

# The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

Vol I, No. 28

Saturday, April 26, 1919

Price 3 Cents

## The Unemployed and the Soldiers

THE problem of unemployment is very real and menacing to the American workers. It is a problem that will become more acute and that cannot be met in the old way. Drastic action is necessary.

Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Director of the United States Employment Service, said on April 19: "Recent estimates that placed the present number of unemployed in New York City at 40,000 are decidedly conservative. Actual statistics on unemployment are always impossible to get. One can only approximate. However, 100,000 would be much nearer the mark as an estimate of the number now out of work here. The total may be even higher than that." Approximately 25% of this huge army of unemployed in New York City consists of former soldiers, sailors and marines, according to Dr. Kirchwey, who adds that the present crisis will last well into the summer.

Recent estimates (which now must be revised upwards, however) indicated that unemployment is general throughout the industrial centres of the United States: Buffalo, 13,000; Albany, 4,000; the state of Massachusetts, 50,000; Cleveland, 55,000; Toledo, 10,000; Detroit, 30,000; Minneapolis, 4,000; San Francisco, 8,000; the state of Oregon, 7,000; etc. These figures provide a very poor picture of the actual menace of unemployment, of the terrible suffering of the workers which is made worse by a rising cost of living.

The actual unemployment is supplemented by a crisis among the employed. Wages are being slashed; workers are compelled to accept lower wages and work harder by the threat that the factory may close down. Workers with jobs are fired (often on the pretext of being Bolshevik agitators) while unemployed are hired at lower wages. A reign of industrial terror is being instituted by the employers.

There are two immediate causes for this unemployment (the fundamental cause, of course, is Capitalism, which develops and requires a reserve industrial army of unemployed): the suspension of most war industry work, and the demobilization of the soldiers and sailors.

During the war, the patriotic capitalists made money hand over fist. They monopolized, practically, the markets of the world, the European peoples being active producing death instead of goods. They manufactured munitions for the Allies, and then for the American Government, at fabulous profits: hundreds of new millionaires were made during the war. Some people do profit from war. . . . Extortionate prices were charged the Allies and the American Government for munitions, and other things; there was profiteering even in the food sold for the starving Belgians. . . . Extortionate prices were charged for necessities of life, for food, clothing and shelter; which largely cut down the slight increase in wages. It was a positively feverish period of prosperity—for the capitalists.

The workers during the war had power. Millions of them were drafted into the army; millions more were required in the war industries; there was a larger demand, also, for the commodities produced during peace. The result was that the demand for labor was larger than the supply. But labor was afraid to use this power, because of the regime of governmental and bourgeois terrorism made possible by the hysteria of the war; the capitalists could use war as an opportunity for larger profits, but the workers were largely afraid to use the opportunity. Still, the employers

were compelled to make concessions,—higher wages, bonuses, and "consideration."

"When the Devil is sick, the Devil a monk would be; when the Devil is well, the Devil a monk is he." When the capitalist needs the workers more than usual, he smiles upon them,—until the day comes when he can kick them again. . . .

The day came. The war was over (except the little war against the workers of Soviet Russia). Munitions

### Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

*Local Boston, Socialist Party, Local Cleveland, Socialist Party, and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City have issued a call for a National Left Wing Conference.*

*The call is issued to locals, branches and minority groups of the Party who have adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.*

*The purpose of the Conference is to formulate a national declaration of Left Wing principles, form a national, unified expression of the Left Wing (a sort of General Council—not a separate organization) and concentrate our forces to conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism.*

*The Conference will meet on Saturday, June 21. Representation—one delegate for each 500 members—not more than 3 delegates for each group. Place—to be decided.*

*Left Wing locals and branches, act! Address all communications to Louis C. Fraina 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.*

were not in demand. Unemployment developed—the first "victory" of peace for the workers, an indication of what is to come.

Brutally, the workers were thrown out. Brutally, the smile of the employers turned into a sneer: "Well, what are you going to do about it?"

Then this unemployment was increased by the demobilization of soldiers and sailors (and there are a million more, we believe, to be demobilized). Some of these "defenders of democracy" got their jobs—but this meant unemployment for other workers. Some of them couldn't get jobs—they had helped to make the world safe for democracy, but didn't make themselves safe for a living.

The American Government did practically nothing to insure a normal transition from war industry to peace industry. It threw workers out of the munition plants; it threw soldiers and sailors out of the service;—organizing no machinery to deal with the inevitable crisis.

Congress proved itself utterly incompetent, the employers utterly brutal. It is the nature of the beast of Capitalism. . . .

This unemployment crisis is bound to become worse—with all that means in the way of suffering and tears for the men, women and children of the working class.

More soldiers and sailors are to be demobilized. That means more unemployment.

But, still more important, European industry will soon resume "normal" operations. The United States,

at present, is still the only nation upon which the world can draw for commodities. But soon Europe will resume manufacturing. It will buy certain goods from us, but it will have goods of its own to sell; it will compete in the markets of the world with the United States. Out of this must develop acute competition, an industrial crisis, more unemployment.

It is a serious situation. It is a situation that calls upon the working class—employed and unemployed, for the employed may soon become unemployed—for aggressive action.

The soldiers and the unemployed must unite with the employed workers to act upon this crisis. They must create their own machinery to tackle the unemployment crisis.

They don't want charity. They don't want the smile of pretty girls or the unctuous promises of old women, in place of jobs. Nor must they depend upon "government agencies" which provide jobs for "experts" but few for the workers.

Councils of the Unemployed must be organized. Councils of Soldiers and Sailors must be organized. Councils of Workmen must be organized. These three have their own functions, but must unite in General Councils. And these Councils must consist of actual soldiers, sailors, unemployed and workmen in the shops.

The demands must consist, not in emergency measures, but in measures which are emergent and permanent in character. Hours of workers must be reduced in order to provide jobs for the unemployed, and make work easier and not a tragedy. Industry must be regulated to absorb the unemployed.

It is a crime that some workers work too hard while other workers have no work at all.

These Councils must prevent a reduction in wages; in fact, they should compel an increase in wages so that life may become worth living.

If factories shut down, while people are starving, these Councils must demand that the factories be operated by the Workmen's Councils. There shall be no sabotage of production while millions are in want of the things of life.

Mass pressure must be brought upon the employers and the Government. Mass demonstrations must be organized by the Unemployed Councils. The soldiers must assert their rights. Every Strike Committee must become a Soviet. There must be a unity of the soldiers and the workers; then we are invincible.

Gradually, these Councils from immediate measures will necessarily consider ultimate and larger measures. They must, if the workers are to live. From cutting profits, they will come to ending profits. . . .

Capitalism is breaking down. It cannot solve its own economic problems. It has come to a crisis; and this crisis will become more acute and menacing to the workers, until the workers act to end Capitalism.

The workers may not realize this now; but they will. Life itself will compel this recognition.

They told the soldiers they were to make the world safe for democracy; but the makers of democracy are now thrown upon the scrap-heap.

They told the workmen that a new world was coming; it has come, a world of new misery, of new oppression.

There must be action. There must be unity of the soldiers and the unemployed, unity of these with the workers; and a conscious struggle for work and life, peace and happiness

# The Revolutionary Age

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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)

## The Principles and Tactics of the New International

From the Call of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) for a Communist International Congress.

It is an urgent necessity that the first congress of the new revolutionary International be called. During the war and the Revolution the complete bankruptcy of the old Socialist and Social Democratic parties, and the second International, as well as the incompetency of the middle elements of the old Social Democracy (the so-called "centre") for live revolutionary action, has finally become evident. At present, however, the outlines of the genuine revolutionary International are distinctly coming into view.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. In order to insure the social revolution, for defense against enemies within and without, of assistance for other national groups of the fighting proletariat, etc., the complete disarmament of the bourgeoisie and their agents and the general arming of the proletariat is necessary.

6. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the different parts of the revolutionary proletariat and a complete union between the countries in which the Socialist revolution has been victorious.

7. The fundamental means of the struggle is the mass action of the proletariat, developing into armed and open war upon the bourgeoisie state.

8. The old International has broken into three main groups: First, those frankly social patriots who during the entire imperialistic war from 1914 to 1918 supported their bourgeoisie and transformed the working class into hangmen of the international revolution.

Then there is the "Center," at present theoretically led by Kautsky and representing an organization of such elements, constantly wavering, not capable of following a definite plan of action and at times positively traitorous.

Finally the revolutionary left wing.

9. As regards the social-patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "center," our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements, and to pitilessly criticize the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the Center is absolutely necessary at a certain phase of development.

10. On the other hand, it is necessary to proceed in a common movement with the revolutionary elements of the working class who, though hitherto not belonging to the party, yet adopt today in its entirety, the point of view of dictatorship of the proletariat, under the form of Soviet government; including the syndicalist elements of the labor movements.

The official Socialist Party of the United States was not invited to this Congress, but the Left Wing of the party was. Our task is to conquer the party for Left Wing Socialism, and affiliate with the Bolshevik-Spartan International.

## Perhaps. Perhaps Not!

THE forces opposing Bolshevism in America are a peculiar mixture. Reactionary labor union officials and sweaters of labor, the university and the gutter, the Government and plutocracy, are feverishly agitating against this "menace to American institutions,"—American institutions, of course, being used to mean the evil supremacy of Capitalism.

Among the agitators against Bolshevism is Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, formerly an A. F. of L. union official. This "labor representative" in the Cabinet of President Wilson is justifying his appointment by actively defending the interests of capital. He is deporting radicals. He is using his office—necessarily—against labor and for capital. He is preaching optimism to the workers, vividly picturing the prosperity that—is to come.

