The International Revolutionary Epoch

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The Revolutionary Age
A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

In July 1914 the world was grappling with old-fashioned wars of small or colonial wars, breadlessness, police brutality, unemployment, pogroms and all the accompaniments of capitalist society were ever present it is true, but as they were isolated, seemingly disconnected and did not interfere with the general routine of society, the world was considered to be at peace. Here and there individuals and small groups reacted to the misery prevailing in capitalist society by setting out to reform the system through liberalism, laborism and Socialism. Here and there revolutionary Socialists called for the abolition of the system and the establishment of a new order of society but for the most part they were looked upon as extremists, theorists and impossibilists. . . .

Then the storm clouds gathered and ere the masses had realized that the sky was darkening the clouds burst, deluging the earth in the blood of old war. Europe resounded with the battle call of trumpets, mobilization swept over the lands like a plague, leaving the waifs of forsaken women and children in its wake. Parliamentary Socialism, caught in the trap of its own reform platforms, made a weak gesture of dissent and succumbed to the general hysteria almost over night. After the first shock of disaster the masses continued to point the way to their fel­low workers and the war took on a new aspect. Russia proposed peace only to meet with summary rejection by her erstwhile allies and a lying acceptance by her military opponents. Then followed the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and the workers of all lands received an answer to their questions. But they were unable to understand and Capitalism continued the war.

Russia declared peace. But Germany continued to fight against her and gradually the Allies also advanced upon her. From within reaction created a new war-front and out of the confusion developed a new phase. The war-war between the Russian workers and the bourgeoisie of Russia. From within reaction and restored order the new line of antagonism emerged in the world. The peoples of Europe greeted. the arrival of peace. The peoples of the world rejoiced at last free. The peoples of the world rejoiced at the rise of the masses, armies remained divided and the bourgeoisie of Russia declared peace. But the masses remained inarticulate of nation against nation, but class conscious workers pointed the way.

The era of the Social Revolution is here. When Russia threw off her chains, only to find herself within a ring of steel, the revolutionary epoch was born. So long as the Russian workers maintained their victory so long they menaced Capitalism but while the fight continued within the borders of Russia Capitalism hoped to crush revolution and once more entrench itself in its old position. Revolutionary Russia recognized that while she alone defied Capitalism the revolution might prove to be still born.

Ourl the revolution has spread and each day brings new developments.... Capitalism massed its forces to crush the workers but its forces are already opposed to the task that lies ahead and the cost of crushing the revolution in Russia and Hungary will be the outgrowth of the revolution within the forces sent to crush it. Spurred on to new efforts by the developments in Hungary the proletariat of Germany are preparing to once more advance against the German bourgeoisie. Within Serbia the fight is on.... The period of the final struggle of the workers against Capitalism is here.

Russia has waited sixteen months, defending the revolution with her life, and now the struggle begins to bring results. The revolution is on but it is not a matter of weeks or even months but of years. In this, the final struggle, there will be an ebb and flow—now sinking down to the dark depths of defeat, now rising up to the shining peaks of victory but always in action. The struggle of the workers against Capitalism is here.

The war was over but fighting continued and the workers were amazed. Peace was to bring relief from all their burdens, but peace was here and the fighting continued, the burdens were still heavy on their shoulders. In Germany the war gave place to a new war—a war between the workers and the bourgeoisie. Throughout the other countries the workers began to feel the real weight of the burdens they carried—and strikes developed. From all the victorious countries the statesmen assembled to conclude the terms of peace. The peoples of Europe greeted the arrival of the peace delegates with joy—the war was to be definitively ended, peace was to be restored to a stricken world. But as the Peace Conference met and the days passed it became apparent that peace was still far off. Instead of settling the war, plans were laid for combating the rise of the masses, armies remained mobilized and Europe instead of being divided on a gigantic battle front between two contending armies became divided into a series of internal and external fronts with armies divided against themselves.

Out of the new situation it gradually developed that a war was continuing within the borders of Russia. Capitalism of nation against nation, but on class lines of class against class. And then the Hungarian workers, peasants and soldiers rose against the bourgeoisie and aided all powers.

