

# The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

Vol. I, No. 21

Saturday, March 8, 1919

Price 3 Cents

## We Must Have a National Emergency Convention

THE decision of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to hold an Amnesty Convention in Chicago on May 1, in conjunction with non-Socialist organizations is a deliberate attempt to head off the demand of the rank and file for a National Convention of the party. From all over the country the demand for a National Emergency Convention is heard though all reference to its desirability is carefully omitted from the majority of the official organs of the party.

Several branches and locals have passed resolutions favoring the holding of such a convention but with the exception of Local Queen's County, New York, none of these resolutions were properly drawn and were consequently ruled out on various technicalities, though there was no doubt whatever as to the intention of the framers of the resolution or their right to be considered responsible members and bodies of the party. For example the City Central Committee of Local Boston forwarded such a resolution to the National Executive Committee early in January but it was ruled out on the ground that a delegate body had no right to frame such a resolution. This resolution was published in *The Revolutionary Age*, accompanied by an article calling for endorsement of the resolution by locals and branches. Such endorsement was given by a considerable number of party bodies, clearly showing that it voiced the sentiments of at least a considerable minority of the national membership—but the wishes of the membership apparently do not count with the N. E. C.

Although it is admitted officially that there is considerable sentiment for the calling of a National Emergency Convention, a motion to that effect proposed by Comrade Katterfield, a member of the N. E. C. is voted down only receiving the vote of Comrade Wagenknecht, while the suggestion for an Amnesty Convention, made up of various non-Socialist elements together with the Socialist Party, given by Comrade Wilson, who is not a member of the N. E. C., is carried, even Comrade Katterfield subsequently changing his vote to favor the motion. It is not claimed that the membership of the party have demanded the holding of such a convention but it is carried nevertheless in spite of the sentiment for an emergency party convention. The resolution of the delegates of Local Boston, backed by several locals and branches of the party, is rejected even when its sentiment is properly laid before the N. E. C. by a member of that body, while the suggestion made by Comrade Wilson, speaking for nobody but himself, is carried in formal motion.

The resolution offered by Local Queen's, has however now received the requisite number of seconds and must be put to a referendum of the membership. But, ever the advocate of strict parliamentary procedure and constitutional law, except in such minor matters as the election of delegates to an International Conference or the decision to align our party with a gang of international assassins, Comrade Germer rules that the motion will first have to be published in the official *Bulletin*, thereby causing a delay of 15 days or more. In other words everything is to be done to *aid* the holding of an Amnesty Convention, which apparently nobody, outside a few officials, desire, while everything is to be done to *delay* the referendum for a National Emergency Convention which is backed by the requisite number of Party branches and locals.

The decision to hold an Amnesty Convention is an attempt to use the comrades whose adherence to party principles has landed them in jail as a means of defeating the wishes of the revolutionary section of the

movement. It is the duty of the membership to boycott this bourgeois convention, a duty to themselves and to the majority of the comrades in whose name this body is called into being.

The necessity of action to obtain the release of all those imprisoned for the expression of their economic, political or religious opinions is great, but the necessity of keeping our movement in line with the march of our comrades in other lands is greater. Besides there is absolutely no reason to suppose that a National Emergency Convention would not take the matter of our imprisoned comrades under consideration, and further, there is no reason why, if the delegates so decide, ways and means of co-operating with other organizations interested in the amnesty demand could not be devised by the National Emergency Convention.

A National Emergency Convention does not preclude the consideration of a general amnesty demand, while the holding of an Amnesty Convention was

ports the supposition that the "proposition of conducting a national referendum on the question of a convention is practically without support."

We have been informed that Comrade Germer has now made an objection to the Local Queen's County motion on the ground that it was initiated by a delegate body, thus after time has been wasted in informing the locals and branches of the objection to the Boston motion and drawing attention to the Queen's County motion as one that could be seconded, the latter is to be ruled out of order and further time wasted. It is peculiar, to say the least, that Comrade Germer could see that the Boston motion was not properly formulated but that his parliamentary vision was blurred in regard to the Queen's County motion until it had received enough support to warrant its being placed before the party membership. If, as is stated in Comrade Germer's quotation above, he called attention to the motion as one that could be properly seconded it would seem that his objection is out of order at this late date. But perhaps points of order are only used against the membership!

However, to avoid further misunderstanding, we ask that the first two resolutions of the Central Branch of Local Boston printed in the box on this page be seconded by branches and locals throughout the country and such seconds immediately forwarded to the National Office and that copies of the same be sent to this paper or to the secretary of the Central Branch of Local Boston, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. And in view of the statement by Comrade Germer: "So far we have not received a complaint against your action, from the comrades thus written to." It would be well for these branches to register an emphatic protest against this whole proceeding which is nothing other than an attempt to avoid calling a National Emergency Convention by those who are afraid of the stand such a convention will take.

A further motion by Katterfield: "That in the event that the motion to hold a special Socialist Party Convention is submitted for membership referendum, the Executive Secretary shall notify the states immediately regarding their apportionment of delegates" received a tie vote of 5 for and against with 5 members not voting and consequently no action was taken. Comrade Goebel explained his vote which was negative as follows: "I vote against this because I regard it as an adroit attempt to influence the vote on the proposition for a National Convention, inasmuch as calling for election of delegates to the convention at the same time as vote whether we shall have it, will make many think it an assured thing, and therefore useless to oppose, even though their judgment be that this is not yet the time for such a convention."

The calling of a Emergency Convention is a vital necessity to the welfare of the Socialist Party. The National Executive Committee has shown by its wavering attitude, by its inaction, and most of all by its decision to line up with the Scheidemanns, Huysmans and Hendersons in the reactionary Berne Conference, that it is unable to handle the present situation. Its reactionary attitude is in a large measure responsible for the omission of the party as a whole from the Bolshevik call for an International Communist Congress and consequently the classing of our movement by the revolutionary Socialists of Europe with the social-traitors. It remains for the membership of the party, which has stood true to our historic purpose in the times of stress to take the immediate management of the party into its own hands. A National Emergency Conference is the best instrument for such action. It is for the rank and file to assert themselves now and insist that such a body be called into being without further delay.

The following resolutions were adopted for national referendum by the Central Branch of Local Boston Socialist Party and seconded by Lettish Branch No. 2 (350 members) and by the Esthonian Branch (25 members):

(1) That the Socialist Party International Delegates now being elected stand instructed to participate only in an International Congress or Conference called or participated in by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacans).

(2) That the National Executive Committee shall call immediately upon the adoption of this referendum an emergency national convention of the Socialist Party to be convened in Chicago, Minneapolis or some adjacent city.

### COMMENT

The international situation is a call for action. Great problems are pressing upon the party—the party must reorganize and adapt itself to new conditions.

It is imperative that the Socialist Party prepare itself, that it unify itself, that it formulate a policy expressing the requirements of the situation and the mature judgment of the membership as expressed through a convention.

The following resolution was also adopted by the Central Branch for State Referendum:

That the State Executive Committee stands instructed to call an emergency state convention in April in Boston.

clearly intended to be considered by the membership as a substitute for the party convention. The national Executive Secretary has issued the following comment to the members of the N. E. C.:

"There is but one proposed national referendum properly initiated calling for a convention. It was submitted by Local Queen's County, New York, and published in the January issue of the *Bulletin*. Today we received the first second to the motion *so the proposition of conducting a national referendum on the question of a convention is practically without support.* 'The Boston Resolution' was adopted by the City Central Committee of Local Boston and submitted for the consideration of your committee only. Delegate bodies cannot initiate referenda. *We have received letters 'endorsing' the action taken by the Boston Comrades.* In reply we have explained that we could not accept seconds to the resolution. We called the attention of those seconding the Boston resolution to the motion adopted by Local Queen's County, and *explained the action taken by your committee in calling for an Amnesty Conference.* So far we have not received a complaint against your action, from the comrades thus written to." (Our italics—the first two for comparison, which is odious, and the last to draw attention to the obvious inference.)

The Local Queen's County motion subsequently received the requisite endorsement which of course sup-

# The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

LOUIS C. FRAINA ..... Editor

EADMONN MACALPINE ..... Associate Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN REED

SEN KATAYAMA

N. I. HOURWICH

G. WEINSTEIN

LUDWIG LORE

ISSUED EVERY SATURDAY

By Local Boston, Socialist Party

H. G. Steiner, Business Manager

885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Bundle orders 2c a copy, Subscription \$1.00 for six months (26 issues)

*We need to have the clear party note sounded now and our position sharply defined as an uncompromising revolutionary party if we are to take and hold our rightful place in the international movement. We have got to plant our party upon the rock if it is not to be swept away in the oncoming tempest.—EUGENE V. DEBS, February 15, 1919.*

## Political Action

TO those members of the Socialist Party who are continually stating that Socialism is a political movement and that the party is a political party only we would draw attention to the following paragraph from *The Call*, the organ of the British Socialist Party:

"Bear these figures in mind when, on the reassembling of Parliament, you hear all about the 'People's Voice.' There are 20,000,000 electors in the United Kingdom. At the General Election only 9,690,109 voted—5,096,233 for the Coalition and 4,593,876 against it. And the Coalition has a majority of over 250 in the House of Commons!"

On a rough estimate it took 27,000 votes to elect a candidate on the Labor Party ticket and 13,000 votes to seat a Coalition candidate. No wonder 10,309,891 workers decided to do their voting in the shops of Glasgow, Belfast and London.

We would add, however, for the benefit of those who are opposed to political action that *The Call* advocates the use of the ballot as one of the weapons the workers must learn to use.

## Prinkipo

IT would seem that the much heralded Prinkipo conference was to be delegated to the realm of forgotten things. Vague surmises about the improbability of holding such a conference at Prinkipo filter through the columns of the press from time to time accompanied by conjectures concerning the suitability of this or that spot as the seat of the conference. It would be interesting to know what developments have caused Prinkipo to be unsuitable.

