalism, carried away by opportunism, they surrendered the workers to Imperialism at the moment of war and abandoned the fundamentals of Socialism, thereby abandoning the actual struggle for proletarian interests.

Social-patriotism and social-Imperialism, as accepted in Germany, not only by the openly patriotic majority of the former Socialist leaders, but also by the "centre" of the party rallied around Karl Kautsky, in France by the majority, in England and Russia by a part of the leaders (Hyndman, the Fabians, trade-unionists, Plechanov, Rubanowitz, the group Nashe Djelo), constitute a greater danger to the working class than the bourgeois apostles of Imperialism, because they mislead the class-conscious workers by distorting Socialism. *The uncompromising struggle against social-Imperialism is a fundamental necessity for the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat and the re-birth of the International.*

It is the problem of the Socialist parties, as well as of the Socialist minorities in the mass of the workers, to awaken and direct the mass of the workers to a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist govern-

ments, to conquer political power for the Socialist organization of society.

Without yielding, the struggle for every inch ground under Capitalism, for every measure that will strengthen the working class, without renouncing a means for organization and propaganda,—the Socialists will have to use all the measures in our minimum program to intensify the present war crisis, as well as every other social or political crisis of Capitalism into an attack upon its fundamentals. When the struggle is fought with Socialism as its issue, the workers will become impregnable to a policy of subjugating one people to another as the result of continuing the domination of one nation by another; and the cry for new annexations will not be strengthened by the temptations of national solidarity which has led the workers to the battlefields.

The basis of this struggle is in the struggle against the world war, to end the general murder as soon as possible. This struggle requires voting against war credits, giving up any participation in capitalist governments, exposure of the capitalist and anti-Socialist character of the war in parliament and in the legal and illegal press, the uncompromising struggle against social-patriotism, and the use of every action of the masses resulting from the war (misery, losses in the war, etc.) to organize street demonstrations against the government. It is necessary to agitate for international solidarity in the trenches, to support economic strikes and endeavor to broaden them whenever conditions are favorable, into political strikes. Civil war, not civil peace—that is the issue.

Contrary to all illusions concerning the possibility of securing permanent peace or disarmament through the decrees of diplomacy and governments, the revolutionary Socialists must impress upon the workers that the social revolution alone can bring permanent peace as well as the liberation of humanity.

A Discussion of Party Problems

By Louis C. Fraina

An Answer to Algernon Lee in a Debate Symposium Between Algernon Lee and William M. Feigenbaum, Representing the Moderates, and Louis C. Fraina and Bert Wolfe, Representing the Left Wing. Comrade Lee Refuses to have his Speech Published. Held at Arlington Hall, New York City, April 11.

OMRADES: If a stranger, unacquainted with the controversy in the Socialist Party, were here this evening he might think, from the words of opponents, that there really wasn't very much to controversy. For all that this stranger might be there, there isn't any such thing in existence as the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party. In this Manifesto and Program incorporated the purposes and demands of the Left Wing; and yet our opponents have not considered this discussion, have not tried to tear to pieces that his statement of the principles of the Left Wing. it because they cannot do it.

If the policy of the moderate Socialist may be indicated in one phrase, it is that its character is petty bourgeois. The petty bourgeois hesitates, compromises, does not plant himself upon facts and accept the uncompromising struggle. The petty bourgeois, moreover, unifies struggles and social forces. Crushed under iron march of industrial concentration, the petty bourgeois, the middle class, does not attribute its power to the force of economics but to individual malevolence—to Morgan, or Rockefeller, or some other individual. The controversy on principles and tactics within the Socialist Party is a product, not of the whims of individuals, but of iron necessity, the upsurge of revolutionary sentiments now transforming the International, and which is a product of itself. But our moderate opponents cannot or will not discuss this social basis of the controversy. They deny the struggle, and attribute it to the malevolence of individuals. They adopt the policy of petty bourgeois inconsistency; and instead of discussion of the social basis, they offer vituperation of individuals. They speak of an inner circle within an inner circle, a malevolent people who want control or disruption of the party. Comrade Lee speaks of inside rings, of men and women who are self-seekers. The Left Wing is a mass movement, and you cannot build mass movement upon the basis of petty individual motives. Our opponents call us romanticists, and use much harsher terms. Lenin was characterized much more harshly. Liebknecht, in the newspapers of the majority Socialists, was called a neurotic, should be in an insane asylum. Will the moderate never consider fundamentals?