With the success of the proletarian revolution in Hungary the new lines of antagonism emerged in bolder relief. The great powers assumed a new offensive for the express purpose of crushing the revolution in Russia and Hungary will be the outgrowth of the revolution within the forces sent to crush it. The struggle against Russia, which had been waged under a hundred forms, became the struggle against Hungary and definitely emerged as a struggle against the insurgent masses everywhere. From out of the old war waged by nation against nation developed the new war waged, by Imperialism against revolution.

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The Allies Speak

The Allies, it is reported, have issued an ultimatum demanding the resignation of the Hungarian Soviet Government and the withdrawal of the Revolutionary Military Council. The ultimatum is based on the theory that the revolutionary movements in Russia are being encouraged by the Allies, who are sending military aid to the Bolsheviks in order to prevent their overthrow. The ultimatum also states that the Allies are prepared to use force if necessary to suppress the revolution in Russia.

Political Amnesty

A few days ago, Eugene V. Debs went to prison to start serving his ten-year sentence. Certain bourgeois liberals, such as Charles Edward Russell (who formerly voted against Debs), have called for Debs's release. They argue that Debs's trial was unfair and that the verdict was based on insufficient evidence. They also point out that Debs's release would be a symbol of the Allies' commitment to democratic principles. However, the Allies remain steadfast in their support of the bourgeois regime.

Crushing Bolshevism

The American people are in an acute state of fear. And it fears what Capitalism in all nations fears—Bolshevism. A general and intense campaign is going on against Bolshevism in the United States, which has two phases—reprisal and propaganda. The reprisal phase is centered in Russia and the propaganda phase is centered in the United States. The Allies are sending military aid to the Bolsheviks in order to prevent their overthrow. They are also sending propaganda to the United States in order to discredit the Bolsheviks and to encourage the people to resist the revolution.

The I. W. W.

In these days, when society and the proletariat move in a new direction, the question of the bourgeoisie and the Allies' attempts to counter it becomes more critical. The I. W. W. is a symbol of the Bolshevik revolution, and the Allies are determined to crush it in order to maintain the status quo. The I. W. W. is a revolutionary force, and the Allies are trying to prevent it from spreading to other nations. Fortunately, the yellow Socialist learns nothing and forgets everything. All he does is to pursue a counter-revolutionary policy at a moment when the world revolution is going on.

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cording to The Rebel Worker's logic, Victor L. Berg-

ler, who consistently denounces the I. W. W. and the

Bolsheviks, and who was and still is a yellow of yel-

low, is a marvelous instance of Socialism. But all the energy of

the years!

the revolutionary proletariat must be directed toward revolutionary

statement from a recent issue of

The Rebel Worker.

This is the last issue The Rebel Worker takes occasion to deal

The Revolutionary Age a few body blows. In one place it

Lamar to prove that the I. W. W. are the real Re-revolutionary

gus and in another place it becomes so angry at us that

they come to be dominated and so rigid to life to appease its anger. But

then we looked at the date line at the head of the issue and we saw it

was April 1. We sat.

But seriously does The Rebel Worker know what political action is?

Loots of people seem to be very much surprised that Hungary even Bolshevists, but after the way the

hungare press did overdo that stuff about hunger bring-

ing Bolshevist even the poor lament Hungarian
doctors couldn't help seeing that it was up to them to live up to

their name.

We don't mind admitting that we are humanitarians enough to hope that they never find the guy who called

it the Peace conference, there has been quite enough bloodshed in the world of late.

Comparing the verdicts in the cases of Villig-

shot and killed Jaures, and Cottin, who shot at

not kill Clemenceau, we have come to the con-

that the greatest that is expected is the failure.

Hotel Magazier, Switzerland—

Reserve one royal suite. Am on my way.

Peter of Serbia.

In our school days we were taught that x was an

unknown quantity, but nowadays it appears the ex-

signifies that the quantity is known and nobody likes it.

In view of the way in which our big corporations are

their large scale companies are being

law of the world of late.