As a matter of fact the Allies are not anxious to confer with the Bolsheviks. The offer of such a conference, it would appear, was merely a trick and was made on the supposition that the Bolsheviks would refuse to attend. Then a new and more powerful offensive could be started against the Russian workers under cover of the argument that the Bolsheviks were unwilling to debate the matter. But the shoe is on the other foot now. Soviet Russia is quite willing to state her case in the open, she is willing to meet the Allies and discuss her position. And the Allies, with all the cards stacked in their favor, with the control of the press of the world, with the power to present most favorably their side of the case to the workers of the world, well—they have discovered that Prinkipo is unsuitable for such a conference and naturally it will take them quite some time to find another place where they might arrange a meeting.

In the meantime they are trying their best to overthrow the Bolsheviks and then of course there would be no necessity for conferring with them. But then other things might happen in the meantime.

## The Communist Congress

THE call issued by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia for an International Socialist Congress draws the line sharply between revolutionary Socialists and those social-patriots, bourgeois liberals and intellectual riff-raff who have hitherto called themselves Socialists and who have entered our movement only to betray it in the first crucial test. As in the actual scenes of the revolutionary struggle in Rus-

sia and Germany there is no place for the middle-of-the-road parties so henceforth in the International there can be no straddling the fence.

During the last four years Socialism has become a living vital movement, a movement for which men and women are fighting and dying, and the movement to which humanity is steadily turning for the solution of its problems. Today Socialism is fighting in open fight against the combined capitalist forces of the world, in Russia and Germany the Socialists are waging a desperate fight with their backs to the wall, the day of compromise is gone, those who are not with us are against us. Where the struggle is in action the relentless logic of events have forced the wavering to line up with one side or the other, and invariably the "moderates" have lined up with Capitalism. These facts have had their effect on the Socialist movement throughout the world and the Berne Conference, the last desperate attempt to resurrect the Second International, has clearly shown where the "moderates" stand, even in those countries where the class struggle is in a comparatively passive stage. The Berne Congress is organized against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Congress is called to perfect this instrument of the revolution.

The Social-patriots, the betrayers of the workers during the long years of the war, have chosen to join the ranks of the capitalists. They still mouth the language of Socialism but their deeds are dictated by their masters. The Communist Congress, called by the Bolsheviks, is called not in amplification of the Berne Congress but against it. There can be not unity between these two bodies, but on the contrary relentless war.

## They Are Still There!

THE war against Russia continues. The most contemptible and brutal phase of this war is the blockade of Russia, a blockade the purpose of which is to starve the Russian people into submission. Allied warships and troops at Archangel, Vladivostok and Odessa "plug up" Russia's outlets to the world. Capitalism cries copiously about "industrial disorganization and starvation" in Russia; and then refuses to allow Soviet Russia to purchase agricultural machinery and food in the markets of the world. This blockade of Russia is proceeding under the auspices of the Peace Conference in Paris, the same conference that is framing a "League of Nations." The attitude toward Russia indicates the character of this League—a combination of capitalist nations against the peoples, against Socialism, against the proletarian revolution whenever the Revolution may appear.

Recently, it was stated that Allied troops were to be withdrawn from Russia. But the fighting is still on. Moreover, reports come that the Peace Conference proposes to reconsider its plans about Russia; and the clamor for larger armed intervention has acquired larger scope. In this war, the Soviet troops, inspired by the revolutionary spirit, are proving victorious; while the main Bolshevik army is being held in reserve for action, if necessary, with the revolutionary army of Germany when the Spartacans conquer power.

By all the means in their power, the Allies are acting and intriguing against Soviet Russia. The *Christiana Social-Demokraten* published the following item recently:

Berlin, January 27.—Alleging that Russian prisoners of war in Germany are being sent home only in order to strengthen the military forces of the Bolsheviks, the Allied representatives on the Armistice Commission demanded last Saturday that the return of Russian war prisoners should stop. The German Commission protested against this order, declaring that such an act would lead to revolt as the Russian prisoners have for some time been notified of their impending return.

The Allies usurp control of the gold that the Imperial Government stole from Russia; they insist that German troops remain in the Baltic provinces to protect the power of the reactionary barons; they are using every means to crush Soviet Russia. But they are afraid to use real armed force, an army of two million men, for that would produce revolt in their own countries; instead they try starvation. A writer in *Collars* for March 1 said:

There are plenty of people here who press for armed intervention in Russia. But anybody with any scholarship in the background of his thinking knows that the thing which caused the French Revolution to drag along for twenty years was the effort to stop it from the outside, the effort of the other nations of Europe to stamp it out with armed forces. . . . There isn't a nation in Europe which at this moment would dare to summon its army to march into Russia. It wouldn't dare risk the danger of the army rising up and announcing it wouldn't go. . . . The peoples, the masses who make up armies, are in Europe about as much opposed to sending their men to fight the Russians as are our people at home. The plain truth is that in most of the European countries there is among the masses a certain sympathy with Bolshevism. . . . at least a disposition to give the Russians a chance and see how it works out.

Armed intervention accelerated the revolution in Russia, making many wavering elements rally to the Soviet Government; it is accelerating the oncoming proletarian revolution in other nations. The attitude of the Allies and Germany revealed the purposes of Capitalism and Imperialism, emphasized that the issue is now international Capitalism against international Socialism. . . . Alien troops are still at Archangel, Vladivostok and Odessa. But for how much longer?

## Industrial Parliaments

THE intensity of the industrial unrest in England is shown by the convening of an "Industrial Parliament" on February 27. This Parliament, while its purpose was to allay the unrest, indicated that a real industrial crisis is on, of which the flaring up of great strikes is another indication.

This "Industrial Parliament," an adaption of the "Industrial Councils" idea decided upon by the British Government about two years ago, was composed of 500 delegates of organized labor and 300 delegates of the employers. The parliament decided upon motion of Arthur Henderson, to elect a committee of sixty composed of 30 delegates each of labor and capital, to "inquire" into the causes of industrial unrest, the general conditions of industry, unemployment and measures for its prevention, and methods for cooperation between labor and capital. The committee will report to another session of the "Industrial Parliament" on April 5.

The sessions of the Parliament indicated that the official trades unions officials and the employers are each eager for "industrial peace," each are in dread of a proletarian revolution. The union delegates were very moderate, John Robert Clynes warning labor not "to demand too much in too brief a space of time." But Arthur S. Draper, in a cable to the *New York Tribune*, said: "The labor leaders are much more moderate than the workers and are rather doubtful of their ability to hold them in check."

The trades union officials at the Parliament insisted upon the state ownership of mines, railways and mercantile transportation. But these demands are repudiated by larger minority of the workers, who are insisting upon industrial self-government, the Soviet administration of industry. The parliament is accepted by the union officials, but is being repudiated by large groups of the workers, who want no conciliation with capital. A delegate of the Transport Workers' Federation bitterly attacked the resolution for an investigating commission declaring: "The conference has been called for the purpose of side-tracking all the efforts of the men and women workers to improve themselves."

The Parliament was a temporary victory for the union officials and the employers—for the union officials, in that it maintained their prestige; for the employers, in that they have secured a respite from large strikes, particularly in the case of the miners. The most serious problem of the British Government is to maintain the authority of the reactionary union officials; the revolt against these misleaders is assuming formidable proportions, they have been repudiated in strike after-strike, the workers turning to mass action, and they are becoming the bulwark of capital against proletarian revolution.

In his address to the Parliament, Lloyd-George said: "It is not for the Government to dictate to either capital or labor, but to be impartial." A capitalist government impartial! The bourgeois state is the enemy of the proletariat, the instrument for the coercion of the proletariat; that is its principal function. In its very nature it cannot be impartial; and the action of the government during the recent great strikes is proof of this. Yet the whole idea of the Industrial Parliament, held under Government auspices and controlled by the Government, is based upon this idea of the impartiality of the state. The proletariat must wage war upon the state as the organ of the ruling class, to organize for the conquest of power, the destruction of the bourgeois state and the construction of the new proletarian state of the organized producers.

The "Industrial Parliament" is a higher development of the American Civic Federation. It will founder upon the rock of the class struggle, which prevents the realization of harmony between labor and capital; at most, it may promote Laborism and the interests of the aristocracy of labor. Capitalism, verging on collapse because of its own industrial insolvency and the developing revolt of the workers, will try scheme after scheme to prevent revolution. But all that Capitalism can accomplish, with the co-operation of reactionary trades unionism and petty bourgeois "Socialism," is to deceive the proletariat temporarily—only temporarily. The world has definitely emerged into a revolutionary epoch; and the proletariat must prepare itself, will prepare for uncompromising war upon Capitalism, for the conquest of power and Socialism.

## Soviet Germany

**I**T IS coming—the new revolution in Germany, the proletarian revolution for the definite conquest of power and proletarian dictatorship.

The Spartacans have issued a call for a national general strike as preparatory to the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly and its bourgeois government. A state of siege has been declared in Berlin and its suburbs. The Berlin *Vorwaerts* is apprehensive, declaring that the workers will respond to the strike call. The Spartacan call declares that the purposes of the strike are:

1—The overthrow of the Constituent Assembly and the Government; establishment of a Soviet Republic and proletarian dictatorship.

2—The introduction of Councils in the factories as an instrument for workers' control of industry and the ultimate realization of the complete socialization of industry.

3—The dismissal of Government troops and the disarmament of the bourgeoisie, the withdrawal of all troops from Westphalia, Bremen and other regions.

4—The formation of a Red Guard under control of the Soviets, which would take over all military and police powers.

5—The liberation of all political prisoners and the establishment of a revolutionary tribunal to try the Hohenzollerns, Field Marshall von Hindenburg, Gen. Ludendorff and Admiral von Tirpitz, and the "traitors to the Revolution," President Ebert, Chancellor Scheidemann and Gustav Noske, the "minister of defense" who is butchering the masses.

6—Immediate peace and an alliance with revolutionary Socialist Soviet Russia.

The call of the Spartacans for a general strike in Berlin is to climax the political strikes which have been declared all over Germany. It was called for Wednesday, but depends upon the general strategic situation. The strike is a clear, uncompromising political strike for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new crisis and action developed out of the declaration of a proletariat dictatorship by the Munich Soviet. The Spartacans control Munich, the Soviet, the public buildings and the transportation service. Control of food has been established, the workers securing twice the ration of the bourgeoisie. At a Congress of Soviets in Munich it was announced that the Soviet had appointed Commissaires whose duty it was to introduce Socialist measures, concerning which chairman Nikisch said:

These Commissaires have dictatorial powers. One of the most important is the Housing Commissaire, whose task it is to find dwellings for all laborers. The Food Commissaire will see to it that every Bavarian gets his portion. Foodstuffs of those who have too much will be taken away from them. The city proletariat is now being armed and next will come the peasants.