It is becoming quite the customary thing for our moderates to praise the Bolsheviks. It wasn't more than one year and a half ago that certain individuals in the party, now praising the Bolsheviks, were calling Lenin and Trotzky "anarchists."

Man in the Audience: Who are they? Fraina: Alexander Trachtenberg, for one. Get him to face me and I'll prove the charge.)

Comrade Lee says that "Lenin is a realist," but we are trying to burlesque the revolution in appearance. The implication is that if Lenin were in the party he would not affiliate with the Left Wing—of a Socialist who has always been in the Left Wing of the International! Yet there is a document which answers Lee, an official document issued less than three months ago by the Communist Party of America, the Bolsheviks. It is the call for a Communist Congress at which to organize a new International. The call are designated the parties and groups that the Communist Party invites to this Congress, and the official Socialist Party of the United States is not invited; but instead the Left Wing group of the party are invited. Comrade Lee says that the whole party will break within the next few weeks or months. Being a petty bourgeois Socialist, I cannot foresee; but we can prepare, we can mobilize the proletariat for the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism, which, while not the revolution, is a necessary preparation. The problem, however, is much larger. Bolshevik Call to an International Communist Congress says:

As a basis for the new International we consider necessary the recognition of the following principles, which we shall consider our platform, and which have been worked out on the basis of the program of the Spartacus group in Germany and the Communist party (Bolsheviks) in Russia.

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and the collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of European culture, if Capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions, is not destroyed.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in immediately seizing the power of the state. This seizure of the power of state means the destruction of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the organization of new proletarian apparatus of power.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in certain places of the small peasants and farm hands, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the systematic overthrow of the exploiting classes and the means of their expropriation.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—this hypocritical form of rule of the finance oligarchy—with its purely formal equality, but the proletarian demo-

cracy and the possibility of the realization of freedom for the working masses; not parliamentarism, but self-government of these masses through their elected organizations; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the countries and in the activity of the Socialist structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The power of the Workers' Councils and similar organizations is its concrete form.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat is to complete the immediate expropriation of Capitalism and the suppression of private property in means of production, which includes, under Socialism, the suppression of private property and its transfer to a proletarian state under the Socialist administration of the working class, the abolition of capitalist agricultural production, the nationalization of the great business firms and financial trusts.

The New International, accordingly, with which the Left Wing affiliates, is an International which must recognize the fact that Socialism and the proletariat have definitely emerged into a revolutionary epoch, that Socialism must adapt its program and tactics accordingly, that we must prepare to organize the proletariat for the conquest of the power of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. To consider this problem upon the basis of whether we can guarantee the coming of a revolutionary crisis and the Revolution in a definite time is sheer dodging of the issue, a refusal to consider all actual problems of the Revolution, which is not a single act but a process of revolutionary development.

Consider a little Socialist history. After the first Balkan war broke out, an emergency International Congress was held at Basle, Switzerland. This Congress in its Manifesto, stigmatized the coming general European War as an imperialistic war, not justifiable on any ground of national interests; the war, it declared, would precipitate an economic and political crisis which Socialism should use to develop the revolutionary struggle against the war and Capitalism. But when the general European War broke out in 1914, the majority of the Socialists of Europe abandoned the policy of the Basle Manifesto. The very men who had adopted the Manifesto repudiated it. When Lenin taunted the Scheidemanns, the Plekhanovs, the Guesdes and the Kautskys with abandoning the Basle Manifesto, they replied that since the immediate revolution expected by the Manifesto upon the declaration of war had not materialized, it was not in accord with the situation. But the Basle Manifesto did not assert that revolution would come immediately upon the declaration of war. What the Manifesto did say was that a political and economic crisis would come, an objective revolutionary situation, and that it would be the task of Socialism to develop this objective revolutionary crisis into conscious revolutionary action for the conquest of power. When the revolution came in Russia, the Eberts and the Scheidemanns said: "It is out of the question that we in Germany should follow the Russian example. They are revolutionary enthusiasts." And when the proletarian revolution developed in Germany, the Eberts and Scheidemanns opposed the revolution, in this way, by the use of murderous force, proving they were right in maintaining that proletarian revolution was premature.