Jack Reed suggests that all the foreigners in this
country had better join the Left Wing of the Socialist
Party otherwise when they come to be deported they
will not be allowed to land by the Soviet Governments of
the various European countries.

We call the following from La Vague, a French Socialist weekly:

"The Bourgeoisie want more chil-

dren?"

"Alright, let them have them—in their own homes."

The New York World has at last discovered that the ex-Czar of Russia is really dead and under the

title: "How He Passed Away" in the New York World, it

assues the fact to the public at large.

Now that the matter is finally shown we hope,

whole globe that anyone would either decree some paper other

the body.

"Japen Warns China Against

Disclosing Secret Documents" says a headline.

in other words no "open covenants of peace openly arrived at."

"Nations can quit the League" a headline announces.

But why bother about that until they join it.

Japan, for instance, doesn't seem to be overwhelm-

ingly in favor of joining unless she gets her own way.

And while it is interesting to announce that a few months ago that Russia and Germany would only be

admitted if they would promise to be good, it now seems, that they don't want to have anything to do with it.

"Half a League, half a League..."

"Into the Valley of Death..."

The real query now is to know whetber to fight or feed the Bolsheviki, or both, or none, or—\n
figure it out yourself.

If they fight the Bolsheviki people become unsympathetic and go Bolsheviki for spite, if they feed the Bolsheviki
the breadlines will go Bolsheviki in order to get fed.

"Gives a loaf bread."

"I ain't got no bread"

"Take that!"
I Am With You, O Workers!

By J. O. Benton
(In County Jail, Brainerd, Minnesota)

To-day I am looking out through the bars of my cell. It is a glorious day. The birds are already singing the life-song of Spring. The sun is shining upon the crumbling earth that is just waking up to life. It is unfolding its bosom of enchantment.

They have caged me in a cage of iron; they have locked the gates of steel against me. They tell me I must stay here.

But I am not here. They cannot shut me in my mind and spirit. They cannot shut up my heart. I am not here.

I am with you—you the working class—the struggling masses of toil and bitterness and hardship.

I am walking with you through the chilly mist of early morning to your field and shop. I stand by your side the long workday, and look upon your worn and tired body. And I am tired with you.

There are millions of you—worn and tired.

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I am walking with you to the shaft, and I slip in with you on the cage that shoots down to the bottom of the mine. I go with you through the long "entrances." You are so thin that food sticks like cinders in the hanging shaft. It's cold and slimy and it is cold and slimy and it is cold and slimy—so cold and slimy and cold and slimy and cold and slimy—those hangings.

It is cold and slimy and it is cold and slimy and it is cold and slimy—so cold and slimy and cold and slimy and cold and slimy—those hangings. You are awfully hot at that awful pace—hurling them around your naked body—circling them around—so thin and starved—they are too thin and starved—their little legs are


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And with you I go into all the world and preach the gospel to every worker—beginning with Germany and America—where you endured the weight of the world. You have reared up the monument of Liberty and freedom. You have been hounded and oppressed and hounded so long, and you are growing up into outer darkness where there is gnashing of teeth. You are growing up into outer darkness where there is gnashing of teeth.

And I shout with you in the ecstasy of joy.

And, behold, the all-conquering power of the new proletariat, which, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, is at the same time a political struggle; the political struggle of the proletariat the meaning and object of which should be the seizure of power, the abolition of the bourgeois class state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All those vital phases of Socialism the party has officially cramped into the policy of a Socialist Party. It has officially cramped into the policy of a Socialist Party. It has officially cramped into the policy of a Socialist Party.

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The Voice of Impotence and Desperation

By A. Stolicky

We have the last word of the National Committee of the Socialists of America, A. Germer, in his letter to the National Executive Committee, read carefully. There is desperation, every word, the ire of the opportunist in every phrase.

In order that the fright and desperation of the opportunist texts might be overcome, we need to recognize that the phrase, “red peril” can be better understood. I quote the other side of a clear representative of our Schiedemannists, dated March 15:

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Sirs,

A mention has developed in the Party, that in my judgment the current crisis is due to the proposed National Executive Committee. I have reference to the proposal of Special National Convention.