"We are beginning the second revolution, the revolution against capital," declared Sauber. "Parliamentarism must be done away with." The Communist Levin proposed the immediate declaration of a Soviet Republic for all Bavaria and war against the bourgeoisie, the Constituent Assembly, the education of revolutionary events, the unceasing agitation of the Spartacans and the proclamation of proletarian dictatorship in Bavaria developed action all over Germany. Central Germany, with the miners in the lead, flared up into general strike with a distinctly political character; general strikes were declared in Leipsic, Erfurt, Halle, and in other districts. The transportation system was demoralized by the strikes. The bourgeoisie retaliated by a "strike" of their own—physicians, pharmacists, professionals generally—but this "strike" proved a fizzle, simply intensifying the spirit of revolt and the determination of the masses to act definitely for the conquest of power.

The proletariat is using its economic power to demoralize and overthrow the Government. But the strikes are simply a prelude; if the situation develops favorably, out of the strikes will come revolutionary mass action, armed revolutionary attack upon the Government and the seizure of power by the Soviets.

These events are isolating the Constituent Assembly and the bourgeois—"Socialist" Government at Weimar. They are not only isolated, but verging upon collapse.

They issue frantic appeals, while the masses prepare for revolutionary action. The Constituent Assembly and the Government refused to act upon the demand of the masses for "the socialization of industry." The Constituent Assembly passed a measure creating a "national army," a reactionary measure to create a force for crushing the masses. The Constituent Assembly clearly expressed its counter-revolutionary character.

It was clearly the purpose of the Constituent Assembly and the moderate Socialists to dissolve the Soviets: necessarily, since the Soviets, potential of proletarian dictatorship, cannot co-exist with a Constituent Assembly and parliamentary government. When this danger of dissolution appeared clearly to the Soviets, there was an immediate swing to the left, and an accelerated assumption of control by the Spartacans. In Berlin, the Soviet Central Council is dominated equally by the Spartacans and the Independent Socialists: these Independents have apparently accepted the Spartacan Communist program. The Soviets insisted that they would not dissolve, and a call was issued for a national congress of Soviets as against the Constituent Assembly. Then came a moderate proposal for a compromise: that the new parliamentary government should have a lower chamber composed of representatives of the Soviets. The Government is reported as willing to consider this proposal in order to conciliate the Soviets. But the proposal is counter-revolutionary. It is necessary that parliamentary government should be abolished; that a new proletarian state capable of introducing Socialism should be established. Only a Soviet state functioning as a proletarian dictatorship can act upon the problems of the revolution, can actually socialize industry, can expropriate the bourgeoisie politically as a preliminary measure to their complete economic expropriation. Parliamentary government is the instrument of the bourgeois order; it means the supremacy of capital. Should the Soviets accept the proposal to constitute a lower chamber of a bourgeois parliamentary government, they would become stultified into a mere "parliamentary opposition," would relinquish the great revolutionary task that beckons them.

The most significant feature of recent events in Germany is the apparent revolutionizing of the Soviets. The earlier Spartacan revolts failed because the Soviets were not in action; but they contributed enormously to the revolutionizing of the Soviets, in creating the consciousness and concepts of revolutionary action. Revolutionary action is the supreme educator of the proletariat.

Another significant feature is the definite swing to the left among the Independent Socialists. In Bavaria, the Independents are again playing the counter-revolutionary game by trying to come to "an agreement" with the majority Socialists: but the Spartacans are in control. In Berlin, however, the Independents seem to be working together with the Spartacan Communists. Hugo Haase has declared that "the second revolutionary unrest will result in two competing governments, one in Weimar and the other in Berlin, the latter a Soviet Government. Only by accepting the Communist program can the Independents become a real force in the Revolution.

Simultaneously with these great events, comes the report that a large Bolshevik army is at the German frontier prepared to co-operate with the Spartacan Communists. The revolutionary Communists of Russia and Germany have prepared an offensive and defensive alliance, which will spring into action the moment the Spartacans and the Soviets secure control in Germany. This is what the Allies fear; this is what the petty bourgeois Socialists represented by Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. fear, a fear expressed in one form by their refusal to accept food from Soviet Russia to feed the German people. In an article in the Berlin *Vorwaerts* recently, Friedrich Stampfer said:

What is the situation in Germany? Here the Russian policy is working in the first place at the complete destruction of what exists; the new organization is to arise out of complete dissolution. So the new war would break out when the German people stands completely defenseless in face of its enemy. Consequently, Russian policy reckons less with its military power than with the revolutionary effect which it hopes to

produce in the Entente camp. The Bolshevik world revolution is the last card on which it stakes everything.

Allowing for its prejudice, this clearly presents the situation. But the proletarian revolution will issue out of the needs and action of the proletariat of Germany: Russian Bolshevik propaganda simply accelerates the process. At this moment, the immediate fate of the international proletarian revolution is being decided in Germany. The Spartacan Communists may conquer power: then will come, universally and implacably, the final struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism.

## Bolshevikjabs

**T**HE new York *Call* asks: "What became of the fellow that used to say: 'I am a Socialist, but —?'" Might we venture the guess that he has been made a Socialist Alderman in New York City.

\* \* \*

Under the headline "Berlin Riots Renewed By Spartacans," an evening paper carries this paragraph: "A Belgian Commission has been dispatched to inquire about 1,000,000 valuable pigeons that were stolen. . . . It is believed that most of them were eaten." Outlaws! Bolsheviks! Pigeon-eaters!

\* \* \*

### Investigating Bolshevism

Senator King:—Do you believe in God?

Senator Nelson:—Do you believe in the Christian religion?

Senator Overman:—Answer the question—Do you believe in a God?

Senator Wolcott:—Do you believe in a future punishment?

Miss Louise Bryant (witness): Am I being tried for witchcraft?

\* \* \*

"Intrigue cannot stand publicity" said President Wilson in his speech at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York. Which we suppose explains why secret sessions are being held in Paris.

\* \* \*

In view of the fact that Mr. Wilson has declared that: "Europe. . . sees that statesmen have no vision," we wonder would it be fair to say that the plan of the League of Nations was drawn up by men without vision?

\* \* \*

By passing a resolution favoring self-determination for Ireland the Irish vote in America has again been made safe while the President's interview with the Irish delegation makes it plain that England is not in danger of any embarrassing suggestions from America. Thus everybody's pleased, Ireland's claims are recognized thus adding to the lustre of self-determination, England's point of view is also recognized thus keeping unimpaired the doctrine of the rule of the sword. Liberty receives a polite bow, tyranny gets a hearty handshake and things remain as they were. Ain't Democracy wonderful?

\* \* \*

As we see the situation from the newspapers it is something like this: The League of Nations is a success, No it isn't, Yes it is, No it isn't, Yes it is, No it isn't. . . .

\* \* \*

We will offer a valuable prize to any person who will explain in not more than 10,000 words the difference between the Balance of Power and the League of Nations.

\* \* \*

After perusing the proposed Red Flag Bill we have come to the conclusion that it will be almost as easy to get 5 years and a \$5,000 fine under it as it is to get 20 years and a \$10,000 fine under the Espionage Act.

\* \* \*

Lloyd-George speaking before the "Industrial Parliament" in England said that the Government must not dictate to either capital or labor but must remain impartial. This declaration of the government's attitude doubtless explains the use of Government troops in the strikes of Glasgow and Belfast.

\* \* \*

But who wants an impartial government anyway? We are afraid that Mr. George doesn't understand the situation—Labor is aiming to become the government.

\* \* \*

"The commission of jurists appointed to consider the guilt of the ex-Kaiser and others, has decided that the sovereign of a state cannot be proceeded against" says a newspaper report. We dislike having to disagree with a commission of eminent jurists but we have a faint recollection that Nicholas Romanoff was at one time a sovereign and that he was proceeded against very effectively indeed.

# The Angelic Capitalists and the Atrocious Bolsheviki

By E. Freidberg

*This article is written by a young man, yet in his teens, who has been completely blind since his early childhood.*

FOR the past year or so we have been incessantly hearing of the horrible and unheard of atrocities committed by the Bolsheviki of Russia. The people who go under this name are known in America as fanatical revolutionaries, mad with the lust for destruction. They are said to be a menace to civilization and all the age-long institutions of liberty and justice (if such institutions can be said to exist). They have the reputation of wanting to replace the rule of law and order by a reign of terror and chaos. All these sinister stories and erroneous rumors have clouded the minds of the American people as to the real tendencies and aims of the Bolsheviki.

I shall endeavor, through a comparison, to show how really "atrocious" the Bolsheviki are and how wonderfully "angelic" their bitterest opponents, the capitalists, are—the capitalists of all countries, whether Asiatic, European, or American.

Let me ask, who started the European war? Most Americans will answer, the Germans started it. It is true that the Kaiser and his gang meant to gain by plunging Europe into the bloodiest conflict history had ever seen; but were there not some on the opposite side who meant to either gain by the war, or to hold what they had already gained by the same methods?

It is admitted by all authorities that behind the pretext of the murder of the Archduke of Austria and his wife there was the fundamental cause of commercial and territorial gain and acquisition for Germany. The Germans wanted to build the Berlin to Bagdad railroad, in order that they might have access to the markets of the East. In order to do this the Central Powers had to control the Balkans. By allying themselves with Turkey the Germans could still better compete with the English for the markets of the East. They could also, by controlling Constantinople, threaten English commerce on the Mediterranean. Here the interests of England and Germany clashed.

A third party now comes upon the scene. This is Russia. She has always had interests in the Balkans, and she wanted to get possession of Constantinople so that she might have an outlet to the sea in that quarter of the globe. Here, in Constantinople and the Balkans, Russian and German interests were at variance.