This question of the imminence of the revolution is not the question at all. It is the function of revolutionary Socialists to prepare for the revolution. The Bolsheviks did not spring up in Russia in 1917. The Spartacans did not spring up in Germany on November 7, 1918. You always had this Left Wing Socialism in Europe; you have had it in our own party in immature form. And the problem which confronts the American Socialist Party is: Shall our party line up with the Scheidemanns, the Louquets, the Hendersons and the Kautskys—the Yellow International—or shall we line up with the International of the Bolsheviks, the Spartacans, and the Left Wing groups of Europe?

The Socialism which developed as an organized movement after the collapse of the First International was moderate Socialism. It was a Socialism which adapted itself, which abandoned the desire to revolutionize the world. It was a national, parliamentary Socialism, representing the small bourgeoisie and the aristocracy of labor, imbued with the national spirit, part of the national liberal reform movement, depending upon social reformism and not the revolutionary struggle in order to realize Socialism—and

its "Socialism" was in reality nothing but State Capitalism. This parliamentary, petty bourgeois Socialism dominated the Second International; and it broke down miserably under the test of the war and proletarian revolution.

But social conditions changed, and the character of the social struggle. About the end of the 19th century, Imperialism developed as the dominant form of Capitalism. The concentration of industry, the rivalry of the nations for new markets to which to export their surplus capital, presented new economic problems. The economic base of Capitalism narrowed; parasitism developed, and Capitalism to continue had to exploit colonial peoples. Capitalism had emerged into an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Tactical differences in the Socialist movement developed almost simultaneously with Imperialism. The concentration of industry, the collapse of parliaments, developed the concept of industrial unionism in our country and the concept of mass action in Europe. For the representatives of moderate Socialism refused to broaden their tactics, refused to adapt themselves to the new conditions. They continued with their petty bourgeois parliamentary policy, with their policy of government ownership, government control of industry, social reformism—their policy of State Capitalism and realizing Socialism on the basis of the bourgeois state. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of war and proletarian revolution.

The moderate Socialist maintains that the International did not collapse; that the International did try to prevent war, but did not have the power. But the point is not that the International did not prevent the war, but that its majority parties accepted and justified the war. Is it not a collapse of the International to divide on national lines, to aid the imperialistic governments, to act against the coming of the proletarian revolution; and then, when it comes, to unite with the bourgeoisie to crush the Revolution? That is the policy of moderate Socialism, and it is against that policy that the Left Wing organizes.

But, comrades may ask, what has all this got to do with the American Socialist Party? The American Socialist Party was against the war, it favors the Bolsheviks, it is revolutionary. But if it is all that, why not accept the Left Wing Manifesto and Program? The truth is that the American Socialist Party is a party of petty bourgeois Socialism, moderate to the core, shackled with chains of iron to parliamentarism. Its opposition to the war, among the representatives of the party, was either sabotaged or transformed into a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism. It is very easy to say, "We favor the Bolsheviks;" but the important thing is to draw the implication of Bolshevism for the reconstruction of our own party.

Comrade Lee is against throwing out the immediate demands. The Left Wing has its immediate demands in the struggle, but they are demands in accord with the development of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat,—not the immediate demands comprised in cheaper milk and democratizing the bourgeois state. Social reformism is the vital issue—the moderates claim: we shall reform Capitalism out of existence! That is the policy of the Congressional Program of the party, that is the policy of our official representatives, that is the policy of Comrade Lee.

(Man in the Audience: Lee introduced those bills because his constituents wanted them. Fraina: That is how you educate your constituents. It is time to teach them something about Socialism.)

Social reformism is futile, and counter-revolutionary. It is the negation of Socialism, that policy out of which develops nationalism, social-patriotism, and the betrayal of Socialism. It is a policy that avoids all actual problems of the Revolution.