Ordinarily, I would not comment on the subject but for several very important reasons. I feel that only pending referendum is all advised and calls for a state emergency. The reasons are as follows:

First—In view of the hysteria created by the war Panic, I doubt whether we, at the present possible, are not in a state of proper judicial balance to weigh the world situation in the light of our deliberation and formulate a practical policy and program of action. I am not so sure that we have something to present for the approval of the people, which is not a trifle in a world of the ideal, unbiased, will tend toward the same costly expedients, of ultra-impossibilism, which has given the Socialist movement several times in its history.

Second—A convention will cost anywhere between $40,000 and $50,000. We must find and those who are engaged in the business and its necessary expenses, or even the judgment that we can afford to postpone action until the coming of the National Convention. Because we will have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may want to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention, because we may have to adopt this year's National Convention.

We are just launching a nationwide campaign for release of all war-time prisoners. This cannot be done without funds and to anyone, who has experience in funds.

“OUR forces have been augmented”—all conscious prolétariats can say in regard to the facts transmitted by wire, concerning the establishing of a So- viet republic on the banks of Danube—in Hungary, Bolshevism is marching on with gigantic strides breaking down all obstacles on its way, and completely confining the world’s storm into one small section. The breaking down all obstacles on its way, and completely the stage of a social revolution.

In all the dispatches from Paris, London and Odessa, we read of the party is not at all revolutionary. The existence of the party is more than 20 cents to every man.

They fear this convention because they feel no ground under their feet. Winging his bands in despair, Germer, in his letter shouls about “injury to the probable disaster” which this convention will bring. He would be completely right if he added that it is the opportunism that is perishing in our party and movement. Once for all the atmosphere must be cleared from the stinking, rotten corpse. We must sweep out the original opportunistic element. We must speak frankly and clearly as A. Germer has done in his letter. Germer’s own words are the road toward the development of the Socialists. Our movement by his own words? Does he think that he himself, the dictator of the world, would judge about the events of the world that the entire party is like him? He must put this to the test of time. He has a much better opinion of himself than of the party, which continues to endure at the head of the movement, opportunists of his kind, who are big enough to be one thing.

He has noticed a growing movement, injurious to his point of view, of so-called “impossibilists,” and notwithstanding the appearance of such a dangerous phenomenon he is still opposed to the convention. Why he must put an end to these “terrible” impossibilities, if he is consistent in his actions, is because “the Socialist movement has several times in its history suffered (from them) in the past.”

And so this is the place to consider the question of the future of this convention.

In the Victory of the Hungarian Proletariat

In all the dispatches from Paris, London and Washington can be detected notes of great apprehension, which has a convention that the world movement by itself is not revolutionary. The existence of the party is more than 20 cents to every man.

The French soldiers also are becoming untrustworthy. We have already seen the statement made by a French resort to the Odessa front, which refused to fight the Russian Soviet troops. It is significant in this connection to note that the Czernowitz government refrains from sending considerable French forces to Russia, and is trying to send Italians to their places, as they did on the Archangel front.

It is hardly possible that the troops of other nations will take the role of executioners of the proletarian revolution.

We send our fraternal greetings to the Hungarian proles and ask them to play the role of leaders of as directed against its own national bourgeoisie, but as a bold resistance to the impotent plans of the Altenhandelsbeursee, who is the national bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the best road towards the final triumph of the Russian, Hungarian and the world revolution.

The Communist Congress

The Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) recently issued a call for a international Communist Congress of Socialists parties, or left wing groups in the Socialist movement which accept the principles and tactics of revolutionary Socialist, to organize our movement and to work out a program of action for the coming. This call excluded the American Socialist Party, has invited the left wing groups of the party. This exclusion was justified, since the official policy of the party is not at all revolutionary.

Our party is being revolutionized by events and by the intensive agitation of the left wing in the party.