The other day, Secretary Wilson said that "the backbone of Bolshevism in America has been broken." Why, Bolshevism hasn't really manifested itself yet. "American labor will not be involved in the movement. When the American laboring man comes to realize what the movement means he will shun it." Perhaps. But since Bolshevism means Socialism, and Socialism expresses the fundamental interests of the workers, the only way to break Capitalism, that maker of war and misery and oppression, it's more likely that when American labor understands what Bolshevism means, it will accept its policy and practice. Understanding alone is necessary for acceptance. That's why Capitalism lies so much about Bolshevism.

## Irish Labor Acts.

THE strike in Limerick, Ireland, threatens to become general. The strike is political in character, being a protest against military regulations imposed by the British Government upon the Irish workers.

The strike, it seems, is managed by a Soviet, which is assuming the task of feeding the people. There is no disorder, and food is sold by the Soviet Strike Committee at lower prices than by private concerns. Limerick has been proclaimed a military area by the British Government, but the Soviet rules.

How deep this revolt is, it is impossible to judge, although reports come that similar Soviets may be organized in other cities of Ireland. Nor is the revolutionary character of the movement clear, although apparently not connected with the Sinn Fein. The conscious Irish working class refuses to accept the bourgeois, nationalistic program of the Sinn Fein—its program for national independence and economic servitude for the proletariat. The Sinn Fein—"Parliament" has petered out, although of agitational value. Again it is clear that the proletariat alone has the power to compel decisions. The "General Strike Against British Militarism" must develop into revolutionary action against Capitalism, for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Republic. The Irish revolutionary movement is part and parcel of the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat against Capitalism.

## It Smells of Oil.

IT has ended quickly—the "revolution" of General Blanquet in Mexico, apparently organized and financed by the oil interests of American and British Imperialism.

The resort to "revolution" having failed miserably, the oil interests are preparing diplomatic intervention. British capital owns about 20% of the oil properties in Mexico. The other day, it was announced that the British Government had purchased the oil interests of its financiers involved in the controversy with Mexico. This action, it was declared, indicated that "Great Britain did not intend that the property acquired by British subjects in good faith, and under the laws of Mexico at the time, should be confiscated."

This is an action potential of aggression. The Mexican Government, in its policy of protecting Mexico's natural resources and curbing the power of foreign capital, is limiting the power of this capital by means of taxation. Up until now, its acts affected private capital; but with the British Government assuming ownership of oil properties, these acts will strike directly at the British Government, become political and diplomatic, and provide Britain with the pretext for government intervention.

The American State Department, apparently, has approved, at least tacitly, of Britain's action. This would indicate an imperialistic combination against Mexico, for intervention. The interests involved are sketched by *The Nation*: "It is beyond question, for instance, that E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum Co., went abroad some months ago as one of the representatives of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, the powerful banking group among whom are J. P. Mor-

gan & Co. . . . Vice-President Sisson is prepared to advocate 'international law of eminent domain in which the interests of society as a whole would have precedence over any integral part thereof; ergo, it is for us to avail ourselves of the natural resources of Mexico. . . . Preceding the announcement of last week that the British Government had taken over the holdings of its nationals in Mexico, it was announced that the Cunard Co. planned to build 29 new transatlantic liners, and that these big boats were all to be oil-driven. 'With the Russian and Rumanian oil fields temporarily closed, and nine-tenths of the British oil coming from Mexico,' says the statement, 'British interests are trying to secure American-owned Mexican oil fields by long-term contracts at huge figures.' . . . A few days later it was announced that J. P. Morgan & Co. and other American financial interests had joined with certain Japanese capitalists to promote a new American-Japanese steamship corporation, and that America would invest \$200,000,000 in the enterprise."

## Stone Age Minds

IN the midst of an upheaval that is transforming the world, and equally the proletarian movement, the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor still clings to the ideas and the tactics of the Old Stone Age of the labor movement.

In an editorial on the Seattle strike, in the March *American Federationist*, official organ of the Compe-sized A. F. of L., the Stone Age mind reveals itself. It says:

It must be freely conceded that during the war period in many instances the workers were compelled to accept wages which were insufficient and inadequate to meet the increased prices charged for food, clothing, fuel, shelter, etc. It is likewise a recognized fact that the workers did not take advantage of the nation's needs; that in the greater number of instances the workers maintained industrial peace and gave practically uninterrupted service to our government when the war was in progress, while the profiteers were reaping an unprecedented harvest.

What an indictment of the A. F. of L., out of the mouths of its own spokesmen! This is a picture of labor betrayed, while the profiteers fattened upon labor; a picture of labor shackled by its own organization, rendered helpless while Capital wreaked its will upon it. Truly, the mass revolt in the A. F. of L. against the bureaucracy which produced strikes and more wages during the war, and which is now producing a new militant temper, is amply justified by one of the bureaucrats himself.

Speaking directly of the Seattle strike, which has given a new impulse to the American labor movement, the *Federationist*, after emphasizing that the A. F. of L. is against the general strike or the sympathetic strike (camouflaged as being in the control of the international unions, that is to say, the bureaucracy) proceeds with its Stone Age analysis:

The general strike inaugurated by the Seattle Central Labor Union an undertaking in violation of the rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor. The greater number of the local unions did not have the approval and sanction of their international unions and did not receive their moral or financial support. [Our italics—what a confession of treachery and organized scabbery.] Born in a spirit of insubordination, disregardful of all rules and regulations adopted by trade unions for orderly procedure and the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of their members and jeopardizing the funds of all local and international unions by subjecting them to the will and whim of officers of central labor unions, this strike was bound from its inception to die an early death.

The general strike in Seattle was a mass movement, imposed upon the union officials. It was developed out of the new impulse for mass industrial action which is inspiring the American proletariat. For five days, the Strike Committee was in absolute control of Seattle; for five days, a glorious page was written in American labor history; and then desertion and betrayals by conservative A. F. of L. union officials caved in the head of the strike. And they actually defend and even boast of their treachery!

Consider the smug, bureaucratic spirit of the *Federationist*, characteristic of its policy. It clings to old traditions, it speaks of "insubordination" in the spirit of the police chief. Insubordination! Is it still a mystery why the A. F. of L. is a hindrance to the development of militant labor tactics, to the emancipation of the American proletariat?

The general strike is a necessary weapon of militant labor. Industry is concentrated; the employers are organized; skill has become a negligible factor; craft divisions have been wiped out by the new industrial technology; under these conditions industrial unionism and the mass strike are indispensable to the proletariat if it wants to immediately conquer concessions, and ultimately conquer Capitalism. But the A. F. of L. policy, still clinging to the tactics of the Old Stone Age in the labor movement, is violently against new tactics and new ideas in the waging of the proletarian struggle.

## Greetings!

THE comrades of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City have issued a paper of their own, the *New York Communist*, with John Reed as Editor and Eadmonn MacAlpine as Associate Editor, the first issue of which appeared April 19. Cordial and fraternal greetings to our new co-fighter in the struggle to revolutionize the Socialist Party, immediately; in the struggle to revolutionize Capitalism, ultimately!

The *Communist* appears with a flaming challenge to Capitalism and to the dominant, moderate, counter-revolutionary Socialism: "The capitalist system is bankrupt. . . . At the same time, that 'Socialism' in which the working class of Europe so confidently trusted to avoid a world war broke down like a house of cards before the first serious onslaught of international Capitalism. The *Second International* joined the *Army!* . . . The 'moderate Socialist' leaders found themselves forced to uphold Capitalism in its grand climactic crime, and consoled themselves by preaching that the war was the last great 'reform'—a step in that slow and peaceful evolution from autocracy to parliamentary democracy, and then to Socialism. . . . They beheld the disillusioned proletariat rising to overthrow the parliamentary state. . . . The 'moderate Socialists' in Russia and Germany found themselves on the capitalist side of the barricades, shooting down workers to preserve their *petit bourgeois* theories. . . . The workers know now that only by means of the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* can they achieve their ends. . . . Only the destruction of the capitalist forms of government and the erection of a new proletarian state, can guarantee the workers' revolutionary victories. The American Socialist Party, although its different currents have not been as clearly defined as those of European countries, has been for years controlled by *petit bourgeois* elements. . . . We of the Left Wing declare that we repudiate 'moderate Socialism' and all its bourgeois affiliations, whose activities, however sincerely meant, are nevertheless directed toward patching up the capitalist system and avoiding the Social Revolution. We take our stand with the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), with the Spartacists of Germany, and the Communists of Hungary and Bavaria, believing that only through the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* can the Socialist order be brought about."

The *New York Communist*, as its name implies, is largely a temporary necessity of the local struggle against the Right Wing in the party in New York City. The lines are being tightened. The struggle is becoming implacable. Upon this struggle depend large events and great decisions. The comrades of the Left Wing Section felt the need of an organ that could be of the fight and for the fight in its local character.

Asking the questions, "Why does the New York Left Wing establish another paper? Isn't *The Revolutionary Age* enough to represent the Left Wing? Are we fighting *The Revolutionary Age*?"—the *Communist* answers:

"First, let us make our bow to *The Revolutionary Age*, which, with the support of Local Boston, and under the brilliant editorship of Comrade Louis Fraina, has, from the beginning, been the best expression of revolutionary Socialism ever published in this country—and indeed, has created a new type of Socialist journalism here.

"*The Revolutionary Age* is to be, without any doubt, the official organ of the National Left Wing, which will be created by the National Left Wing Conference. This is made certain by the generosity of the comrades of Local Boston, who have passed a resolution providing that the paper, with all its assets, shall be turned over to the Executive Committee of the Left Wing as soon as it shall be constituted.