Germany wanted to extend her colonial possessions, and, as there was no more land which was unclaimed, she consequently coveted the colonies of other powers. Germany also desired to control the ports of Belgium and Holland, in order to extend her commerce in the West, and to build a larger navy in order to protect that commerce. England opposed this policy because she feared that the Germans would outstrip her Western commerce. Here again German and English interests clashed.

Two other factors enter into the make-up of the cause of the war. Italy has always claimed the Austrian ports of Fiume, Trieste and Pola on the Adriatic, France, ever since the Franco-Prussian war has been watching for an opportunity to regain Alsace-Lorraine.

Briefly outlined, these are some of the causes, which started the great world war. Each of the above mentioned nations, having opposing interests, strained themselves to prepare for the conflict which they knew to be inevitable. France extended the period of service in her army, and thus built up a standing army of four million men. England enlarged her navy. Germany enlarged her navy, and trained her army to the highest point of efficiency. Russia too built up a colossal army. This all resulted in the great crash of 1914.

Let us now take a look into the real facts and see who really caused all this pandemonium in Europe. Did the majority of the German people want to commit suicide? Let us examine the matter more closely. Let us find if the people of any of the belligerent countries deliberately wanted to bring about, for a period of four long years, the wholesale slaughter of men and the wholesale starvation of women and children.

Was it the German people who wanted to extend German trade at the cost of others? No; it was the German manufacturers and merchants, who desired to enlarge their trade and thus fill their pockets, and

also to give the German manufacturers a chance to export their products. Was it the German people who wanted the Balkans? What good would the people of Germany have derived from the Balkan states, if Germany did own them? What good would the Berlin to Bagdad railway have done the German working man? Did he desire to secure the markets of the East? No; it was only another scheme through which capital might be centralized in the hands of a few. It was only another means of exploiting the people, not only of their own country but also of other countries. Was it the German people who wanted the ports of Belgium and Holland? No; it was the capitalists again, who wished to better their facilities for making money at the expense of the Belgian, Dutch, and German people.

Was it the Russian people who wanted the Balkans and Constantinople? No. They have positively shown that they did not. Russia declared that she had to protect her little cousin, niece, nephew, or whatever she called Serbia. It seems that the Russian nobility and Czarists had a warmer spot in their hearts for Constantinople than for the fortunes of their "dear little Serbia." This is proved by the fact that the Russian armies instead of trying to protect Serbia, commenced to fight their way through the Caucasus region, hoping in this way to reach the shores of the Bosphorous. When this plan of attack failed, she tried to get to Constantinople by way of Rumania; and little Serbia was left out in the cold to shift for herself. There was a great deal of talk about the kinship and lovable relations between the Serbians and the Russians. This was perfectly true; but this fact was used by the men whose selfish interests were involved in possessing the Balkans and Constantinople. They used the best ideals and highest aspirations of the Russian people for furthering their own sinister and diabolical schemes. They made the people of the allied countries and of Russia believe that they were going into the war to fight Germany and Austria in order to save their little neighbor Serbia.

What the hoodwinked Russian soldier really fought for was the better facilities for the Russian capitalist to exploit the Russian and Balkan people. Both German and Russian capitalists coveted Constantinople and the Balkans. The difference was, that the Germans started the fight, because they thought that by so doing they could get ahead of the Russians.

Now, the English merchant and manufacturer step in to protect their interests. Then comes the French capitalist, who desires to make money out of the rich mines of Alsace-Lorraine. Does it make much difference to the workers in those mines whether they are owned by Germany or France. He will be exploited and kept on insufficient wages in either case. One may possibly be better than the other, but the worker certainly did not wish to enter upon a career of bloodshed and murder to make a change from a French to a German task master.

Lastly was it the Italian people who wanted the Austrian ports on the Adriatic? No; here again we have the capitalists—manufacturer and merchant—who wanted to extend their facilities for making money at the expense of their people.

To back up the merchant and manufacturer come the bankers and brokers, who know that the governments must borrow money to carry on the war, and that they will get good interest. Then those people, who have their money invested in industries which are suited for war were ready and eager to make their fortunes, or rather to multiply their fortunes. Read, "the truth about the Bethlehem steel" and the record of the Krupp manufacturers in Germany. Then the noble, high-minded, high-browed statesman, diplomat, politician, demagogue does as the man with the money tells him to do, for upon pleasing this man depends his notoriety, honorable position, etc.

Any just and clear-minded reader will see that it was not through the will of the people of any of the conflicting countries that this most infamous crime of

history was committed. On all sides,—whether German or English, whether Austrian or Russian, whether French or Turkish,—the opposing interests were those of capital; and, in most cases, the people were not even given a chance to say what they thought of the proposition of plunging Europe into the bloodiest, blackest and most malicious war of history.

Did these "resolute," "steady-minded," and "well-bred" men who started the war fight it out amongst themselves, since it was all for their interests? No; they had to stay at home, sitting around on soft cushions, they used their "weapons," which they had been training for many years. They sent out millions of men—rank upon rank of them to murder each other. Had these men any quarrel with each other? No; but, led on by press and by orators, hirelings of capital, they believed that they were fighting for the good of humanity and for the glory of their country. The men who commit such crimes as the European war for their own interests and sinister aims make a plaything of national patriotism.

The allied capitalists have attained their aims, but what is the workman's share of the spoils? The common man, no matter on which side he may be, will have to pay in sweat and taxes that which his fathers were either forced or tricked into destroying. The poor man's share in the spoils of war will be devastated homes and heaped up taxes, which will produce untold misery and poverty. It is asked, why should there be misery and poverty, when there is such a splendid opportunity for employment? Oh yes, there will be work enough and more than enough; but first the people must support thousands of crippled, blinded, insane, feeble-minded men, products of the war. Then, secondly, the governments of the different belligerent countries have borrowed millions and billions of dollars, which, although used to advance the interests of the capitalists, the laborer will have to pay to the capitalist because he is the man who holds the government bonds, in most cases; though in America and France some of the bonds are held by the rank and file of the people.

The war was caused for and resulted in the extension of the facilities of the rich to become richer and the poor to become poorer. Was it fought for Democracy, Humanity, or Liberty? It was caused by and fought for commercialism and the interest of capital.

Now let us turn our thoughts to the Bolshevik atrocities. The Russians were oppressed, and had been oppressed for the past four centuries. They saw their chance in 1917, and revolted, first against the Czarist regime, which meant the political and industrial subjugation of the people; then they revolted against the Kerensky government, which meant a somewhat modified form of the Czar's regime. In the European war about ten million men were killed or wounded, and we do not know and cannot conceive of the starvation and suffering of the women and children in the belligerent countries. In the first place this was only a struggle between nations, where most of the soldiers who fought on either side, knew very little of the grievances which they thought themselves to be setting aright. Secondly, it was fomented by a few and carried on for their interests. The Bolsheviki in their efforts to gain control in Russia and to maintain that control have caused the death of about twenty thousand people. They have starved none. The starvation in Russia has been brought about by the Allied blockade of the Russian ports. In the first place the Bolsheviki struggle is a great international struggle. In the second place, every Russian worker knows what he is fighting for. The Bolsheviki are in truth very atrocious. They have put to death in the most brutal manner, twenty thousand people. The capitalist is in truth very angelic. He has put softly to sleep, with cannon and machine gun, ten million men. They have very amiably, and in a very angelic manner, starved out whole nations of children and women. Judge the truth, oh reader.

If these capitalists, Czars, Kaisers, Kings, junkers find it necessary and even very convenient to murder millions of men, if these high-minded, liberal, and deep-thinking statesmen, politicians, and diplomats find it impossible to negotiate and make a peaceful settlement of the dispute, how can they expect the Bolsheviki to do any better—the Bolsheviki, whom they have always looked upon as ignorant, uneducated, vodka-saturated, and vicious Russian peasants?

# The Humanity of Lawrence in Action

By Richard Hansen

THE working masses in the United States are awakening. In rapid succession events are passing before our eyes. While the spectacular general strike in Seattle was commanding the attention of the country big strikes broke out in Tacoma and Patterson. And then in Butte and Lawrence. Now while the Lawrence strike is in full blast New York Harbor is tied up by a strike which is characterized as a Bolshevik outbreak.

Each and everyone of these events are parts of the great labor unrest that is sweeping not only over America but over the world. They appear as separate and distinct events having no connection with each other, but in reality they are closely related, they are symptomatic of the whole situation and this is the reason they are receiving such wide attention in spite of the newspaper conspiracy of silence, this is the reason Secretary Baker dispatches troops to quell the uprising in Seattle, this is why the Textile Junkers of New England have mobilized the police force of all the cities of Massachusetts to put down the rebellion in Lawrence.

The situation is pregnant with tremendous possibilities. It commands the interest of the entire country, but especially is it interesting to those who witnessed or took an active part in the great Russian upheaval of 1905, who have seen the first "disconnected" local outbreaks become general, who have watched the slow gathering of clouds in the oppressive atmosphere and then beheld them bursting forth into the magnificent tempest that shook the whole rotten structure of monarchy and Capitalism to its foundations so that even the valiant efforts of the genial French and German bankers were unable to restore it.

The storm of social revolution is sweeping over the world and America has not escaped. The clouds are gathering here even though the workers themselves are unaware of the fact. And no force on earth can avert the coming storm. To those whose minds have been steeped in the fables of democracy the inevitability of social revolution is difficult to understand. They conceive revolution as a general riot, a sort of "free-for-all" brought about by the inflammatory speeches and writings of agitators, they are unable to visualize the revolution in action—the great mass movement of the proletariat, where even the greatest individuals are of but little moment.

The strikes that are even now sweeping over the country are largely the uprising of the masses themselves. Great leaders are little heard of in these recent struggles, the Department of Justice has seized them. Debs is under sentence and confined to the jurisdiction of the court district, Haywood and Mooney are in jail, while thousands of lesser stars have fallen victims to the same fate. The masses of the workers are without great leadership and are consequently thrown back upon themselves; they are becoming self-conscious and developing a consciousness of their class

interests. It is an easy matter to pluck out the leaders, to imprison, deport or execute them, but no power on earth can deport or exterminate the whole awakened working class.

Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were brutally murdered by the German capitalists and their henchmen, the Majority Socialists, Radek has been deported and Ledebour thrown into prison, but the Spartacans are even now massing for the victorious assault on the citadel of power. The removal of the leaders did not lessen the revolutionary spirit of the masses but on the contrary urged them on to further effort. So the removal of Debs and Haywood only serves to swell the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat of America. All movements that are built solely on the person-

## An Appeal

The paramount need of the Lawrence Strikers is funds—without financial assistance the workers will be seriously handicapped in their fight. Though the spirit and morale of these workers is magnificent this alone is not sufficient, these men, women and children must be fed. Many of the more class conscious labor unions are rallying to their support but the expenses of this fight are enormous. If every reader of *The Revolutionary Age*, would contribute a dollar the workers would be enabled to start a reserve fund which would give them a sense of financial security.

Send contributions to C. Silin, 885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

alities of great leaders are bound to fail, but when the mass itself moves into action it is invincible, then every victimized comrade is supplanted by a thousand others. And the dominant feature of the present sporadic struggles in America is their mass character.

The Textile strike in Lawrence, Mass. is a typical example.

Here is a human mass of 30,000 workers—unorganized, uneducated, speaking thirty-one different tongues, split into a number of antagonistic religions—rising as one man to the defense of themselves and their children. For five weeks they have defied the greedy industrial barons, backed by the power of the press, the pulpit and the mobilized police of the entire state. Carloads of trained Cossacks and other strike-breaking units have been rushed to Lawrence. Everything has been placed at the disposal of the master class, even the services of the so-called "labor" organizations have been utilized to crush the workers and drive them back to the mills at reduced wages.

The workers have been denounced as foreigners and have been treated as enemies and outlaws. The law is invariably invoked against them though they and their families constitute the majority of the population of Lawrence. The benefits of democracy are evidenced by the breaking up of peaceful picket lines, the prohibition of meetings and parades and the riding

down of women with babies in their arms by mounted police.

When the strike began on February 3, there was no organization of any strength among the textile workers. The I.W.W. group had been disbanded and the A. F. of L. mustered scarcely 150 members, the majority of these members subsequently turned strike-breakers. The only other organization consisted of a few branches of the Socialist Party, small unimportant groups concerned chiefly in conducting peaceful educational work among their respective nationalities. In view of these facts this struggle has tremendous import, a struggle where Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, revolutionist and conservative are all united in splendid solidarity against their common enemy, the textile kaisers. The common class interest has proved to be stronger than all the ties of language, tradition, religion and race. And the Lawrence strikers are typical of industrial America, just as the textile capitalists are flesh and bone of American Capitalism.

The strikers were as patriotic as the average American worker, they gave their sons and brothers to the army, they bought liberty bonds, they were proud of being American born or naturalized citizens, they believed in American democracy and justice. That was five weeks ago.

Five weeks ago they were blind to the class struggle. Today they see. They are learning a great lesson and so they remain solid and unwavering. The mills are at a standstill, or if operating they produce only noise instead of cloth. All the sympathies of proletarian America are on the side of the strikers. Labor unions are sending funds in spite of the official attitude of the A. F. of L., and the cowardly stand of the Lawrence Central Labor Union. The Cigarmakers of Boston and Lowell have subscribed \$3,000 and all class conscious workers are rallying to the aid of the strikers.

This struggle is a test case, the outcome of this fight will affect the 700,000 textile workers of America, whose wages have been cut or are endangered. If the Lawrence workers win this strike it will be a mighty blow struck against the attempts of the capitalists to reduce wages all over the country. Victory in Lawrence spells inspiration and a brighter future for proletarian America.

The same great unrest is rampant in other textile centers. Lowell is entering the struggle with the increased demand for a 44 hour week and 25 per cent increase in wages and there is a growing tendency to make this a general demand for the whole textile industry. A general strike would make the textile junkers think the matter over and come to terms. The industry is capable of granting such a modest demand, even though there is a period of slackness. If not—there is the alternative that will eliminate unemployment and want for ever. The workers are learning what this alternative is, every strike furnishes further education.

## How the Machine Works

THE following cutting throws as vivid light on the methods employed to keep control of the American Federation of Labor:

CHICAGO, Feb. 26.—Maurice "Mossey" Enright, labor agent and slayer of two men in gunmen's fights several years ago, wanted in connection with the shooting of three men Tuesday night in a factional quarrel of the Journeymen Plumbers' Union, was found yesterday in a hotel probably fatally wounded by bullet that had passed through the right lung. A police guard was stationed at his bed-side. Enright refused to say who wounded him.

Enright killed William (Dutch) Gentleman and Vincent Altman in barroom fights in 1911, when he was business agent for the Steamfitters' Union. He was convicted and sentenced to Joliet Penitentiary for life. Former Governor Dunne pardoned him in 1913.

Enright was accused of Tuesday night's shooting by J. H. Smythe, one of the leaders of a group in the Plumbers' Union, who, with Stephen Kelliher, a union organizer, seriously wounded.

It is interesting to know that one of the gang of professional murderers who have terrorized the rank and file of the Chicago Union movement for years has met the fate he and his kind have so often visited upon others. Outsiders always put the question, when we are engaged in criticizing the corrupt junta who dominate the A. F. of L.: "If all you say is true about the thuggery and corruption which permeate the A. F. of L. how is it the clean and honest men do not combine to purify their organization and smash the Gompers machine?"

The above news item regarding the fate of "Mossey" Enright is the answer. This foul creature has been for years engaged as a professional thug to overawe the rank and file of various unions and intimidate them from attempting to overthrow the corrupt crim-

## An Eyewitness on Russian Atrocities

THE one-sided and prejudiced information about Russia, which alone is permitted to reach this country, invariably speaks of the "atrocities" which the Bolsheviks commit upon members of the capitalist class. It studiously avoids even the mention of the barbarities which are perpetrated upon the masses of workers and peasants by the bourgeoisie whenever, as in the case of Samara, Simbirsk, Kazan, Ufa, and the Siberian towns, it succeeds for a time in capturing, with the aid of Czecho-Slovak hirelings, the local government machinery. Numerous instances could be quoted to illustrate the methods of "restoring law and order" practiced by the White Guards in such cases; but it will be sufficient to quote the latest which have come to hand. At one time the important Volga town Kazan was in the hands of the reactionaries, who had succeeded in wresting it from the local Soviet; however, they again lost it a short time afterwards. In the *Izvestiya* of October 2nd an eye-witness describes the rule of the Kazan bourgeoisie during the brief period of its power as follows:—

"One simply shivers at the recollection of the first days of the rule of the members of the so-called Constituent Assembly. . . . Ward and house committees became agents of the *okhrana* (secret police), and terrible was the fate of the class-conscious workers! The committees would denounce these men to the young White Guardsmen, who then went about the factories and the working class quarters. . . ."

The report goes on to describe the shameful part played throughout by the Mensheviks (Moderate So-

cial Democrats) and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the latter led by the notorious Boris Savinkoff, an ex-terrorist, a Minister of War under Kerensky, and an accomplice of General Korniloff. This renegade was now proclaiming publicly that the "salvation of the country lay not in the twaddle of the Mensheviks and even Socialist-Revolutionaries, but in the reinstatement of officers in their rights."

The report says: "The bourgeoisie has now armed itself. The ranks of the army began to be filled by volunteers from the Tchinovnik class and from students and schoolboys, sons of the well-to-do all of them, incensed at the working class, bent upon destroying the Social Revolution and restoring the good times of the old regime. The officers put on, not, indeed, the old shoulder straps, but sleeve shields with stars, and saluting was restored. An officer's casino made its appearance in the main street bearing the eloquent name of 'Old Times.' And everything went, indeed, as in the old times. Mobilised soldiers, workers, and peasants were beaten in the face as of old, and unbridled tyranny and licence became the order of the day. Workers continued to be arrested and shot, and even members of the Labor Conference, with Mensheviks at their head, were arrested. Orders were posted up in the streets of Kazan ordering the workers to give up all arms on pain of being shot, and threatening, in case they should again revolt, to destroy the working class quarter by artillery fire."

Such was the restored bourgeois regime in one of the largest towns in Russia, and such it was and still is in other places occupied at one time or another, with assistance of the Czecho-Slovaks and the political and financial encouragement of the diplomatic representatives of the Allies. It also shows what would happen in Russia on a national scale if Admiral Koltchak, the latest adventurer and favorite of the Allies, were to overthrow the Soviet regime.

JIM LARKIN.

# Tchicherin's Report to the Fifth Soviet Congress, July 1918

III.

Translated by B. Auerhaan

ALL such impracticable actions give cause for protest from the German government and also cause for conflicts which increase the obligations excessively. The question of computation of the damage caused by us, the question of the financial liquidation of our obligations which were caused by these actions and the question of the regulation of our social legislation relative to foreign subjects demand immediate decision.

The joint Commission of German and Soviet representatives, who are at this moment in session in Berlin is confronted by an extremely complicated problem. Our representative, Bronsky, proposed the following conditions for an agreement, in the name of the People's Commissaire of Trade and Industry:

1. Russia must, for the sake of economic restoration, take up her economic relations with the Central Powers again, and at the same time continue her relations with the Entente Powers as far as possible.

2. To meet our obligations to the Central Powers, according to the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, we are compelled to conclude a loan, whereby the total amount of these obligations shall be turned into a state debt. The payments of interest shall be partly in products of our country, and timber, and partly in gold and in German securities in possession of the Russian government.

3. As a guarantee for this debt, and also for the payment of the more necessary products for the economic reconstruction of Russia now being bought in Germany, we propose to give certain concessions for the exploitation of natural resources in Russia. The condition of these concessions are within the existing Social and Trade laws of Russia and provide that we take part in the exploitation of these resources, retain a part of the proceeds and reserve the right of control.

4. The concessions cover the following branches of the State's economy: (a) The production of oil. (b) The building of railroads. (c) The preparation and exploitation of certain branches of agriculture by introducing more scientific and technical methods of agriculture, under the condition that Germany will receive a certain part of the products resulting from such methods. (d) The production of artificial fertilizer. (e) The exploitation of the gold fields.

5. For the realization of these measures all the productive forces of Russia must be mobilized.

The following are the necessary conditions under which the agreement is sanctioned:

(a) No interference whatsoever by Germany in our internal politics.