When the Russian Revolution broke, where was Algernon Lee? He was introducing social reform measures in the New York Board of Aldermen.

When the German Revolution broke, where was Algernon Lee? He was introducing social reform measures in the Board of Aldermen, and voting for a Victory Arch on which is inscribed Murmansk as a glory of the American troops.

When the American Revolution comes, where will Algernon Lee be? He will still be introducing social reform measures in the Board of Aldermen.

The old policy of our party must end, or it will become a party for the betrayal of Socialism. We must revolutionize the party. We must squarely and uncompromisingly align the party with the new Communist International, of the final struggle and victory. The party must adopt new and more aggressive tactics,—industrial unionism, mass action, proletarian dictatorship. The task of the Left Wing is to cleanse the party of moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism, to align the party with the proletarian revolution in Europe, to prepare our party for the world revolution that is coming.

Mobilizing Soldiers Against Socialism

By V. G.

A Study in Class Consciousness

ON May 8, 9 and 10 there was held in St. Louis a congress of "soldiers," to lay plans for organizing an American Legion of veterans of the war. Things did not run smoothly. It was inevitable that there should appear at this congress, and in the "soldiers' movement," the same class antagonisms that characterize and rend modern society.

The idea of convoking this congress was formulated by men "at the top." The basis of representation is largely a mystery, but it is clear that it was not democratic, but determined by the officers. It was not, clearly, representative of the man in the ranks. Military authority, and not the soldiers' democracy, was in control.

Why the congress? The "sad experiences" of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary are demonstrating to the American governing forces that their power is based upon the blind obedience and subservience of the soldiers in carrying out orders. Should the soldiers begin to think seriously about the expediency and purpose of these orders, and out of their thinking draw practical conclusions, the whole of modern society, based upon violence and robbery, would totter to its foundations.

There are very stringent measures in the arsenals of "democratic" America to make the soldiers obedient. The American court-martial system was so terrible that even members of the General staff "cried out" in protest. They were frightened, lest the too-harsh character of court-martial justice might make the soldiers erupt and accelerate the catastrophe which our "democratic" country is feverishly approaching. But if fear holds to obedience the soldiers in the active army, this proves not so effective with soldiers discharged from the service. These men have undergone "Egyptian tortures" in France: death lay in wait for them, while the trench life was abominable. They had to answer with their own skins the mistakes and blunders of their commanders. They know that owing to uncoordinated action of the commanders, thousands of soldiers died in vain, even from the point of view of purely military strategy. These soldiers back from the war will doff the uniform and don the overalls in no meek spirit—they will not as in the past submissively accept a monotonous and joyless life.

In order to arouse a "patriotic" disposition among the workers, they were promised great things from the war—democracy, a "new world," almost a social revolution. But now that the victorious soldiers must return to work, they learn from bitter experience that these great promises were mere bluff. The prices of the means of life continue to rise, despite the end of the war. Instead of a quiet life at home, yesterday's fighters for "democracy" are faced by unemployment, dispossession from their homes, and other blessings of the old order. The landlords are impartial—they skin equally all tenants, even though they are soldier heroes. True, Methodist churches are offering shelter to these soldiers—but it wasn't to become beggars that these workers put on the soldier's uniform and went to fight in France!

The soldiers are discontented. They are excited. Measures are necessary, any measures, in order to pacify them—and soldiers are incited to break up Socialist and radical meetings and destroy buildings. There must be found an outlet for the discontent in the heart of the soldiers—and pogroms are incited against the radical elements. They try to make strike breakers out of the returned soldiers. Thus the rowdy expressions of groups of American soldiers are due to the deliberate incitation of their masters and their own lack of understanding.

The three million soldiers recruited on the basis of universal military service were composed of about 95% of men from industrial life. And now the ruling class exerts all its efforts to create in the minds of these former workers (who are again to become workers) prejudice against companions of yesterday in the factory and the shop. All means are resorted to in this task. The "soldiers' congress" at St. Louis was one such means. The purpose of this congress, according to its initiators, was to unite all men formerly in the service, the privates as well as the generals, into an "American Legion." It was made clear at the congress

that, once given a job, the soldier-workers would immediately develop into faithful guardians of the interests of "beneficent" capital. The spirit of reactionary militarism was dominant. Hysteria was rampant against the "radicals." Representatives of a Council of Soldiers and Sailors was reviled and excluded. The whole spirit of the congress was to mobilize the soldiers against Socialism, in favor of that "law and order" which means supremacy for Capitalism and oppression for the workers.