"But in the meanwhile, the New York Left Wing, which has taken the initiative in forming a National Left Wing by issuing its Manifesto and Program, has no organ of its own. . . . In New York, with its thousands of Party members, the Left Wing is fighting for control of the local Party machinery, against a fierce and unscrupulous resistance by the petty politicians who direct the Party. . . . *We need a paper here!*"

The Left Wing in the Socialist Party of New York City is a product of the general revolt against moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism; but it is equally a product of the shameless treachery of the Right Wing and its bureaucracy in the party there. Meyer London, "Socialist" representative in Congress from New York City, consistently and impudently betrayed Socialism; he favored the war, repudiated the St. Louis Resolution, acted against the Bolsheviks, accepted the bourgeois peace policy of President Wilson—and there was no protest against his actions from the Right Wing in New York City, "who also" favored the St. Louis Resolution; more, Meyer London was renominated as a Socialist candidate by a fusion of the right and the

centre? The *New York Call*, prior to the November Revolution, supported Kerensky and characterized, editorially, Lenin and the Bolsheviks as "Anarchists." The *Call's* policy is a mixture of Jeffersonian democracy and modern petty bourgeois liberalism—not revolutionary Socialist. The "Socialist" members of the Board of Aldermen pursued a consistent policy of reformism; they (the majority, led by Algernon Lee, who favored the war "in order to save the Russian Revolution"!) voted for Liberty Bonds, and they voted for a Victory Arch for the soldiers (who can't get jobs) on which is inscribed, among other victories of the American troops, *Murmansk*, where Soviet Russia is being menaced.

Now, the Left Wing is a power. The moderates and the petty bourgeois reformers (some of whom belong in Wilson's party, most of whom belong in a Labor Party of conservative trades unionists) are being threatened in their supremacy. They stigmatized the Left as a move to "split the party;" and now, at the recent meeting of the State Committee of New York, they pass a resolution, by a vote of 24 to 17, to expel any local or branch of the Party which affiliates with the Left Wing! Let them threaten. Behind our New York Comrades is the Left Wing in the whole American Socialist Party. Our answer to the threat of expulsion is to conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism, to make the Left Wing the Socialist Party.

## The Old and the New

CLEARLY, the world is coming to appreciate the tragic-comedy of the Peace Conference at Paris. In a cable from Paris the other day, William Allen White (who was to have gone to Prinkipo to meet the Bolsheviks for President Wilson, until the Peace Conference executed a strategic retreat) writes sardonically of the upheaval in Europe and the impotence of the Peace Conference:

In Eastern Europe, from Budapest to Archangel, responsible rulers, such as they may be, are laughing uproariously at Paris—the statesmen who are solemnly sitting about green tables figuring out boundaries, spheres of influence and economic restrictions when the new order in the world is establishing itself.

Lenin is heading the laughter, and during the week his domain is finding foothold in India and Egypt. His birthday was celebrated in Rome under machine guns on fountains, the Spanish Ministry is falling, King Albert sid down from the sky, telling the Peace Conference that Brussels could hold out against Bolshevism less than a month more, Liberal Socialists are whittling down Lloyd George's parliamentary majority daily, and Easter Sunday French Socialists will meet to decide how best to show their scorn for the Peace Conference—whether by general strike or by an attempt at revolution.

Southern Germany is torn by Bolshevism, and North Germany is waiting to hear the peace terms before letting go. . . . Certainly if peace does not come by mid-summer it will be a peace of anarchy.

What would they? They, the masters of bourgeois society, declared Capitalism morally and economically insolvent when they chose the arbitrament of the sword in their mercenary disputes. They plunged millions of men, women and children into the fires of universal war—the unleashed destruction and organized savagery—in order to determine who should possess the financial and industrial dominion of the world.

Bourgeois society proved itself unfit to direct the destiny of the world. It broke down of its own hideous evils. It mocked humanity and raped civilization. Capitalism organized the courage and enthusiasm of men for systematic destruction; it transmuted the patient suffering of the women and the tears of the children into the profits of the profiteers; it built a terrible bridge with the bodies of the dead soldiers, upon which to march to power. The evil and the oppression, the misery and the degradation of the old order culminated in a terrible and unprecedented scourge of humanity.

The old order broke down. Life and love and peace, which it had crushed, flared up in the action of the proletariat for the Revolution. . . .

The Peace Conference met. It met to patch things up. Its real task was not to impose terms upon Germany, but to prevent the complete collapse of bourgeois society and to crush the proletarian revolution. The Peace Conference failed miserably in its task. The old order is breaking down. And, through the smoke and the fires of Revolution, is appearing the promise and the glory of the new order of Communist Socialism. It will conquer! Then shall life and love and peace come into their own.

### NOTES

The City Central Committee of Local Boston has made the following endorsements: for National Executive Committee, 1st District—Louis C. Fraina, Nicholas I. Hourwich, Edward Lindgren; for International Delegates—L. E. Ferguson, Louis C. Fraina, John Reed, C. E. Ruthenberg; for International Secretary—Kate Richards O'Hare.

## Bolshevikjobs

TWO members of the Japanese House of Representatives, who have been studying American institutions here, visited Tammany Hall the other day. They took away samples of the primary ballots and campaign literature. It is supposed that the Japanese government is going to use these samples at the next election to defeat those candidates who are urging the adoption of Western civilization for Japan.

Private advices from London state that Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States propose to recognize the Omsk government as the *de facto* government of non-Bolshevik Russia as soon as the Peace Treaty is signed. In other words the "war to end war" is to be disposed of by a peace to begin war.

Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts is reported to have used five pens to sign a bill providing that women and children shall not be employed more than 48 hours a week, or more than nine hours on any one day. The pens were then distributed among the worthy individuals who had braved public opinion for humanity's sake and to representatives of labor organizations, whose threat of the use of their economic might is considered partly responsible for the passage of this revolutionary measure.

It is rumored that the pens were made by five of the emancipated children in their spare time and that they have asked to be allowed to make all the pens the Governor may use in the future as they are afraid that the old adage: "The Devil finds some mischief still for idle hands to do," may apply to them under the new law.

These aliens are certainly an ungrateful lot. After all the trouble we have taken to show them how inferior they are to us, what a crime they commit in being hyphenated, how unwelcome they are here. We even go to the trouble of composing songs expressing our horror of them and asking them to "go back to your homes o'er the seas," but they suddenly start drawing their money out of the savings banks and applying for passports to leave the country just when we need their presence in order to beat down wages. They sure are a nuisance. If we don't keep them in their places they will be running the country and if we venture to criticise them they start off home in a huff, without even waiting to be deported.

In spite of the oft repeated reports that the Peace Treaty is ready for signature, the Paris Conference still frets and fumes.

The Allies are about to recognize the Bolsheviks, the Allies are on the eve of recognizing the Kolchak dictatorship as the *de facto* government of Russia, the Allied troops are refusing to continue the war against the Bolsheviks, the Bolshevik forces are in flight on all fronts, the French evacuate Odessa, the Allies have decided to feed the Bolsheviks, the blockade for the purpose of starving Russia is to be strengthened, the Allied troops are to be withdrawn from Russia on July 1, the Allied troops in Russia are to be reinforced shortly—the situation in Russia is progressing favorably.

There have been 72 murders and 206 robberies in Chicago since January. Translating this news into a press dispatch from a correspondent who has recently been in Russia for the bourgeois press and who has not recovered from the habit, it would read:

Chicago in the grip of the White Terror of Capitalism. Murder an everyday occurrence, hold-ups and robberies take place in broad day light. Streets are not safe for pedestrians. The food situation is acute and unless remedial measures are instituted soon the city will be uninhabitable. It is rumored that if order can be restored before the first of the month, Russia may recognize the Thompson administration as the *de facto* government but otherwise the Swift, Armor, Cudahy dictatorship will triumph.

A German professor has figured it out that there are now 278 dethroned royal persons formerly belonging to the German Empire. It is rumored that the Spartacists have offered to exchange them for a few I. W. W.'s and revolutionary Socialists.

To Professor Elliot rumor ascribes the definition of error as one who seabs a job. Newport, R. I. society belles have achieved heroism without any of its attendant discomforts by scabbing on the striking telephone girls—the hello girls are ladies and despise working class tactics. They even struck against the Bolsheviks in Petrograd!

# A Criticism of The Revolutionary Age

By Adolph Germer

National Executive Secretary, Socialist Party.

IN the issue of *The Revolutionary Age* of March 8, you published an article entitled, "We Must Have a National Emergency Convention." That article contains several unfounded charges against the National Executive Committee and me in particular. I shall not assume to say that it was your wilful intention to convey false information. I will be tolerant enough to believe that you did it innocently, not thinking it necessary to go to the trouble of learning the actual truth.

It has been well said that "A lie will travel around the world while the truth is pulling on its boots." There is more truth than poetry in this, and when a person or group of persons set out to accomplish a purpose, it will help them materially to twist, garble and distort the facts. Somehow a falsehood sounds more romantic than the truth. But even so, a Socialist who has a sense of responsibility, in dealing with party affairs, should at least satisfy himself of the accuracy of a rumor before it is given out in print.

I am not given to making charges against members in the Party, but the entire article breathes the desire to create suspicion and distrust rather than to solidify our forces at a time when hundreds of our comrades are either in prison or facing prisons, and when the existence of our whole movement is challenged by the plutocrats.

It is a thousand times easier to circulate a falsehood, no matter how innocently done, and create distrust, than it is to instil confidence in the honesty and integrity of those who have been selected, wisely or unwisely, to administer the affairs of the Socialist Party. It seems to be human nature to believe that persons in official positions always have ulterior motives, than that they are actuated by sincere desires. There are also persons who regard it as a greater duty to carry on an internal quarrel, regardless of the consequences to the organized movement, than to consume their time, their capacity and energy, to enlist new converts to our cause. I have never had time for internal bickerings and would pay no attention to the effusions from *The Revolutionary Age* were it not that the propaganda is carried on so persistently.

You sneer at my "strict parliamentary procedure" and adherence to "constitutional law." And you give out the impression that we are cunningly thwarting the will of the membership.

The National Constitution of the Socialist Party is the will of the membership. It was adopted by referendum and laid down as the law to govern those whom they have elected to executive positions. You retreat behind the National Executive Committee's election of delegates to the Interpartisan Conference, not stating to your readers that there was no time to elect by referendum vote. Besides, you fail to call to the attention of your readers the fact that the Constitution has the following two authorizing clauses:

Art. III, Sec. 1.—"The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Executive Committee, its sub-committee and officials, the National Convention and the general vote of the party." And, Art. IV, Sec. 1.—"The duties and powers of the Committee shall be:

(a) To represent the party in all National and International affairs."