(b) No intervention by Germany in those countries with which she was formerly united, by the conclusion of mutual economic treaties, to wit: Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic Provinces (Estland) and the Caucasus.

(c) Recognition by Germany of the nationalization of foreign trade and the banks.

(d) Guarantee from Germany for the continuation of the supply of ore to Soviet Russia from Kri-voï Rog in the Kherson government, and from the Caucasus, from which districts Russia has hitherto received at least half of the total ore production.

(e) Ratification of the boundary between Ukraine and the Don region whereby Russia shall be awarded the Donetz coal mines, as at present this boundary line runs through the center of the mines.

Concerning the demand that we meet our obligations by payment with products, we call attention to the fact that our decided refusal to agree with these claims does not mean that we refuse, for, as far as our position as a neutral nation makes this possible to supply Germany with raw materials and products, we are willing to deliver to her what we can without injury to our own interests, without conflicting with the situation of our country as a neutral nation.

But our interests, the interests of an exhausted nation, make it necessary that we receive in return for products which are expensive in Europe at present such products as are absolutely necessary for the restoration of the country.

Relative to the opinions existing in the capitalistic centres of Germany, that our social experiments make the concessions worthless, that the nationalization excludes the possibility of making profits for foreign capitalists, we declare: Our country is in a state of deterioration; every other form of restoration, except the form, which is pointed out by the German capitalists as a Socialistic experiment, would be resisted by strong opposition of the masses, as the people have learned by grave experience of many years never to submit again to the uncontrolled capitalistic hubbub of restoration. If German Capitalism would reckon with this fact,—and a fact it surely is—then the German capitalistic centres would understand that we have, after the inevitable period of confusion, reached the work of organization, and that we require for this work the assistance of foreign economic apparatus, as long as we can not depend upon the assistance of a

Socialistic Europe. We are prepared to pay for such assistance: yes, to pay. We declare it openly, as we are not to blame.

The nationalization of the principal branches of industry, the nationalization of foreign trade do not exclude these payments; they but determine the form and manner of payment which foreign capital shall demand.

The question of the return of the prisoners of war and civil prisoners, and the maintenance of them until their return to their countries, played a great part in our relations to Germany and Austria-Hungary. Between Russia and Austria-Hungary, the question of the number of war prisoners to be transported presented no difficulties, as the number of prisoners on both sides was less than a million. There was difficulty with Germany, as the number of our war prisoners in Germany was more than a million, while the number of German prisoners in Russia was but little more than a hundred thousand. As the Russian-German commission in Moscow could not come to an agreement on this question of the basis for an exchange of war prisoners between Russia and Germany, it was referred to the Russian-German commission in Berlin, who adopted the principle of exchanging man for man, in accordance with an ultimatum of the German authorities on June 24. We had to accommodate ourselves to this demand. We are yet facing a severe struggle for the improvement of the conditions of our war prisoners in Germany, where the majority of them labor under extraordinarily, severe conditions. We must labor unceasingly so that when the German prisoners of war shall have returned to their country the further return of Russian prisoners occurs in the same tempo.

The relations to Austria-Hungary are less vital than those to Germany, as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was only lately ratified by Austria-Hungary. In the beginning, there was only the question of the exchange of prisoners of war, but later a financial commission arrived in Moscow from Vienna, with the object of regulating the mutual financial obligations of both states upon a basis similar to that of the Russian-German commission in Berlin. Kamjenif was appointed as our representative to Vienna, but we have not as yet received his recognition by the Austria-Hungarian government. We expect the appointment of representative of Austria-Hungary to Moscow in the near future (this report was made in the beginning of July) which will greatly improve the relations between both countries.

The Turkish ambassador, Thalib-Kemal-Bey, came to Moscow with the German ambassador, Count Mirbach, but the establishment of friendly relations between the peoples of Russia and Turkey, which country is also the object of exploitation by World Capital, was prevented by the aggressive policy of Turkey in the Caucasus, where the Turkish army, after having occupied Batoum, Kars and Ardahan, commenced to advance further, occupied Alexandropol and threatened Baku. The horrible treatment of the Mussulmen in the Caucasus was always pointed to by the Turkish ambassador as an answer to our protest.

The lately arrived Bulgarian ambassador, Mr. Taj-aprasnikof, pointed constantly to the absence of any causes that could interrupt the friendly relations of the peoples of Bulgaria and Russia, while at the same time, the total absence of all aggressive endeavors in our policy, to which we called the attention of the Bulgarian ambassador, makes it possible to maintain the friendly relations in both countries.

The most favorable position to Soviet Russia among the Entente Powers was adopted by the United States of North America. (We remind our readers that this report was made in the beginning of July, 1918.) We want to remind you of the telegram of greetings to the Emergency Congress by President Wilson in March.

It is a public secret that at the moment when many voices were raised in favor of intervention by Japan in Siberia, the principal obstacle to intervention was the negative position of the government of the United States of North America. Our plan is to offer an economic agreement to the United States of North America, besides our negotiations for an agreement with Germany, and to Japan, as well, with which country, despite the landing of Japanese troops in Vladivostok and despite the campaign of a part of the Japanese press in favor of intervention, we hope to maintain friendly relations.

A great number of the French people adopted an unfriendly attitude towards Soviet Russia, caused by the annulment of the State debt. When the question of a possible armed invasion of Japan and may be of its allies in the Soviet domain became acute, the interview of the French ambassador in regard to the possibility of armed intervention, eventually even against the Soviet government, served as a alarming sign of

a coming crisis. When the Russian government demanded the recall of the ambassador, whose declaration would prejudice the friendly relations of both countries, the French government gave no answer, and at this moment (beginning of July) the French ambassador is still present in Vologda, although the Russian government considers him merely an ordinary individual. On the other side, the French government refused to allow admission to France to Kamjenif, who is traveling on a special mandate of the Russian government. Despite our continuous demands for the return of our troops stationed in France, only the invalids were sent home. Constant pressure was brought to bear in different ways upon our soldiers to induce them to continue the war in the ranks of the Russian legions. The great majority of the soldiers refused because they recognized the authority of the Soviet and approved the withdrawal of Russia from the war. On account of this, many were persecuted or were sent to the African penal camp.

In the beginning of the year (1918), when the negotiations concerning the return of our troops from France were started, France proposed, as an indispensable condition, the return of the Czecho-Slovak divisions to France, as France was very much concerned with their fate. When the Czecho-Slovaks started their rebellion, the representative of France in Moscow declared that the disarmament of the Czecho-Slovak soldiers would be considered as an unfriendly attitude of the Soviet government towards France, in which opinion he was supported by the representatives of England, Italy and the United States of North America.

The English government has, on the other hand, not only kept her frontiers open to the agents of the Soviet government (this was, to remind the readers again, reported before the conspiracy of Lockhard, which caused the change in attitude of the English government) but also commenced negotiations with the authorized representative, Litvinof, of the Russian Soviet Republic. He was allowed the right to send and receive couriers, and to use the code, but notwithstanding this, the attitude of the English government towards him is, in many respects, not in conformity with the dignity of the Russian Republic. After he had rented a house for the embassy of the Russian diplomatic representation, the owner, without any cause, declared the contract void, and the court has evidently sustained the illegal action of the owner, and the court embellished its decision with comments which were offensive to the Soviet government. Our couriers were admitted but were subjected to a careful investigation. When Kamjenif and Salkind arrived in England, all their diplomatic documents were taken away from them, and only returned when they left England. They were compelled to leave England at the first opportunity and the police who accompanied them treated them shamelessly. A few people who were working in the bureau of our diplomatic staff were expelled from England, and were not even allowed to confer with Litvinof.

The English government maintains friendly relations with the old Czaristic embassy and consulate, as well as with the so-called Russian Governments, and the English government consults them on all subjects which concern military service, Russian prisoners of war, Russian steamers in English harbors, and other general interests of Russia. Consuls McLean in Glasgow and Simonof in Australia, appointed by Russia, were not recognized. The situation was most difficult right after the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The yellow press insulted McLean viciously.

The position of Russian citizens in England is, in general, very difficult; the pogrom agitation seems to continue in the newspapers. The return of Russian citizens is made very difficult for them. The old military agreement concluded by Kerensky, which gave the English government the right to draft Russian citizens in the English army, is still made use of. In the beginning of 1918, we declared to the government of Great Britain that we do not recognize this Kerensky agreement. Comrade Litvinof demanded the liberation of these citizens who were drafted into the English army upon the basis of this agreement, but received the answer that foreigners could not live in England without performing work in the interest of the nation and that those Russian citizens would be drafted in the workers' divisions for the production of munitions for the army.

Soon after this many were transported to Egypt to be drafted in the Jewish legion in Palestine. The drafting of Russian citizens in the English army was temporarily discontinued, but afterwards renewed, with the difference that those who were called in the service were not put in the army on the field but in the above-mentioned workers' division.

(To be continued)

## The Growth of the Left Wing

By Maximilian Cohen

REVOLUTIONARY Socialism always had its exponents and champions in New York. Back in the old days before the war "rights" and "lefts" "reds" and "yellows" lined up in their various branches and consumed lots of space in the Socialist press with their tactical differences and opinions.

But the world war and the betrayal of International Socialism by the dominant Social-Democracies of Europe; the Russian Revolution and rise of the Bolsheviki to power; our own entrance into the conflict; the defection of our movement with its lip-service to International Socialism and its petty-bourgeois pacifism, and finally the social-patriotic acts of our party officials and spokesmen generally, and Meyer London and the Socialist Aldermanic Delegation of New York in particular, created an intolerable situation which grew worse from day to day.

The rank and file betrayed and outraged by its spokesmen found every attempt at protest blocked by an entrenched machine hard to reach and difficult to dislodge. It controlled the party machinery and press and had the active support of reactionary trade-union elements who threaten to withhold financial assistance during political campaigns unless candidates suitable to these "leaders" were selected.

A general membership meeting called only after pressure had been exerted after the Aldermanic Delegation first voted on the Liberty Loan, found its actions nullified by Comrade Gerber suddenly springing some twelve o'clock rule long after the specified hour. The re-nomination of Meyer London found every apologist for social-patriotism and every mouth-phrasing revolutionist lined up solidly for his re-nomination.