Local Boston of the Socialist Party, accordingly, through the Central Branch, recently adopted a motion for a referendum on the international congress, as follows:

That the Socialist Party International congress be organized on the basis of its constitutional selection of three delegates to represent the party at the Bernese Congress of the great betrayal, of the pro-war Socialists and socialists, who are split up in Russia, and to study whether it has made or not the membership representative this congress, and that the Left Wing groups participate only in a revolutionary Socialist Congress and International, affiliate only with the Bolsheviki, the Spartacists, and the left wing groups which pursue a similar revolutionary policy.

But this is not all. The adoption of this proposal should make us all the more careful to reorganize the revolutionary party, to make sure that the officials and the party cannot be used as the instruments of the Altenhandelsbeursee, who is the national bourgeoisie.
The Constituent Assembly Accepts the Soviets

The civil war waged against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government was organized and directed by the Constituent Assembly, which was dissolved by the Soviet Government in January 1918, and the majority of which consisted of delegates representing the Social-Revolutionary Party of the "right." These counter-revolutionary "democrats," co-operated with Allied intervention, until they realized that this intervention was directed against them as much as against the Bolsheviks. But still they persisted, until conquered in the civil war, abandoned by the masses, and threatened by Kolchak and the Allies, they decided to accept the authority of the Soviet Government. This decision is made public in a Manifesto "issued in the name of the Social-Revolutionary Party and in the name of the President of the Congress of the Constituent Assembly," and is as follows:

"To the soldiers of the Popular Army, to the Siberian Cossacks, to the Czecho-Slovak Troops:

"Soldiers—mobilized and volunteers—you entered the army to defend the sovereignty of the people and to save democratic Russia from German imperialism, which reduced it to slavery by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the name of the Pan Russian Constituent Assembly, in the name of free Russia, independent and united, you have fought against Soviet authority. "And during this time, behind our backs, in the rear, you executed a coup d'etat and set up the Kolchak dictatorship, the representative of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors. "The bourgeoisie dictatorship signifies the complete crushing of the proletariat and of the working peasants, and the complete triumph of those enemies of the workers, the proprietors and the capitalists. It signifies the surrender of all the conquests of the great Russian revolution and the overthrow of the democratic regime and the re-establishment of the old monarchical régime. "The Siberian reactionsaries have directed their attacks against democratic parties and institutions. They have arrested several members of the Constituent Assembly, as well as Comrade Bourgeoischef and other militants of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. "But the most important changes have taken place recently in Western Europe. Germany has met with military defeat and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, annulled by the Soviet Government, has lost its authority. "German Imperialism no longer exists and the Austro-Hungarian Empire is a thing of the past. Under the pressure of the working class of Germany and Austria the thrones of the monarchs of these countries have been overthrown. The authority has passed into the hands of the workers, who, under the red flag of the labor social revolution, enter, like their brothers in Russia, into the era of the world social revolution. That is what has recently happened. "Through fear of labor revolution at home the former allies of Russia—England, France, Japan, and the United States—naturally took part in the bourgeois dictatorship in Russia. The bourgeoisie of Western Europe and of the United States declared war against the Russian and German revolutions. The Allies would not recognize either the authority of the Soviet Government or that of the Constituent Assembly. But they did recognize Kolchak and Denikine. "Under the pretext of fighting against Bolshevism our former allies revealed their intention, on the one hand, of exploiting the situation of Russia, and, on the other, of crushing democracy entirely and consolidating the power of the bourgeois reaction. "All of those fundamental changes which have taken place in the world situation and in Russia have compelled the members of the Social-Revolutionary Party to revise their program. Under no circumstances can the Social-Revolutionary Party support either bourgeois dictatorship or foreign bourgeoisie intervention; but, on the contrary, it must support the most resolute struggle against both national and international reaction in order that the Russian revolution and the world revolution may be victorious. This is not the time for a fratricidal war among the workers. "This is why the Executive Committee of the Congress of the members of the Constituent Assembly asks the soldiers of the Popular Army to stop the civil war against the Soviet Government, which, at the present historic time, is the only revolutionary power of the exploited classes, and turn their arms against Kolchak, in order to crush the exploiters. "On its part, the Revolutionary Committee guarantees to detachments of the popular army, as well as to isolated individuals and groups who voluntarily end the civil war against the power of the Soviets and who voluntarily join with the Soviet troops, that they will be subject to no prosecution on the part of the Soviet Government. The same agreement applies to the detachments which fight Kolchak. "The members of the Social-Revolutionary Party, who accept this agreement will not be molested because of their membership in the party. "Soldiers of the Popular Army, Siberian Cossacks and Czecho-Sloarks. In acquainting you with this agreement, the delegation of the Social-Revolutionary Party invites all sincere democrats, all the peasants and the workers to cease playing the role of blind instruments in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who, behind your backs, beat down your own brothers. We ask you to turn your arms against the bourgeois dictatorship of Kolchak and to act in agreement with the Soviet army. "Long live the labor democracy of every country! "Long live the world social revolution!"