This too is the will of the membership, expressed by referendum when the Constitution was adopted. Why did you not call this to the attention of your readers?

Of course, the failure to state the extenuating circumstances and constitutional provisions is a minor matter; the all important thing is to give your readers the impression that the National Executive Committee and the National Secretary are an aggregation of official autoocrats.

If the membership in its National Constitution, which is the fundamental law of the Socialist Party, says that a referendum must be initiated in a certain way, I presume that it is expected of us to have it so initiated and in no other manner, especially when the Constitution strictly provides that delegate bodies cannot initiate a national referendum. But what is a trifle like the Constitution (a mere scrap of paper) when the minds of the members are to be inflamed against party officials?

It is both interesting and amusing to see how the writer of the article, "We Must Have a National Emergency Convention," twists and places words to suit his purpose. When the National Executive Committee decided upon calling an Amnesty Conference, it was with no thought whatever of heading off a National Party Convention. The thought the committee had in mind was to arouse and combine every element in the country, that was interested in the subject of amnesty, and bring all possible pressure to bear upon the administration to compel the release of all war-time pri-

soners. Of course, it is the privilege of *The Revolutionary Age* to pride itself on "boycotting" such a conference and urge others to do the same. It is the privilege of *The Revolutionary Age* to bark at the moon while our comrades are languishing in filthy prisons. To some of our experienced comrades at least, it is agreeable that we should combine every element that can bring pressure to bear upon the Demo-

## This is Germer!

National Executive Committee motion by N. E. C. member L. E. Katterfeld:

"That we reprimand the Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer, and instruct him under penalty of immediate recall from office, to cease interfering with the pending membership referendum regarding the National Convention."

Comment: Our Party Constitution provides that an official who interferes with the processes of the membership shall be recalled from office.

As an individual party member, Germer has the right to take part in debates on referendums. But he has no right to use the machinery of the National Office for that purpose.

He is sending two page official communications to Locals that endorsed the Boston resolutions, seeking to defeat the Convention referendum. He used the official Party Bulletin for the same purpose.

He left out of the Bulletin the report on N. E. C. motions No. 32 and No. 33 that I made regarding Japanese organizer and International Delegate, but printed his anti-Convention argument instead.

Such reprehensible practices cannot be tolerated. This official chicanery must be rebuked.

Letter of N. E. C. member L. E. Katterfeld, to Adolph Germer, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party:

You ask for a statement from N. E. C. members regarding the proposed Party Convention. You are entirely out of order. Are you not aware that Party officials are prohibited from interfering with the processes of the membership?

You claim to oppose the Party Convention on the ground of expense, but you favor an "Amnesty" Conference which in order to amount to anything would cost the Socialist Movement far more than a Party Convention.

I hold that we need a Party Convention not merely to show where our party stands in the present world crisis, but also to solve this very problem of financing our movement and building our organization.

You and the rest of the compromisers seem to be afraid to have the Party membership meet in Convention. You seem to know that they will surely repudiate all dickerings with bourgeois organizations and efforts to line up our party with pro-war patriots of other lands. In spite of your theatrical performance in denouncing the *Appeal*, when it comes to the real test of revolutionary Socialism you stand right with that gang against the uncompromising radicals within our own party. I can never forget your efforts at the St. Louis Convention to change our Party laws so that we could endorse and vote for all party politicians.

We do not need a mere "Conference" for you and reactionaries of our Party to confab with congenial spirits from "liberal" organizations. We need a membership convention with power to act. Your hysterical efforts to prevent this convince me of its necessity right now. I hope that the membership will resent your official meddling and vote overwhelmingly for the Party Convention.

cratic Administration and force open the prison doors and regain freedom for the war-time victims.

You say, "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."

How do you know that? What proof have you to substantiate any such statement? As one who is on his way to prison and who approves of calling the Amnesty Convention, I brand such a charge as a pure and simple fabrication conceived by a fertile imagination and totally without warrant.

Here let me say that I am not in the least worrying about going to jail. Others have gone before me, others will go after me, and it is no worse for me to go than for the thousands of others who have gone or may still go. But such an absurd charge against the National Executive Committee will not go unchallenged.

You further say, "if the party convention so decides, ways and means can be found of co-operating with other organizations interested in amnesty." I shall be fair enough to believe that it was not trickery on your part to dish this out to your readers; that you sincerely feel that way. But let me ask—why delay the agitation for the release of political prisoners? Is it because "propagandists" are more interested in carrying on a discussion of purely party matters than they are in agitating for the release of our comrades in jail? If they are, again I say, it is their privilege. But I never felt justified in subscribing to such a doctrine.

Again you charge that when I advised the locals, branches and individual comrades that the Boston resolution could not be accepted as a motion for referendum, I informed such locals, branches and individuals, that the only motion properly initiated was from Local Queens County. And you add that you have been informed that at this late date I made an objection to the Queens County resolution. To me at least it will be interesting to learn who is peddling these falsehoods. What is the source of your information? Please reveal it. The fact that the ballots for a convention will be shipped out in the next few days, will serve, I hope, as an emphatic denial of your claim. I challenge you or anyone else to tell your readers where and when and to whom I made objection to the constitutionality of the Queens County motion.

I frankly confess guilt to doubting the wisdom of holding a National Party Convention this year, but at no time and no place and to no one have I said that the Queens County motion was not submitted in strict accord with the provisions of the National Constitution.

I question the wisdom of a National Convention for several reasons. First on account of the expense involved. We are just emerging from the indebtedness that has served as a brake on the party for several years. A convention will cost between \$15,000 and \$20,000 if all the States send delegates. All the states are not in a financial condition to pay the expense of delegates. The Queens County motion makes no provision for financing the convention. In fact, no mention is made of it. A convention cannot finance itself

and unless provision is made, there is a grave probability of having representation only from the States more favorably situated financially, leaving the weaker states without delegates. The amount necessary to pay the expenses of a convention cannot be raised over night. It requires time and persistent effort. But that objection would not be sufficient were it not that we are to have a National Party Convention next April or May for the purpose of nominating presidential candidates and formulating our platform and program for the presidential campaign. You may answer that we can formulate our platform and program this year and nominate our candidates either at this year's convention or by referendum. I hope it will be sufficient to remind the comrades, who raise that contention, of our experience with both the platform and the nomination of the presidential candidate in 1916. The convention enthusiasts insist that the new world conditions demand a new party declaration; that our present declarations and program are out of date. It will require no extended argument to convince persons who think that we are in a stage of constant transition and that any statement adopted at a convention this year may be entirely out of date for our presidential campaign, so that we cannot argue that a convention this year will be all-sufficient.

In addition, the party must carry on a nation-wide campaign for the release of war-time prisoners. This cannot be done on good intentions. Even our good comrades of *The Revolutionary Age* are not publishing their paper and traveling about on good will. As well meaning as they are, they have found it necessary to make charges to cover at least their railroad fare and living expenses and, in most cases, a per diem.

The spirit of *The Revolutionary Age* is clearly revealed in the appeal to the members to protest against the explanation respecting the Boston resolution. You are not satisfied with the National Office accepting the National Constitution as a guide for the Socialist Party.

The members must be aroused to a protest, right or wrong. This is not the first time I have known people to subscribe to the doctrine, "United we stand, but divided we stand it better." And I am not sailing into the field of speculation when I say that it is the deliberate purpose to foist that doctrine on the Socialist Party.

In all that I have read in *The Revolutionary Age* and in most of the resolutions and communications sent to this office in favor of a convention, I have seen nothing to indicate that it is intended as a gathering to work out ways and means of combining the masses in a coherent movement to hasten the day of the social revolution. One of the champions of the convention idea put it very bluntly the other day when he said, "We want to see who is boss in the party." I am not in the least drawing on my imagination when I say that he is not alone in harboring that thought. Others have expressed it more tactfully.

It's up to the members to decide whether or not a convention shall be held. If they decide in the affirmative, like a good soldier, I yield to their desire and will leave nothing undone to help make it a success.

March 28, 1919

# An Answer to Germer's Criticism

By Louis C. Fraina

IT IS easy to assume attitudes, particularly the attitude of righteous indignation. It is easy to resort to slander and vituperation. These are familiar weapons of the man who has no case, of the man who is in the desperation of despair.

This is precisely what Comrade Germer does. His criticism of *The Revolutionary Age* is not a criticism, it is a violent assault; but it is the assault of a desperate weakened enemy, depending wholly upon poison gas. But the artillery and machine guns of our facts are more than a match for poison gas attacks.

Comrade Germer fights shy of the essentials of the arguments that *The Revolutionary Age* has been making against him and the National Executive Committee for five months. Let us re-consider these arguments.

On November 26, 1918, two weeks after the German Revolution, Local Boston adopted a resolution for an Emergency National Convention, declaring:

The revolutionary crisis in Europe, the campaign of the imperialist press for armed intervention in Russia, and for armed intervention in Germany and Austria should Socialism conquer, projects a crisis in the movement of the American proletariat.

The international situation is a call to action—the real struggle is coming between Socialism and Capitalism.

In this great crisis, it is imperative that the Socialist Party prepare itself, that it unify itself, that it formulate a policy expressing the requirements of the crisis and the mature judgement of the membership.

That resolution was a clear expression of party necessity and party action. That was five months ago. What did the National Executive Committee do, during these five months of crisis, of the agonized call of the European proletariat to international Socialism, of the collapse of Capitalism and the proletarian revolution in action? Let us re-capitulate (and I shall simply re-state the arguments that *The Revolutionary Age* has been making for five months):

1.—During the greatest crisis in all history, the N. E. C. was dumb and inert. It did not issue any flaming call to the party for action. It dodged all vital issues. It decapitated the party. It clung to petty bourgeois "Socialism"—an infamous betrayal of trust.