To accomplish these sinister purposes, an energetic campaign of propaganda is being carried on and certain "practical measures" taken. Former soldiers are given preference in applying for city or state jobs. Employers are being bombarded with propaganda literature advising them to adopt the same preferential policy. At the same time, the main object of the American Legion is being emphasized—defense of the present system of the exploitation of labor, based upon the private ownership of the means of production. The members of the Legion must carry on at all times a relentless struggle not only against the Bolsheviks, but against any manifestation of the class struggle of the American workers.

But the facts and the indications are that this pro-

ject of the initiators of the American Legion will not succeed for long. Among the rank and file of the former soldiers there is much dissatisfaction with the clique composed of the upper strata of the military hierarchy. First of all, the soldier privates are not satisfied with the name of the Legion. They state that the name "American Legion" does not reveal the aims which, in their opinion, should animate the organization of the soldiers. They are interested not so much in "Americanism" as in their daily bread; and the initiators of the Legion are apparently not concerned with this phase of the problem: in righteous patriotic indignation they rejected the proposal for six-months pay for the soldiers—which is all very well for the military aristocrats!

The soldier privates, moreover, are dissatisfied with the fact that the Legion is dominated by the officers: colonels majors and captains. They are against making Lieutenant Roosevelt president of the Legion. The soldiers privates maintain that the Legion could express their interests only when the rank and file dominates. And the officers must be plain soldiers—not the sons of rich fathers, but of their own class, of the workers who from personal bitter experience understand factory oppression and unemployment and starvation wages.

These initial differences and antagonisms are in- dications of the awakening to consciousness of the American workers who are again becoming workers after their experience in the uniform. They seem to feel instinctively that nothing good can come from the Roosevelts, O'Ryans and Wickershams, the generals, colonels and majors. It is best that they should part. These former soldiers, meeting their former officers as men of property, as bosses and employers, will be mercilessly oppressed. In their every day lives they will meet these "comrades of Legion" as landlords and business men who will skin them alive. And all this will sooner or later open completely the eyes of these workers who were formerly in the soldier's uniform, will reveal to them that "the master is not a brother to the peasant."

This process of awakening is now in action. The soldier privates are already organizing into an organization of their own—National Organization of the Private Soldiers and Sailors of America. Of this organization its president says: "In time, we'll have every private that served in the war enlisted in our legion. In no shape or form is it affiliated with an officers' organization, nor can an officer join." This is simply the start of a larger antagonism, which the Socialist must intensify.

The soldiers who are again to become workers must think and act as workers. Oppressed and humiliated, they will join together with the oppressed and humiliated who never wore the soldier's uniform in a conscious struggle against those who live from the labor and blood of the workers—whether in uniforms or in overalls.

It will not be enough for the private soldiers to organize independent of their officers. They must go beyond that—to a more conscious class policy. Refusal to organize together with the officers is in itself a recognition of class divisions. The officers represent actually or in ideology, the ruling class of Capitalism.

The class struggle is the great fact, by means of which alone the workers and soldier-workers were fighting for "democracy" ceases, in war or in peace; while the soldiers-workers were fighting for "democracy" in Europe, the capitalists used the opportunity to put over reaction and oppress labor.

The war has awakened many. The soldiers will come home with new ideas and a more intense energy. They will not be satisfied with the old. Their energy, at this moment, is being directed against Socialism. But the soldier-workers will realize the futility of this, that they are acting against their own class in acting against Socialism. Then they will unite with the Socialist proletariat for the conquest of Capitalism—for work, peace and happiness.

This struggle is at the basis of things. For the workers (and the former soldiers) to avoid this struggle, is to deliver themselves body and soul to the oppressing Capitalists. The capitalists wage this struggle against labor, consciously and implacably; it is necessary that labor should.

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