The Young People's Socialist League and Revolution

By Oliver C. Carlson

The average American Socialist who is not well versed in the International Socialist movement knows little or nothing about the Young People's Socialist organizations in other countries, and what an important part they have played in the development of Socialist thought and action. In this country we know little or nothing about the Socialist League and Revolution, which is the official organ of the International Socialist movement which is seeking to overthrow the reactionary "Socialists" who hold the reins of government in the interest of the capitalist class.

The activities of the young in all of the European countries gives us an idea of how important the Y. P. S. L. really is. We are facing a critical period—the revolt of the working class is spreading from east to west, from north to south, and threatens to encompass the entire world. What are we going to do? We must devote more time to the Young People's Socialist movement than ever before; we must see to it that our young people become the leaders in thought and action here, just as did the young in Germany, Russia and the other countries.

Within the Y. P. S. L. a radical change must take place. We who are members must bring this change about, for the freedom of the movement from its present lethargy must be the act of the League itself, just as "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself." When we show our willingness to become an integral part of the struggle we may rest assured that the revolutionary Socialists will give us their hearty support. Let us change our slogan from "Organization and Education" to "Education and Organization." Then our solidarity will become a fact, and we, too, may step forward to grasp the hands of our comrades in all parts of the world, ready to carry on the work they have so well begun.
Imperialism

The Final Stage of Capitalism

By N. Lenin

Translated from the Russian by Andre Tridon

all "natural" and "supernatural" means. A division of labor effects itself among a few hundred million kings of the modern capitalist world.

"Owing both to the natural inclination of the various industrial magnates, (that is their appointment to the directorship of banks, etc) "and to the fact that one large bank is able to control the directorship of an assembly of a dozen or so stock companies, sometimes to direct industries, sometimes to direct banks of provincial banks, a certain specialization develops in the operations of large banks. Large banks are able to carry out the exact specialization and necessary size of banking operations and especially the relations between banks and industrial concerns. The division of labor is effected in two ways: on one hand, the relations with industrial concerns are placed entirely in the hands of one of the directors, and, on the other, every one of the directors takes it upon himself to watch various concerns or groups of concerns, which are related amongst themselves by reason of their social line or special interest." (34)

Among the few banks which the process of concentration operates separately, do not affect in the slightest the number of powerful banks. The close relations which unite industry and the financial world put restraints upon the freedom of action of the various industrial concerns, which are in need of a bank's capital. For this reason industry looks upon the growing trustification of credit, the concentration of money in the hands of a few, the hoarding of capital, and the consolidation of industrial and financial concerns. The very words, the face of these companies, the pace with which they move, the whole business of the big banks becomes, the more varied the operation in which they engage, and the more complete the monopoly of the business among their directors. The result is that it raises those men, so to speak, above the usual banking routine. It develops its judgment; it gives them a broader knowledge of industrial problems and of the technical and economic problems affecting the various branches of industry, and it prepares them for efficient activity within the sphere of industrial action of the bank. This system is supplemented by the reaction of silence on the board of directors men well acquainted with industry, heads of enterprises, former officials, especially those that have been in active railroad or mine management. (35)

Thus finance and industry come into closer contact, and, as N. I. Bukharin puts it, become grafted upon each other, and on the other hand banks transform themselves into institutions of "universal character." I am using here the very words used by Jeffels, who has studied the question more closely than anyone else. "When we examine the multiple connections existing in the industrial world, we realize the universal character of financial institutions interested in financial enterprises. In spite of all that has been said to the effect that banks, in order not to wander upon uncharted ground, wish in the line of credit, business or one branch of industry, the leading banks are endeavoring to connect themselves with the most diversified industrial enterprises in the right sort of goods in various parts of the world, they are anxious to do away with all economic and political ties among the various localities or the various branches of industry, which we notice in the history of every particular enterprise. Now it is in these connections with industry generally: another tendency is to make those connections durable and intensive: these two and other reasons explain at least, in a large measure, by six leading banks.