2.—Local after local of the Party insisted upon action, but the N. E. C. either ignored or sabotaged their appeals.

3.—New ideas, new concepts of action, a new life, developed in the Party; but the N. E. C. was as stolid as an iceberg, one member at least stigmatizing the insurgent elements as "anarchistic."

4.—Immediately after the armistice and the German Revolution the N. E. C. should have met; but it did not meet until the end of January—almost three months wasted, three months during which a day was equivalent to years of other periods. Tragic waste and incompetency!

5.—When the N. E. C. did finally meet, it was as an Old Man of the Sea. It was reactionary. It refused to call an emergency Party Convention, in spite of the call of the party membership. It issued no flaming declaration on the world crisis. It was dead, inert, conservative, bureaucratic, on the great issues of a world in revolt.

6.—The N. E. C. decided to send delegates (in implication, affiliation) to the Congress of the Great Betrayal at Berne, the Congress of pro-war Socialists, social-patriots and counter-revolutionary "Socialism."

7.—The N. E. C. refused to call a Party National Convention together with bourgeois "liberal" and non-Socialist organizations, a clear abandonment of the class struggle. (Germer says it would cost money to hold a Party Convention, and the Party is "broke;" but wouldn't it cost money to hold an "Amnesty" Convention? A Party Convention could, moreover, in considering the international crisis, equally and necessarily consider our class war prisoners.)

This is our indictment of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. This is the story of its treason to international proletarian solidarity and Socialism,—or, in charity, shall we say "incompetency"?

Comrade Germer's whole letter reeks with declarations and insinuations that we are liars. Yet upon what does he base these serious accusations? Upon one thing: "You add that you have been informed that at this late date I made an objection to the Queens County resolution. To me at least it will be interesting to learn who is peddling these falsehoods."

What *The Revolutionary Age* said was this, in its article of March 8:

We have been informed that Comrade Germer has now made an objection to the Local Queens County motion on the ground that it was initiated by a delegate body.

But this statement was preceded by a passage which clearly indicates that we didn't depend upon that "information." This is the passage:

The resolution offered by Local Queens 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 of 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.

In this it is clear that we knew the Queens County motion was going to referendum. The passage that came further on was simply supplementary. It was an error. But an error is not a lie. Why did not Comrade Germer simply write us that we had been misinformed about his alleged objection? No! His job is to call comrades liars and to cuttle-fish in the momentous issues now agitating the party. And that is all Comrade Germer offers to prove us liars! . . .

In its attitude, *The Revolutionary Age* has discussed

party issues as matters of principles. It has not resorted to defamation of character—as Comrade Germer does. We have a strong case; Germer and his crowd of moderates have not: hence their peculiar tactics.

Our charge against Comrade Germer is that of using obstructionist tactics, not that he refused to initiate a referendum which wasn't framed properly. When he received the Local Boston motion for a referendum on a Party Convention, he knew that it was not properly framed: why did he not immediately notify the Boston Comrades? Instead, he sends it out for seconds (knowing its form was unconstitutional), thereby wasting time and sabotaging the Emergency Convention. A Party official should facilitate the processes of the membership, not obstruct them.

Comrade Germer grandiloquently declaims that the Party Constitution is the will of the membership. Of course. But why, then, does Comrade Germer and the N. E. C. violate it? It was unconstitutional for the N. E. C. to "elect" delegates to the Berne Congress. Germer quotes the Constitution: "The duties and powers of the National Executive Committee shall be: (a) to represent the Party in all National and International affairs." Precisely; but where the Constitution does not otherwise provide. And the Party Constitution distinctly provides that *International Delegates shall be chosen only by referendum vote of the membership.* The N. E. C., accordingly, deliberately violated the party's "fundamental law."

Why? Comrade Germer says there "was no time to elect by referendum vote." The N. E. C. was in a hurry to participate in Berne, but not in a hurry about giving the membership an opportunity to express itself through an Emergency Convention. Why did not the N. E. C. suggest a referendum in November, knowing that an International Congress would be held?

Facts are facts. And the facts are that the "Amnesty" Convention has been used (unsuccessfully) to sabotage the Emergency Convention.

It is disgraceful for Germer to insinuate that we are not interested in our class war prisoners. But we want action, not petty bourgeois hot-air. *The Revolutionary Age* is consistently carrying on a propaganda for our class war prisoners, for industrial mass action to liberate them, on the basis of the proletarian class struggle.

It is the N. E. C. that is delaying the liberation of our imprisoned comrades. If they had done their duty, we could have had a Party Convention in January or February, unified our forces and initiated a national Socialist campaign for the liberation of our class prisoners. . . .

But enough! Comrade Germer's "arguments" are not the real arguments against *The Revolutionary Age* and the Left Wing. No, comrades of the Socialist Party; the issue is one between moderate Socialism and revolutionary Socialism. The N. E. C. majority emphatically expresses that moderate Socialism which in Europe is counter-revolutionary. That is the issue! We are frank, Comrade Germer: our purpose is to conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism.

## Soviet Problems — an Interview with Lenin

Granted to M. Puntevold, of Norway

THE main duty of the Russian people during the period of political and social transition is to establish a proletarian dictatorship in city and country, all with a view of tumbling to the ground the regime of the bourgeoisie, to prevent one individual from making use of another and to establish Socialism under which there will be no division into classes.

"Intervention becomes a more difficult problem for the Allies every day, it would also be very much hampered by growing sympathy for the Soviet Government in Entente countries. At the same time, the Russian Red Army is growing in strength every day.

It is, of course, not entirely impossible that the Entente will attempt to intervene this spring, but this is very unlikely.

On the agrarian question we are divided into three groups. The half-farmers, or country proletariat, who now, as before, sell their labor and who are our best supporters; the small farmers and the big farmers. The last mentioned are, of course, opposed to us, as we have taken their lands away from them. But their resistance is broken.

The small farmers, contrary to the more wealthy class, are wabbling. They are, of course, against grain monopoly and desire free trade for their stocks. There is a great lack of materials in the country and of food in the cities. Our economical situation is also very uncertain. Not the least serious factor is the shortage of fuel. As we have just conquered the coal district,

there is hope of betterment in the immediate future. Had it not been for this the situation would have been untenable.

We believe that the so-called freedom of the press means only the right of the bourgeoisie to fool the people and lie to them. The bourgeoisie own the entire capital of the newspapers, the printing materials and machinery and the newspapers themselves. With the press in their hands they hold unlimited power over public opinion. The freedom of the press is the same as freedom of capital. And we are subduing the capitalists.

The press only for the proletariat—nothing for capital. That is our slogan. When the war on the bourgeoisie is ended, if a political party wishes a newspaper for its use we may put at their disposal a printing shop as well as paper, but we are now in the midst of a civil war. There is no question about that. To establish a free press at present would be the same thing as to announce that the war is ended before it really is.

We have already legalized the Menshevik Party, which has its official paper, *Always Forward*, published in Moscow. In the nearest future, I believe, we will be able to legalize the Social Revolutionary Party. The opposition press will also soon be unimpeded, all in the degree to which the different parties are willing to work loyally and willingly with us.

Civil war is civil war. It writes its own laws. It is like this: Either the proletariat governs or capital rules. There is no other alternative. There are some who are not pleased with our dictatorship. I say to them, "Go to Siberia and see if the dictatorship is better there. We will willingly place transportation at your disposal."

The idea of annihilating Capitalism without civil war is Utopian. You undoubtedly know that the number of millionaires in Norway has been multiplied by ten during the war. Do you believe that the Norwegian millionaires, just because of arguments, will capitulate without the blow of a sword?

Or maybe you can tell me why ten to twelve million people were killed in the world war? "War until victory" was written on Kerensky's banners. "War until victory over the bourgeoisie" is the workers' revision of this slogan. And there you have it all.

Arming the proletariat—this we must teach, and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. Give up the disarmament program, advised Zeth Hoglund, a Swedish Socialist, in 1910. His opinion was different from mine. Now he certainly must agree with me.

In my message to the National Commune on March 10, I said that as the time passes and the majority becomes assured of its power, then we can raise the question of general suffrage before the Soviet. We must keep the dictatorship in order to be able to control the bourgeoisie.

## The Revolt of the Small Peoples

**T**HERE is, apparently, a conspiracy of circumstances against the Peace Conference in Paris,—a conspiracy that brutally insists upon exposing the sinister purposes that skulk behind the splendid words of the Conference.

This conspiracy of circumstances is implacable. The Conference promises to make peace—and then by its reactionary policy it provokes revolutionary war against international Imperialism. It decides to mediate between the various Russian "factions"—and then proves that its real purpose is to crush the Bolsheviks. It promises to conclude a peace of reconciliation and justice—and then, if reports are true, it determines to impose terms of peace in comparison with which the German crime at Brest-Litovsk was a "gentlemen's agreement." It proposes to "end Imperialism" by means of a League of Nations—and then actually organizes a sort of imperialistic trust of five great nations.

But this conspiracy of circumstances is most cruel to the Peace Conference when it comes to the "small nations" or the "small peoples" of the world. Here the conspiracy is positively ferocious in exposing the Peace Conference as being against the progress and liberty of the world.

The war, insisted the apologists of the Allies, was a war to protect the small nations—Belgium and Serbia. Later, according to these same apologists, the war was a war to free all the small peoples of Europe oppressed by Austro-German Imperialism. During the war, the small nations and oppressed peoples bulked large upon the stage of events (marionettes whose wires were pulled by the Imperialism of the Allies.) But, immediately upon the conclusion of the armistice, these small nations and oppressed peoples were shoved contemptuously aside, and the Great Powers arranged things alone. Surely, if the war was a war for the small nations and oppressed peoples, the representatives of these should have been given real consideration, if not a determining voice, in the deliberations of the Peace Conference. But no! They were given the opportunity to make their pleas, and then disposed of. They tried a revolt in January against the dictatorship of the Big Four, but were ruthlessly crushed; and since then they have at the Conference acted as good children, who should be seen but not heard.