At the first party meeting to re-nominate, the reactionaries sensing strong opposition, finally sabotaged the meeting into getting London down to face the charges personally. The next meeting found them down in full force and then they played their trump card. Meyer London was on the platform. It was presumed that he would answer questions or at least that the chairman would permit discussion after which London could sum up and define his position. Nothing of the sort! The chairman granted him the floor and London proceeded to attack, malign and insult every Socialist who did not agree with his out and out social-patriotic stand. He then left the hall immediately after: of course he was re-nominated by the

party machine and the Forward's politicians who saw to it that the meeting was packed.

But the Central Committee of Local New York must ratify. The Central Committee at its regular meeting withheld ratification. So again the machine got busy and called a special meeting and by a vote of 42 to 38 reversed the decision of the previous meeting.

Then came another sensation. The Aldermanic Delegation had flopped again on the Fourth Liberty Loan. The overworked machine got busy again and blocked and frustrated every attempt on the part of the rank and file to express their disapproval and take proper disciplinary action.

Lastly, and as fitting climax to their "activities" the Aldermanic Delegation voted for the appropriation for a Victory Arch and thus sank as low as it is possible to sink in the mire of social-patriotic mud.

Feeling ran high. The machine worked secretly and the Socialist press silently to defend the thrice-dishonored and guilty offenders. Under pressure of some members of the City Committee a joint meeting of the Central Committees of the various locals of Greater New York was called to discuss the Aldermanic acts and recommend action to the various locals. Julius Gerber was elected chairman at this meeting. The chairman of the Socialist Aldermanic Delegation made a lengthy report of inconsequential and routine details which had nothing to do with the purpose of the meeting. He read a report that might have been in place in some grammar-school class in elementary civics. It was insulting by the very absence of emphasis on those points which had to do with tactical differences and principles. He did slur over those points in the last ten minutes of his report as if such matters were beside the question, of very little moment to Socialists and needed no further amplification. After the report the chairman arbitrarily called for questions from the floor when the method of procedure should have been discussion upon a motion. Each question called for a lengthy answer by some member of the Delegation and so the chairman steered the meeting safely up to about 11.30 or thereabout when some delegates woke up to the fact that they had been tricked out of full discussion and some one made a motion to close questions and start discussion. At this point

some delegates from Queens who claimed recognition under questions were ruled out of order and they as a protest rose in a body and left. Immediately after the Kings County delegates also rose in a body and left the hall as a protest against the all-too-evident attempt at whitewashing the Aldermanic Delegation by the New York machine. Some New York delegates left with them so did also a number of comrades in the rear of the hall.

These delegates and comrades crowded in the corridor and forced Comrade Goebel to give them a meeting room, a thing which he at first refused to do. There the Left Wing Section had its birth as an organization. A committee of fourteen was elected with power to draft a Manifesto and bring our message to the rank and file. The committee drafted a temporary Manifesto and Program and called mass meetings in Kings, Manhattan and the Bronx for party members only; Our Manifesto was enthusiastically endorsed and our position backed up by the members present. I might add here that the New York Call refused even to print our paid advertisements announcing the meetings, although it is a well-known fact that they permitted their solicitors to plead for Liberty Loan ads from the Liberty Loan Committee and printed same in direct violation of the meaning and purpose of the St. Louis Resolution. But Left Wing ads were too dangerous forsooth! The readers of the Call might find out that there are some members in the Socialist Party who were and are opposed to the betrayal of Socialist principles by official spokesmen and official party organs.

However we managed to have our meetings well attended in spite of the Call's attitude and finally, we called for an all-day convention for February 15th. It was one of the most enthusiastic meetings ever held in New York. On that day the Left Wing Section was formally launched, rules of organization adopted and the Manifesto and Program revised for publication in pamphlet form. A City Committee and executive officers were elected. *The Revolutionary Age* was endorsed as our organ for the present and John Reed was chosen as New York editor.

We are a well organized section within the Socialist Party of Local Greater New York and are extending our activities to cooperate with all Left Wing Locals throughout the country for the purpose of uniting our forces preparatory to making a nation-wide drive for the capture of the whole party machinery.

## Men in the Scotch Shop Steward Movement

WILLIAM CALLAGHER, born in Scotland of Irish parents, is the printer of *The Worker*, and president of the Clyde Workers' Committee (the Glasgow shipyard district). He was arrested in February, 1916, and charged with sedition in connection with his speech at an anti-conscription meeting; and on February 12, 1916, he spoke at an open-air demonstration in favor of "No Conscription." In April 1916, he was tried for circulating a copy of *The Worker* containing an article "Should the Workers Arm?" and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. He has been prominent at all the meetings of extremists since his release. In October, 1917, he was appointed president of the Clyde Workers' Committee. At a mass meeting organized by that committee at Glasgow on November 25, 1917, he made a speech inciting the workers to strike, and called on his audience to come to the Court, in case the speakers were prosecuted, and show that they were "in earnest." At a meeting in Sheffield on December 16, 1917, he said that he did not want a revolution a hundred years hence, but as soon as possible; "I would suggest to you that we revolutionaries should organize with the view of taking possession of the products of industries and of distributing machinery." When Sir Auckland Geddes, as Minister of National Service, addressed the workers in Glasgow on January 28, 1918, Gallagher seconded a resolution to the effect that the audience would bind themselves to enforce the declaration of an immediate armistice on all fronts. In February, 1918, he went to Glasgow, and moved a similar resolution, but was compelled to withdraw it. In August he went to Coventry, and on returning to Glasgow he urged the workers to organize a strike and demand the release of John MacLean. In January of this year he went to Sheffield, (England) and urged the formation of a Soldiers' and Workers' Council. He is a born fighter.

David Kirkwood, born in Scotland, was formerly chief shop steward of the Beardmore Works, and a prominent member of the Clyde Workers' Committee. He had much to do with organizing the strikes on March 17 and April 9, 1918. In March, 1916, he was deported from Glasgow and chose to go to Edinburgh. There he did not secure employment, and was supported by money from the Clyde Workers' Committee. Early in 1917 he returned to Glasgow, and resumed his old activities. About this time he became organizer of the local Independent Labor Party branch. In

*These brief sketches of some of the prominent figures in the Shop Stewards movement in Scotland will give an idea of the timber which goes to make up the organization which is at the present time playing such an important role in British Labor circles. The men mentioned below are not "headliners" but are some of the active officials in the various big shops and councils. These biographical sketches are not written in the light of "boosts" for the men mentioned but were originally published in various Scottish bourgeois papers for the purpose of giving their "records." The only changes made in the original text are those details which are added for the sake of clarity, and in a couple of cases the reporter's personal opinions have been omitted as valueless.*

September he addressed a meeting at Barrow, telling the workers to strike whenever they had a grievance and to strike suddenly; and in answer to a question he said he was out for a revolution, and if he found bloodshed was necessary he would not be one to hesitate. In November, 1917, he started an agitation at Glasgow calling on the Government to release Peter Petroff, one of the Russian Bolsheviki then residing in Glasgow. He is one of the few Scottish delegates on the Soldiers' and Workers' Council. He was prominent during the recent Glasgow strike and on January 31 he was arrested with Callagher when the Riot Act was read.

Arthur McManus, born in Scotland of Irish parents, is an engineer. In March, 1916, when he was editor of the Glasgow Socialist, the organ of the Socialist Labor Party, he was arrested with others and deported to Edinburgh. At that time he was in touch with Syndicalist agitators at Woolwich, Liverpool, and on the Tyne. He was an active member of the Clyde Workers' Committee and one of the foremost opponents of the official union leaders. Early in July he went to London to a trade union meeting, and was active in Labor propaganda. On May 17, 1917, he was arrested in connection with the May strikes and he appeared at Bow street, but the charge was withdrawn. He was the proposer of the "Immediate Armistice" resolution at Sir Auckland Geddes's meeting at Glasgow on January 28, 1917. He is a fluent speaker. At one time he was in touch with the Industrial Workers of the World.

John W. Muir, born in Glasgow of Highland stock,

is a member of the Independent Labor Party and editor of *The Worker*, a revolutionary paper. In April, 1916, he was convicted of inciting the workers on the Clyde (ship-yard district) to strike, and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. He was released in February, 1917, and a smoking concert was held to welcome him and William Gallagher back to Glasgow. He is a member of the Electrical Trades Union. His panacea for all discontent of the workers is the "Lightening Strike." He is believed to have gone to London to take part in the strike of the electrical engineers.

Councillor Emanuel Shinwell, born in Scotland, his father a Russian Jew and his mother an Irish woman born in Dublin, is a member of the Independent Labor Party. He was one of the leaders of the Glasgow strike and is secretary of the British Seafarers' Union a society opposed to the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. In December, 1915, he was charged at the Police Court on account of statements made at a Socialist meeting to protest against conscription. Early in 1917 he was addressing meetings on Glasgow Green, and in September of the same year he was convicted for a speech made at a labor demonstration there. At a meeting of the Clyde Workers' Committee in that month his name was put forward for the position of Scottish delegate to the Soldiers' and Workers' Council, but it was afterwards withdrawn. He spoke at the revolutionary demonstration of the Glasgow Socialists to hail the German Revolution on November 17, 1918. On January 29 last, he said that as soon as they had put the city in darkness the committee would take control of all foodstuffs, so that the workers might be assured of their food.

Cecil Herbert Stavenhagen, born in England of Dutch parents, is a member of the Independent Labor Party. He is secretary of the West London branch of the Electrical Trades Union, and is on the Executive Committee of the Union. He held strong views against the war, and is an advanced Socialist. He is the author of a pamphlet, *Labour's Final Weapon*. He presided at meetings of the E. T. U. on December 13, 1917, and January 3, 1918. He advocated a strike on the question of the 12½ per cent. award. At the latter meeting, on the discussion of man power, a resolution was carried pledging the London E. T. U. to strike in sympathy with the Clyde. He has always been in favor of "direct action" by the men as opposed to the machinery of the Trade Unions.