We hear frequently, in commercial and industrial circles, remarks, among others, as follows: "No wonder that such complaints are made when we know how far the domination of the leading banks extends. On November 19, 1901, one of the so-called D banks of Berlin, (the name of the four banks begin with D) sent to the board of directors of the North-Western German Credit Comit Syndicate the following letter:"

From announcements you published in the papers of the latter part of last month we learn of the meeting of your syndicate to be held on the 9th instant, that you will be adopting a new form of constitution which will enter into your enterprise changes which are not acceptable to us. We therefore feel compelled, to our dear secret, to refuse you any cooperation for the time being, in fact, resolutions to which we object are not introduced at that general meeting, and absolute assurances are given us for the future not to have anything to do with you. We are willing to discuss with you the opening of a new credit." (40)

Such are the woes of small capital oppressed by large capital, although, by the way, a whole syndrome seems to have taken rank with "small" that they ever were! "The struggle between small and large capital is resumed anew, but how the implications of warfare have been perfected! Technical progress can be measured by billion acres of human beings, in ways which were once unheard of. Banks support, for instance, laboratories for research into the brain, and besides, certain banks contract alliances with certain medical schools, another stocks and bonds, another financial enterprises. Thus the dawn of Capitalism has reached its fullest development, due to a form of activity which has nothing to do with a bank's function, which is to extend credit, an activity which leads the banks upon a ground where they are more affected by industrial fluctuations than by the average one.

Thus speak many old bankers, but the majority of younger men consider an active participation in industrial deals as an unavoidable development, due to the same causes which have brought into being the large industrial organizations of today. They consider Capitalism the leading banks are based upon any capital, although, by the way, a whole syndrome seems to have taken rank with "small" that they ever were! Among these various concerns we find all possible combinations of business activities, insurance, and technical research whose disposal is the monopoly of directors men well acquainted with industry, heads of enterprises, former officials, especially those that have been in active railroad or mine management. (35)

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The Future of China

By Sen Katayama

The Chinese, hitherto, held an almost religious faith in the power of the government, but it was beaten and crushed by the foreigner and few Chinese people want to question this power and to study the real situation and finally to plan a revolution to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. However, the revolutionaries in the last two parties, the Defenders of the Nation and the Young China Association. Both parties were heartily supported in main China. The first were Constitutional Monarchists while the latter partook of a more revolutionary character.

The Peking government, seeing the awakening of the masses, attempted to forestall the new movements by taking some of the liberal leaders into the cabinet and by incurring favoring loans. The civil service examination system was abolished, a university was established at Peking, hundreds of students went to Western countries, the national parliament was promised to the people. The reactionaries, however, captured the movement and attempted to crush the reform. Yuen Shi K'ai became the leader of the reactionaries and the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 was fomented to incite the people against the foreigners.

The number of foreigners in China is small and consists of two classes-missionaries and businessmen, including experts of various kinds. The missionaries are the "advance agents of Capitalism" and are hurted by the Chinese. The Boxer Rebellion was a great misfortune for China inasmuch as it enabled foreign powers to invade the country and squeeze big sums in indemnities out of the people.

After peace was established the Constitutionalist Party rose to power and with it many radical parties were developed throughout the country. Finally in aid of the factious, a republican government at Nang King and at its first parliament Sun Yat Sen was elected President. But the revolutionaries were unable to conquer Peking and finally they compromised on a peace with the Peking government. In a short time they lost everything they had gained in Southern China through the intriguing of Yuen Shi K'ai, the reactionary leader, who was enabled to suppress all internal movement through the foreign legions he negotiated.