After it had served its purpose of manufacturing the popular ideology for an imperialistic war, the magnificent talk about the small nations and oppressed people appeared in its true perspective, as an expression of Imperialism. . . .

But still the Peace Conference issued forth a golden cascade of words concerning the small and oppressed peoples and making the world safe for democracy. Then, in a swift series of revealing events, the conspiracy of circumstances again exposed the Peace Conference as against the progress and liberty of the world—that conspiracy of circumstances which is simply

the implacable requirements of Capitalism and Imperialism.

While the Conference did not actually determine the destiny of the small nations and oppressed peoples of Europe on the basis of their interests, it at least concerned itself with the problem. But the other oppressed peoples of the world?—Corea, India, Egypt, Persia, China, Morocco, Ireland, and the small republics of the Carribeans and Central America (these latter vassals of American Imperialism). Not a word!

The Conference was to make the world free, but not by depriving British, French, Japanese, Italian and American Imperialism of their share in the division of the world. (Indeed, the Conference actually is redividing the world imperialistically in favor of the Big Five.)

Then these small and oppressed peoples acted; and their actions reveal the predatory character of the Peace Conference.

Ireland set up its own Parliament, and appealed to the Conference. But there was "nothing doing."

China appealed to the Conference for the annulment of the treaties Japan forced upon China in 1915 (the infamous demands imposed by bayonet diplomacy) by means of which Japan entrenched its Imperialism in China. The "twenty-one demands" of Japan, characteristic of imperialistic policy, virtually deprived China of its economic and political independence. Making the world safe for democracy requires the abolition of this policy of brigandage (which is equally the policy of the other imperialistic nations), but the Peace Conference has given China no satisfaction.

Persia (which prior to the war was "divided" between the Russian and British Governments, in the interest of their capitalists) has asked the Peace Conference to declare null and void all treaties in contravention of Persian independence. These treaties, which were concluded by Persia with Russia and Great Britain, were declared void by revolutionary Soviet Russia in December, 1917; but Great Britain still clings to them, to promote Imperialism. Persia also asks that the armed forces of foreign powers be withdrawn. But Persia must consider the Peace Conference a gathering of altruistic gentlemen, if she expects to secure independence that way. The Conference believes in altering the *status quo ante* only if it does not harm the Imperialism it represents (or aggrandizes it still more).

At this moment, a revolt is raging in Corea. The Japanese Government, in control of Corea, has pursued a systematic policy of oppression and brutality, of exterminating the Corean people, physically and culturally. This country was annexed by Japan in characteristic imperialistic fashion. The people are deprived of all liberty, and they are starving. They insist upon national independence. Japan's answer is to crush the people with artillery and machine guns and

mass executions, while it is pouring more troops in Corea to assure the suppression of the revolutionary movement. And the Peace Conference's answer is—nothing!

At this moment, moreover, revolts are raging in India and Egypt, which are held in national bondage by British Imperialism.

India is in a desperate state. Her men and money were conscripted by Great Britain in the war to protect the small and oppressed peoples. Famine rages in the country. The Hindu people, capable of great self-development, have been denied the opportunity for development, since the policy of Great Britain has been to use India as a means of aggrandizing British industry to the detriment of Hindu industry. The British pro-Consul government in India has decided to spend one half of the annual budget for military purposes, at a time when the worst famine in years is raging, prices of food are exorbitant, and 6,000,000 persons died last year from influenza. The economic distress is supplemented by political agitation, due to the government's new laws to severely crush Nationalist propaganda. This is how British Imperialism makes the world safe for democracy and the oppressed peoples—in India! This, while the Peace Conference speaks grandiloquently of the charter of world liberty!

A similar situation prevails in Egypt, where a strong revolutionary Nationalist movement is in action, and where the British Government is using the troops it previously used to "liberate" the oppressed peoples of Europe to conquer and exploit the oppressed peoples of Egypt.

All this infamy, all this oppression and strangulation of the peoples of the world, while the Peace Conference . . . but why dilate upon the organized hypocrisy that speaks in Paris?

No! The liberation of the small and oppressed peoples of the world cannot be accomplished by distinguished diplomats in Paris, the very diplomats who represent the Imperialism that holds these peoples in subjection.

And even should these small and oppressed peoples secure their national independence, it would not amount to much. They would still be the economic and financial vassals of international Imperialism, centralized in the capitalists of Great Britain, France and the United States. These three nations control three-fourths of the available finance-capital of the world, absolutely necessary to a small nation under Capitalism. Political independence for the small and oppressed peoples under Capitalism and Imperialism would prove a Barmecides' Feast. Political independence, liberty and equality of nations and of peoples, depends upon industrial independence. To insure this, the power of international Imperialism must be broken.

The liberation, real and not fraudulent, of the small and oppressed peoples, is the task of the international proletarian revolution.

## American Soviets May Hold Convention

(From the "Western Socialist," Portland Oregon)

**T**HE spontaneous springing up of Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors all over the United States, gives unmistakable evidence of the revolutionary spirit which now permeates the workers of even this country. That, for time, these Councils will have a hard struggle, goes without saying. They have to contend with the opposition of the employing class of course, but now that reactionary labor officials have had time to organize their forces, an opposition even more dangerous to their immediate existence is menacing them. Some of these labor officials realize that these Councils are the fore-runners of the revolution and are deliberately opposing them in every conceivable manner, for that reason. Others, not so farsighted, fail to see in them anything but a menace to the machine which they have so carefully built up and which now controls organized labor. Both of these types of "labor skates" need close watching, not only now, when they are openly opposing progress, but also in the near future, when they may be driven to work secretly. Labor now has an unexcelled opportunity to study these people and should put mental tags on them for future reference. Learn their names and faces and Remember Them!

In spite of all and every kind of opposition which they may meet, these Councils have a real, material basis and will continue to exist so long as they function in the interest of the workers or so long as no other organization outstrips them in the performance of that duty. Their mission is the organization and education in revolutionary tactics of all the working class whether in uniform or overalls. More especially should these Councils direct their energies towards educating the

members of craft unions. For this purpose they are indeed well suited. The majority of their delegates are craft union men of the more radical kind, who, meeting now with radicals of every shade under the banner of these Workers' and Soldiers' Councils have an unsurpassed opportunity for organizing a deliberate campaign to educate their brothers.

Along these particular lines the Portland Council is doing good work. In a series of petty skirmishes with the reactionary forces in the Central Labor Council, radicals have steadily gotten the worst of it. However, the conservatives overstepped the mark when they caused the Central Council to vote to refuse to recognize any more communications from the Council of Workers and Soldiers, giving their secretary permission to destroy any such letters unread. Blindly the Central Council has thrown a boomerang which will return and deal it a heavy blow. Its excuse for such undemocratic action is that these communications were wasting too much of its time, sometimes a full hour being spent in debating a motion to file one of

them. That such a simple thing should require so long to settle would certainly indicate that the local soviet has many friends in the Council and also that its enemies are having to use considerable oratory to win their points. Indeed, one radical is quoted as having said on the floor that it was the conservatives who wasted the Council's time by their lengthy and wavering speeches against the soviet's activities. So fearful seem these conservatives that the "Reds" may get ahead of them, that they try to drown them with words. For our part we are glad that the Central Labor Council has gone so unmistakably on record as a reactionary body. It will be all the easier to convince doubters that its officials are doing their best to check the revolution. It is easily seen that even the doubters among the rank and file are, in their hearts, looking forward to the great change, however much they may be disturbed by it.

As far as the activities of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council among the delegates to the Metal Trades Council is concerned, progress is being made. The latter is by the nature of its make up, a more radical body than the Central Council. We understand that last week it adopted the Soviet's suggestion and recommended its affiliated locals to throw open their halls as recreation places for returned men. The local Soviet is in direct communication with similar bodies throughout the country and a convention has been suggested for the near future. The need for such a convention is obvious if only to standardize the various declarations of principles and forms of organization which at present differ considerably though the objects of all these bodies are identical.

### Manifesto Edition

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

885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

# Imperialism — the Final Stage of Capitalism

By N. Lenin

(Continuation)

## IV. The Export of Capital.

UNDER the older Capitalism and unrestricted competition, the most typical phenomenon was the export of goods. Later day Capitalism, with monopoly enthroned, is primarily interested in exporting capital.

Capitalism is the production of merchandise raised to its highest degree, labor itself being also merchandise. Barter, national and international, is the distinctive characteristic of Capitalism.

The uneven and fitful development of the various enterprises, of the various branches of industry, in the various countries, is an unavoidable consequence under Capitalism. England became a capitalistic land at an earlier date than the other nations, and in the middle of the 19th century, practicing free trade, she aspired to be the workshop of the world, shipping manufactured goods to all the countries which were, in their turn, to supply her with raw materials. But in the last quarter of the 19th century England began to lose that monopoly, for a number of other nations, protected by high custom tariffs, developed into independent capitalist powers. At the dawn of the 20th century we witness the growth of a new form of monopoly: First, monopolistic unions of capitalists in all the countries where Capitalism has developed. Secondly, the assumption of a monopolistic position by certain over-wealthy nations where the accumulation of capital has reached gigantic proportions. Capital is abundant in up-to-date nations.

Of course, if Capitalism could develop agriculture, which everywhere has curiously lagged behind industry, if Capitalism could raise the life standards of the masses, which, in spite of our incredible scientific advance, are destitute and on the verge of starvation, we would not need to speak of the "abundance" of capital.

This is one of the "arguments" brought forth by petit bourgeois critics of Capitalism. But then Capitalism would not be Capitalism, for irregularity of development and a low standard of life for the masses constitute the fundamental, unavoidable conditions, the premises, so to speak, of this form of production.