# A Program of Revolutionary Socialism

IN its call for an International Communist Congress of revolutionary Socialism, the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) includes "the elements of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party (tendency represented by E. V. Debs and the *Socialist Propaganda League*.")

The Socialist Propaganda League was organized about four years ago. In January 1917 it began to issue a weekly paper, *The Internationalist*, which in May 1917 became *The New Internationalist* with Louis C. Fraina as editor. The League and *The New Internationalist* represented the extreme left of the American movement; it accepted the Bolshevik program long before the Bolsheviki conquered power; *The New Internationalist* favored the Bolsheviki at a time when no other American Socialist paper did, at a time when the *New York Call* editorially stigmatized the Bolsheviki as "anarchists." The League was the only American Socialist organization to agitate in favor of the Soviet proposal for an armistice on all belligerent fronts issued in December, 1917.

It is interesting to note that, when they were in this country Alexandra Kollontay, N. I. Bucharin and F. Rosin, all of whom occupy high positions in the Soviet Government, were members of the Socialist Propaganda League. The principles of the organization are elaborated in Fraina's book *Revolutionary Socialism*, authorized and issued by the Central Executive Committee of the League. The League is still in existence, but its paper is no longer published, since *The Revolutionary Age* expresses its policy.

In January, 1918, The Socialist Propaganda League issued a Manifesto incorporating its principles and tactics, which follows in full:

The conditions of Imperialism mean Capitalism at the climax of its development, and the maturity of the proletariat for the Social Revolution. These conditions bring a new epoch in history—the epoch of the final revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against Capitalism; the epoch of the Social Revolution.

The revolutionary epoch determines the character of the struggle and tactics of the proletariat and of Socialism; it means the reconstruction of Socialist policy, the abandonment of the process of "growing into" Socialism, which in practice makes Socialism a part of the capitalist and imperialistic state, and the overwhelming necessity of Socialism adopting immediate revolutionary purposes and tactics.

The Socialist Propaganda League of America, accordingly, in conformity with the new requirements and the international policy of revolutionary Socialism, as consistently practiced by the proletarian revolution in Russia, declares:

1. *The S. P. L. A. accepts the new forms and tactics of the class struggle against Capitalism.*

Imperialism unites all layers of the ruling class into one general mass of reactionary interests; the small and formerly independent capitalist groups cease their struggles against Big Capital, and compromise in Imperialism. Moreover, the policy of Imperialism merges skilled labor and the "liberal" petite bourgeoisie into the imperialistic state, making the great industrial proletariat of unskilled labor, the typical product of concentrated Capitalism, the immediate and potential revolutionary class upon which Socialism must build for Social Revolution. The new forms of the class struggle mean no compromise whatever with any non-proletarian social groups, mean the unrelenting, uncompromising struggle against Capitalism and all its overt and covert allies. Revolutionary Socialism rejects any and all "entangling alliances."

2. *The S. P. L. A. accepts the Social Revolution as the basis for its immediate demands in the class struggle.*

Capitalism is not an abstraction, it is a concrete force. To avoid the everyday struggle against Capitalism by rejecting immediate demands means that Socialism becomes inso facto either a bourgeois proposition, or a sect for the propaganda of dogmatic affirmations. Our immediate demands, however, are not demands made in a dicker with the capitalist state, but demands that will be the first measures introduced

by the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the process of the Social Revolution. The Social Revolution is no longer an aspiration of the future: it is a fact of immediate, palpant reality, and must determine our immediate policy and tactics. Our immediate demands accordingly, are measures calculated to develop the moral and physical class consciousness of the proletariat, preparing the proletariat for the general revolutionary struggle.

3. *The S. P. L. A. strives for the unity of industrial action and Socialist politics into the general mass action of the proletariat and of revolutionary Socialism.*

Through revolutionary parliamentary action the proletariat meets the bourgeoisie in a general political class struggle, and parliamentary action, if aggressively Socialist, may actively promote the general revolutionary struggle; through its industrial unions, the proletariat organizes more efficiently for the immediate struggle against Capitalism, builds the material economic instrument that in the preliminary period of the Social Revolution may seize and operate industry, and which integrates the general struggle of the proletariat, and projects the mold of the industrial government of communist Socialism; through mass action the proletariat unites all its forms of action into one dynamic struggle, rallies for revolutionary struggle the great mass of unorganized workers, and organizes into one general revolutionary movement all the latent powers of the proletariat for action and the conquest of power. Moreover, through mass action the proletariat becomes the arbiter of its own activity, and breaks through the conservatism of entrenched organizations and opportunist officials. The unity of all means of proletarian action is an indispensable condition for the Social Revolution.

4. *The S. P. L. A. stands for direct industrial and political action of the workers with full control by the rank and file of all representatives and officers.*

Until the workers consciously and directly carry on their industrial and political struggles, confusion and compromise will persist. Democracy, the democracy of mass action and control, is absolutely necessary. Direct industrial action means mass action. No dependence upon "leaders" and dickerings with the employers; the workers must act as a mass, independently and aggressively. Direct political action means policies inseparably united with the industrial struggle, politics free from any taint of compromise, opportunism, or dickerings with the capitalist state.

5. *The S. P. L. A. opposes all forms of opportunism, social-Imperialism and social-patriotism, and particularly opposes the insidious opportunism operating under the guise of Marxian phrases.*

Socialism is everywhere divided into three groups: the right, the avowed adherents of war, Imperialism and a policy of bringing "Socialism" by the co-operation of classes; the center, the representative of an atrophied Marxism which is neither revolutionary nor of Marx, and which, precisely because it uses revolutionary Marxian phrases in its criticism of the right but refuses to accept the new conditions of Socialist policy, is particularly dangerous; and the left, the group of revolutionary Socialism in theory and practice, which cleaves firmly to the class struggle and international solidarity of the proletariat, and which adapts its policy to the new revolutionary epoch. No compromise, no bourgeois opportunist tactics, but the immediate revolutionary struggle against Capitalism in practice as determined by the conditions of immediate action developing into the general mass action of the Social Revolution.

6. *The S. P. L. A. denounces bourgeois democracy, bourgeois disarmament and a "league of nations" as means calculated to deceive the workers and perpetuate Capitalism.*

Bourgeois democracy is a fraud in itself, and under Imperialism promotes the most brutal interests of the ruling class. Disarmament under Capitalism is an imperialistic proposition: the workers must acquire the armaments for their own purposes. Armament of the proletariat is necessary to disarm the bourgeoisie, establish the Revolution, defend the Revolution against attacks of non-Socialist nations, and to conquer the bourgeoisie of these nations in co-operation with its proletariat. Disarmament can only be the policy of a Socialist state after all Socialist states have organized into a proletarian league of nations. Moreover, democracy becomes the last bulwark of defense of Capitalism, shaken by the oncoming proletarian revolution: democracy is used to mislead the masses. The Social Revolution, through the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, annihilates bourgeois democracy, annihilates all the institutions, ideology and social superstitions of the bourgeois regime in the process of making the revolution and establishing the society of communist Socialism, in which alone full and free democracy may function through the abolition of all class distinctions and class rule.

7. *The S. P. L. A. recognizes that Imperialism and State Capitalism are one and indivisible, meaning the climax of the power of Capitalism and the capitalist state.*

Imperialism means Capitalism at the climax of its development; State Capitalism is the government form of expression of Imperialism, uniting all non-proletarian groups within the state and against the proletariat of unskilled labor, and, moreover, establishing a new, more general and international form of industrial concentration attainable only through state control. State Capitalism is not Socialism, and never can become Socialism. Against Imperialism and State Capitalism, which intensify the subjection and exploitation of the proletariat, there must be waged an aggressive, unrelenting struggle through industrial unions and mass action. Imperialism and State Capitalism must be overthrown, and substituted by industrial self-government of the workers.

8. *The S. P. L. A. urges upon the proletariat co-operation with such groups and classes in colonies and "backward countries," which are the objectives of Imperialism, that wage the struggle against exploitation and imperialistic Capitalism.*

Imperialism internationalizes the class struggle, and Imperialism must be fought by means of the international class struggle of the proletariat. We must carry on the struggle against Imperialism by waging aggressively the class struggle within our own national frontiers; and we must carry on the struggle against Imperialism by arousing and co-operating with the proletarian class struggle in the "undeveloped countries," which Imperialism seeks to subjugate and exploit. This implies the international solidarity of the proletariat in action.

9. *The S. P. L. A. opposes all imperialistic wars and favors all revolutionary wars of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism.*

Imperialistic wars are waged exclusively for aggression and for the more intensive exploitation of the world proletariat. The "defense of the country" under Imperialism is a fraud: its purpose is to enlist the enthusiasm and moral energy of the masses for conquest and spoliation. Revolutionary wars waged by the revolutionary proletariat for revolutionary purposes are, however, in strict accord with Socialism and the aspirations of the international proletariat.

10. *The S. P. L. A. urges the organization of Councils of Workers in the preliminary stages of the Social Revolution.*

The revolution of the proletariat annihilates the parliamentary regime and its state. The parliamentary regime is the expression of bourgeois democracy; its division of functions into legislative and executive is a necessary, deceptive means of acting against the opposition—the legislature talks and represents the pretence of "democracy," while the executive acts autocratically. The proletarian revolution cannot seize hold of the ready-made machinery of the state and use it for its own purpose: this machinery of the bourgeois state is destroyed. A new form of government must be organized, consisting of the industrially organized workers, uniting democratically within itself the functions of legislature and executive—as was done by the proletarian revolution in Russia.

11. *The S.P.L.A. organizes to wage a struggle on two fronts, inside and outside of the Socialist Party.*

The organization is formed to work in the Socialist Party as well as independently of the party. The task ahead is the revolutionary reorganization of the American Socialist movement. We do not confine our efforts within the Socialist Party, however, because our purpose is to arouse the general mass action of the proletariat out of which revolutions arise, and consequently our organization is constantly in contact with the struggles and aspirations of the industrial proletariat.

12. *The S. P. L. A. pledges itself to support a new Socialist International the immediate purposes and policy of which shall be in accord with the new revolutionary epoch; which shall, consequently, reject any and all compromise and shall wage the international class struggle through the general revolutionary mass action of the proletariat.*