Southern China is very different from the Northern part of the country. Northern China is aristocratic and has an ideal of Peking, Southern China is a much more democratic country. The Southern Chinese are industrious and progressive, their sons emigrate to wherever they are allowed to enter and to a certain extent they bring back money and ideas from all over the world. The merchants of Southern China have world wide business connections and know something of the character of the Western governments, while those who had experience as immigrants in foreign countries, where they were despised and persecuted, have become more nationalistic than the Northern Chinese in the sense that they desire to free the country from the domination of foreign moose. It was the merchants of Southern China and the Chinese living abroad who were the most enthusiastic supporters of the revolution, financing and even returning to China to support the movement. The first and second revolutions were started in the South and the third, or present revolution has established a separate government in that part of the country.

The Southern Chinese are Socialistic in policy, or, at least, the majority of the revolutionary leaders are Socialistically inclined so far as they want to make changes in the railways and big industries owned by the government rather than by foreign concerns. This being the case Southern China gets little sympathy from foreign capitalists or their governments, while the Peking government, which for many decades has sustained the influence of foreign capitalists by borrowing money, is supported and financed by foreign governments in its attempts to quell the southern rebels.

The present situation in Southern China is in the conflicting interests of the North and the South.

Northern China has a commanding position in many ways: long passage to the west, establishment of the ruling power, but the country is poor in natural resources so that without the South, Northern China has difficulty in sustaining a government and satisfying foreign creditors. Northern China, on the other hand, has a vast population and rich natural deposits as yet unexploited. The Southern Chinese want a separate government of their own if they cannot subjugate the Peking government, but the foreign powers, by no consent to this, they have loaned much money to Peking in order to prevent a Southern Chinese government or they cannot collect the debts and moreover they lose the rich fields of investment in Southern China being opposed to the domination of foreign money.

The Chinese revolution will not be easily completed for it needs not a nationalist but an international solution. Japan wants political, as well as financial, dominion: will be swept away by the incoming tide of war, especially in southern China and the small businessmen of Japan have many connection there, but the Japanese government and imperialists are in sympathy with the Peking government as it brings Manchuria within their influence, and Manchuria is next to Korea. For this reason the Japanese government will support Peking for some time to come. But in the end Southern China will triumph and Japan will have to recognize and make treaties with her otherwise Japan will be crushed in the future by awakened China.

Japan has a tremendous problem to face in Korea and Formosa. The peoples of these countries naturally look towards China to save them from Japanese domination and unless Japan changes her rule radically, and changes its system, they will revolt. Especially in this case in Korea, Koreans now recognize that they cannot gain their independence by the grace of the Manchu Dynasty and even today conditions in Korea are ripe for Bolshevism. Korea is the immense future that will look to the Siberian Soviet for sympathy and support before light will advance towards its goal of independance. The proletarians of all nations that will establish a great international Socialist Republic of the entire world.

The future of China will be a most interesting field in many ways. All the undertakings and plans between the Peking government and foreign capitalists that are already under way or are contemplated in the near future will not succeed. Both editions of our pamphlet Last Call Manifesto,* we printed several thousand additional copies which are available at 2 cents per copy while the supply lasts.

Both editions of our pamphlets Russial and the League of Nations and Chapters from my Diary*, by Trotzkyl are exhausted. We have decided not to reprint the League of Nations as the contents of this pamphlet is now available in leaflet form. We will reprint Chapters from my Diary, however, because the demand warrants it. Anyone contemplating ordering a supply should do so within the next week or ten days. If there are sufficient orders a new edition will be issued.

*Manifesto Edition

Anticipating a good demand for our issue No. 25, containing the announcement "Left Wing Manifesto," we printed several thousand additional copies which are available at 2 cents per copy while the supply lasts.

May Day Edition

May Day Edition of The Revolutionary Age, containing special articles and a proclamation to the workers appropriate for that day. A real propaganda number. Also a four-page May Day Leaflet along similar lines to be used for free distribution at meetings etc. We should make this an edition of a million.

Book your orders early.