As long as Capitalism remains Capitalism, the profits of capital will not be applied to raising the life standards of the masses in any given country, for this would reduce the profits of the capitalists; they will be used in increasing still more those profits by being exported to backward foreign countries.

In those countries capital's profits are generally large, for the number of capitalists is small, the price of land is low, labor and raw materials cheap. Capital is being exported for the purpose of bringing the backward nations into the sphere of exploitation of world Capitalism, by building railroad lines, furnishing the first elements necessary for the development of industry, etc. Capital has to be exported because in many lands, Capitalism is overripe, and capital cannot be invested profitably enough on account of the backwardness of agriculture of the destitution of the masses.

The table below indicates approximately the amounts of capital exported by the three leading countries. (60)

Years	England	France	Germany
1862	—	—	—
1872	3.6	—	—
1882	15	10 (1866)	—
1893	22	15 (1886)	?
1902	42	20 (1890)	?
1914	62	27-37	12.5
	75-100	60	44

We see from the table that the export of capital only assumed giant proportions at the beginning of the 20th century. Before the war the foreign investments of the three leading nations amounted to between 175 and 200 billions. The profits derived from those investments computed at the modest rate of 5% must have been from 8 to 10 billion francs a year. Such is the solid foundation for the imperialistic subjugation and the exploitation of the majority of the nations, and for the capitalistic parasitism of a few wealthy powers.

Let us see how those foreign investments are divided up among the various parts of the earth and then we will begin to understand the general workings of present day Imperialism.

	England	France	Germany	Totals
Europe	—	—	—	—
America	4	23	18	45
Asia, Africa	37	4	10	51
Australia	20	8	7	44
Totals	70	35	35	140

English investments are absorbed first by her many colonies in America (Canada), in Asia and other parts of the world. The export of capital is in this case dependent upon the ownership of large colonial lands, whose importance for Imperialism we shall discuss later. France is in a different position. Her foreign investments are mainly made in European countries, particularly in Russia (at least 10 billion francs), and they are rather in the shape of loans made to governments than in the shape of industrial investments. English Imperialism could be designated as colonial Imperialism. French Imperialism is rather usurious Imperialism. Germany finds herself again in a different position: her colonial empire is meager, and her foreign investments are almost equally divided up between Europe and America.

The export of capital into a country has a tendency to develop Capitalism in that country. If that export causes a certain degree of stagnation in the exporting countries, it tends on the other hand to bring about a broader and deeper development of Capitalism in the world as a whole.

The exporting countries always manage to secure advantages whose character throws a flood of light upon this peculiar era of finance capital and monopoly. This is what appeared in October 1913 in the Berlin review *Bank*:

"On the international money market there is being performed a comedy worthy of Aristophanes' pen. A number of governments, from Spain to the Balkans, from Russia to Argentina, from Brazil to China are coming openly into the great money markets with urgent applications for loans. The money markets are not now in a very favorable condition, nor is the outlook cheerful. But not one of the markets dares to say no for fear some other market will make the loan and thereby secure decided advantages in return for that accommodation. In all those international deals, the creditor always secures certain privileges:

## The Left Wing

By C. E. Ruthenberg

Secretary, Socialist Party of Cleveland and its Candidate for Mayor.

THE indorsement of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program by Local Cleveland, Socialist Party, means the repudiation of all purely political or legislative reform and the substitution of mass action by the workers. This means that we will hereafter cease to participate in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of effecting social reforms, but will use political action only as an educational weapon.

As set forth in the Left Wing program, political action, revolutionary and emphasizing the implacable character of the class struggle, has now overtaken the old idea of attempting to carry out various local reforms such as better housing or municipal ownership of street car lines. For this, we have substituted the industrial revolution as the only means of overcoming the capitalistic state.

The Cleveland Socialist Party contains 3500 active card members, and is, I believe, the third largest organization in the United States, and this action in indorsing the Left Wing program follows that of the Left Wing section of Local New York, Locals Philadelphia, Boston and a score of other locals. The meeting which brought about this indorsement also indorsed a call to formulate a national statement and a call for a national referendum of the Socialist Party, initiated by the central branch of Local Boston, which resolution also provides that international delegates now being elected by the Socialist Party of the United States shall participate only in an international conference called or indorsed by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) and the Spartacans.

Our program provides that the party must "teach," propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism through a proletarian dictatorship.

In carrying out this program the *Cleveland Socialist* has issued and distributed 65,000 copies of "The Socialist Challenge," and proposes to keep this form of literature constantly before the public. I do not consider my nomination for Mayor as being the important part of the program adopted. Our campaign will be for the purpose of education and to carry on the general propaganda for the organization of workers in the industries through shop organizations and shop committees, which will eventually take control of industry and establish industrial democracy.

It is the mass action that will count in the future warfare against the capitalist state.

trade treaties, coaling stations, contracts for harbor construction, fat concessions, orders for artillery." (61)

Finance capital has fathered the monopolistic era. But every monopoly carries with itself monopolistic principles. Instead of competition in the open market, "good connections" lead to profitable deals. It is the same old story; loans are made on the condition that part of the moneys loaned shall be spent in buying merchandise from the creditor nation, especially ships and armaments, etc. In the course of the last two decades, France often resorted to that expedient. The export of capital to other countries is a means of fostering the export of goods to those countries. Such deals, especially when large enterprises are concerned stand, as Schiller would put it politely, "on the border line of a hold up." Krupp in Germany, Schneider in France, Armstrong in England, typify the firms which are closely allied to large banks and governments and which cannot be dodged easily whenever a loan is being made.

When France lent money to Russia on September 16, 1905, she compelled her to grant French capital certain commercial privileges extending as far as 1917. She did the same when she lent money to Japan on August 19, 1911. The tariff war between Austria and Serbia which raged from 1906 to 1911 with only a let up of 7 months, was due to the competition between Austria and France to supply Serbia with military equipment. Paul Deschanel declared in the Chamber of Deputies in January 1912 that, from 1908 to 1911, French firms had sold Serbia 45 million francs worth of war material.

We read in a report from the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Sao Paulo, Brazil: "Brazilian railroads are being built mostly with French, Belgian, British and German capital; whenever they conclude any financial arrangements relative to railroad construction, those countries insist on supplying all the material necessary for the building of the road."

Thus finance capital throws its net, literally speaking, all over the earth. In this connection, colonial banks with their branches play an important role. German imperialists look with envy upon the old colonial empires which are a source of huge profits. In 1904 England had 50 colonial banks with 2,279 branches; in 1902 she had 72 with 5,449 branches; France had 20 of them with 136 branches; Holland 16 with 68 branches, Germany 13 with 70 branches. American capitalists look with envy upon England and Germany which in South America have, respectively, Germany 5 banks with 40 branches, England 5 banks with 70 branches.

England and Germany have invested in the past 25 years some a billion dollars in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay and consequently control 46% of the entire trade of those three countries. (63)

## V. The Division of the World Among Groups of Capitalists

Monopolistic unions of capitalists, cartels, syndicates, trusts, begin by dividing among themselves the national markets, securing a more or less complete control of production in their own country.

Under Capitalism, however, national markets are unavoidably bound up with foreign commerce. As the export of capital increased and foreign and colonial sphere of influence were acquired by the leading monopolistic combines, these combines finally came to conclude international arrangements among themselves, thus organizing international trusts.

This constitutes a new step in the world-wide concentration of capital and production, a step far in advance of the preceding. Let us examine the growth of those super-monopolies.

The electrical industry is, as far as technical progress is concerned, typical of the Capitalism of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. It has attained its highest development in the two most advanced capitalist countries, the United States and Germany. The crisis of 1900 exerted a particularly strong influence on the growth of that industry.

Banks, which until then were closely allied to industry, hastened at that time the downfall of smaller concerns, and their absorption by larger ones. "The banks," Leidels writes, "refused to lend a helping hand to the concerns which needed it most, allowing all the concerns which were not closely enough connected with them to go down in hopeless bankruptcy." (64)

The result of it was that after 1900 concentration proceeded with gigantic speed. Until 1900 there were seven or eight different "groups" in the electrical industry, each group made up of several societies, 28 in all, and backed up by a number of banks, from 2 to 11 for each group.

(To be continued)

# Class Character of Bourgeois Justice

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

THE peculiar antics of modern legal justice, its circus leaps and stunts, cannot but appear "strange and dark and inexplicable" to the average, naive citizen who, in a spirit of religious fervor, believes in the existence of an "equal and absolute justice" in this most democratic of worlds.

But any person who approaches the workings of capitalist justice by means of the materialistic conception of history, who recognizes the contradiction of class interests, will easily pierce through the veil of impartiality covering the eyes of the goddess of Justice and discern in the passions that rage in them the spirit of class-capitalist justice.

The other day—and it is important to re-consider these events—an occasion was provided to draw a parallel between two sentences meted out by this class justice of Capitalism: the acquittal of the patriot, Vilain, the assassin of the French Socialist Jaures; and the death sentence imposed on the Anarchist, Cottin who shot and wounded Premier Clemenceau, the most reactionary representative of modern capitalist reaction and Imperialism. This was, clearly, impartiality!

A few days later two more acts of justice were perpetrated; and, as previously, the two verdicts, although apparently contradicting each other, again reveal the class character of bourgeois justice, the inner motives and the social forces which direct the course of this justice. I refer to the "benevolent" commutation of Cottin's sentence of death to ten years imprisonment; and the refusal of United States Attorney General Palmer to recommend to President Wilson "clemency" for Eugene Debs (who is now serving ten years in prison.)

It is characteristic that "clemency" for Cottin (which he didn't ask) should be interpreted as "Clemenceau saves life of his assailant." And with a glow of righteous pride, it is emphasized that "Cottin's commutation of sentence was on the recommendation of M. Clemenceau himself."

Concerning his refusal to recommend "clemency" for comrade Debs, Attorney General Palmer in an official statement said in justification of the refusal: "Eugene V. Debs has filed no petition with either the President or the Attorney General asking for the exercise of executive clemency. The facts in his case are such that, until such petition be made by him, I

should not feel called upon to consider making any recommendations in his case."

Let us analyze these two "impartial" decisions. Their apparent contradiction, from the point of view of bourgeois justice, is obvious at first glance: an Anarchist, for attempted "murder," gets a commutation of his previous death sentence to ten years imprisonment; while a Socialist who had delivered a "seditious" speech secures no "clemency" and also gets ten years imprisonment! . . .

Why this apparent contradiction? What is the explanation of this seeming benevolence of the French Government? Surely, no one will suspect the French Government of humanitarian sentiments or of a tendency toward the "meek and kind" virtues of Christianity!

We shall easily find the explanation of this apparent contradiction. This "benevolence" of the French Government is equally expressive of the class character of bourgeois justice, of the social forces that determine its decisions. All that is necessary is that we should transfer our attention from the gilded court palaces in which sits enthroned the French goddess of Justice, to the streets of Paris where the workers are creating and administering real justice. In the streets, and not in the palaces of the bourgeoisie, shall we discover the moving force of things.

There, in the streets of Paris, there occurred the other day a demonstration of the conscious workers, a living proof that the long and much-abused patience of the French workers is rapidly coming to an end. As a protest against the acquittal of Jaures' murderer, and as the threat of something more dangerous, tens of thousands of workers, in solid formation, conscious and implacable, under red and black banners, marched during the whole day through the streets of Paris. They did more than march. They did more than protest against the acquittal of Jaures' assassin. Through the music of the "Internationale" and the cries of protest against the infamy of capitalist justice that hundered in the air, there came, with ominous sound, the cry: "Down with the Peace Conference! Long Live the Soviets!" And the cry, "Long Live the Soviets!" was the expression of the ripening of revolutionary determination in these proletarian

hearts. It was more than a demonstration. It was a revolutionary threat, instinct with the determination to make the threat real, and end class justice and all the other evils of Capitalism. . . . This proletarian demonstration, these proletarian cries, were too serious and too threatening for the bourgeoisie to ignore them. A "concession" was necessary. A death sentence for Cottin simultaneously with acquittal for Vilain (what an unpleasant and fatal coincidence for the bourgeoisie!) would remain for a long time a vivid and eloquent expression of the character of bourgeois justice. And the bourgeoisie, sick at heart and apprehensive, beat a retreat, and made the "concession" to the working class implied in the commutation of Cottin's sentence. Angry at being forced to make this "concession," the bourgeoisie camouflaged its grimace of rage with a false smile of Christian "mercy."

But no conscious worker will believe that the French "Tiger" has suddenly awakened to humane and Christian feelings. No! It was the demonstration and the threat of the workers in the streets—symbol of the French proletariat and the oncoming proletarian revolution—that snatched Cottin away from the hangman's noose which the French bourgeoisie would all too eagerly have tightened until his body grew rigid in death. . . .

And in this, equally, lies the explanation of the ruthless policy of the American bourgeoisie, which refuses to "pardon" the veteran of the American Socialist-labor movement, Eugene Debs. "Unless there is thunder, the peasant will not cross himself" . . . and until there comes the thunder of our own proletarian action, the American bourgeoisie will indulge itself in the luxury of "severity;" it will, with the light-headed frivolity of the man who reckons not of tomorrow, throw our revolutionary fighters into prison.

Debs did not ask for clemency! No—he will never ask for clemency, and ask no one to do it for him. Of that there is no doubt. And there is equally no doubt that the day is coming when the American workers, following the example of their European comrades, will take "justice" into their own hands. That day will be the day of freedom for Debs and the other revolutionary fighters.

Capitalist justice is living its last days. The day of proletarian justice is coming!

## Program of the Spartacans in Germany

### I.

IMMEDIATE measures and steps to guarantee the safety of the revolution:

1. The disarming of all policemen and officers, as well as of all soldiers, who do not belong to the proletariat.
2. The confiscation of all supplies of arms and munitions and all munition works by the workmen's and soldier's councils.
3. The arming of the whole male population of the proletariat to form a workmen's militia. The organization of a red guard within this militia as its active body, for the protection of the revolution against all counter-revolutionary plots and conspiracies.
4. The abolition of all power of command hitherto vested in officers and non-commissioned officers, military authority to be supplanted by the voluntary discipline of the soldiers. The election of officers by the men with the right of recall. The repeal of military law.
5. The expulsion of officers and all untrustworthy persons from the soldiers' council.
6. The replacing of all political agents and Government officials by representatives from the workmen's and soldiers' councils.
7. The establishment of a revolutionary tribunal before which those chiefly responsible for the war shall be tried: the Hohenzollerns, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, von Tirpitz, and their fellow-criminals, as well as all the conspirators of the counter-revolution.
8. Immediate confiscation of all food, so as to guarantee the necessities of life to the people.

### II.

- Political and social measures:
1. The abolition of all separate states, and the formation of a single united Socialist republic.
  2. The abolition of all Parliaments and all communal bodies and the taking over of their functions by workmen's and soldiers' councils and by their agents and committees.
  3. The election of workmen's councils throughout Germany by all adult persons, men and women, in the laboring class of the cities and the country, within the separate trades; also the election of soldiers' councils by the men, exclusive of officers and untrustworthy persons. The right of workmen and soldiers to recall their representatives at any time.
  4. The election of delegates from the workmen's and soldiers' councils throughout the country to form a central council, which shall choose an executive council invested with all authority, both legislative and administrative. The central council is to meet, for the present, every three months, subject to new elections of delegates for each session. It shall exercise permanent control over the activity of the executive council and shall keep the various workmen's and soldiers' councils constantly in touch with their highest Government organ. The local councils shall have the right to recall their delegates to the central council at any time when they do not carry out the will of their electors, and to fill their places with others.

5. The right of appointing and deposing all Government officials to be vested in the executive council.
6. The abolition of all class distinctions, orders, and titles.
7. Far-reaching social legislation. The shortening of the working day to six hours at the most, in order to decrease unemployment, and in consideration of the physical degeneration which the laboring classes have suffered through the world war.
8. A speedy and thorough reorganization of the departments of rationing, housing sanitation, and education in the spirit of the proletarian revolution.

### III.

- The following administrative measures:
1. The confiscation of all dynastic property and income and the handing of it over to the community.
  2. The repudiation of all public debts and war loans, with the exception of subscriptions up to a certain amount, this amount to be fixed by the central council.
  3. The expropriation of large and medium sized estates and the establishment of Socialist agricultural societies under a unified control for the whole country. Smaller agricultural holdings to remain in the hands of the present owners until such time as they shall voluntarily come into the Socialist community.
  4. The liquidation of all banks, mines, factories, and large business concerns by the republic.
  5. The confiscation of all property beyond a certain maximum, which shall be fixed by the central council.
  6. The organization of councils in each industry, which shall cooperate with the workmen's councils and manage all internal affairs of their respective trades, including labor conditions and regulation of production, and shall finally take over the practical conduct of the business.
  8. The appointment of a strike committee which is to cooperate with the trade councils in guiding the strike movement throughout the country in a Socialist direction, and, through the political power of the workmen's and soldiers' councils, assure it of success.

### IV.

International tasks:  
As soon as possible, connections shall be made with our

## MASS MEETING

for release of political prisoners GRAND OPERA HOUSE, Washington, near Dover Sts, Boston

SUNDAY, APRIL 27, 2 P. M.

Speakers: Elizabeth Curley Flynn, of New York; Arturo Giovannini, of New York; A. Faggi, Louis C. Fraina, Frank Mack, Chairman. Admission Free. Auspices: Workers' Propaganda League.

brother-parties in foreign countries, so that the Socialist revolution may be put on an international basis, and through international fraternization and the uprising of the proletariat peace may be established and assured.

This is what the Spartacus Group wants. And because we want it, because we are the Socialist conscience of the revolution, therefore we are hated and persecuted and maligned by all open and secret enemies of the revolution and the proletariat.

Crucify them! cry the capitalists who tremble for their money-chests.

Crucify them! cry the middle-class citizens, the officers, the anti-Semites, and the press lackeys of the bourgeois press, who tremble around the flesh-pots of the bourgeois class power.

Crucify them! cry the Scheidemanns who, like Judas Iscariot, have sold the workmen to the bourgeoisie in order to keep their political power.

Crucify them! comes the echo from those deceived and befuddled workmen who do not know that they are fighting their own flesh and blood when they rage against the Spartacus Group.

In hating and maligning the Spartacus Group they can all unite—counter-revolutionists, enemies of the people, anti-Socialists, liars, and those who fear the light. But this only shows that the future belongs to those in whose breast the revolution still lives.

The Spartacus Group does not want to attain power over or through the masses of the working people. The Spartacus Group is only that part of proletariat which is conscious of its goal and attempts to wake up the broad masses to a realization of their historic task, which at every stage of the revolution represents the ultimate aim of the Socialists and the solution of national problems in the interests of the proletarian world revolution.

The Spartacus Group refuses to share power with the servants of the bourgeoisie, Ebert and Scheidemann, because it sees in such cooperation nothing but treachery to the essential principles of Socialism, strengthening of the counter-revolution, and paralyzing of the revolution.

The Spartacus Group will never take over the power of government except at the behest of the great mass of the proletariat, nor unless the masses clearly express their allegiance to its goal and methods.

The proletarian revolution can only progress step by step on its Golgotha path, and can only win full clearness and maturity through many defeats and victories.

The triumph of the Spartacus Group belongs, not to the beginning, but to the end of the revolution. It is identical with the triumph of the millions of the proletarian mass.

Up, proletarians! Arise to battle! You are about to conquer a world and to fight against a world. In this last great class war for the highest good of humanity, our motto must be: thumb in eye and knee on breast!