

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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Manifesto of the Communist International

To the proletariat of all countries!

SEVENTY-TWO years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in the form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades Communism has travelled a hard road: of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the program proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

I

For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the Congress of Basle, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State Socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, again unmask the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August 1914 proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, today, in vulgar sycophancy, join with the Socialists of the Entente countries in accusing as arch-criminals the deposed German monarchy which they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt and to gain the good will of the victors. But alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and the capitalist cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable villainy.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into heastly torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery, for all mankind. In this the academic quarrel in Socialism over the theory of *increasing misery*, and also of the undermining of Capitalism through Socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavored for decades to gather together from all countries of the earth real and apparent facts which evidence the increasing well-being of the working class. Today abysmal misery is before our eyes, social as well as physiological, in all its shocking reality.

Finance-capital, which threw mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production was completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as medium and regulator of capitalistic commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now

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Translated by IDA FERGUSON

reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economy, during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating role out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, util-

The White Terror

Consciously and systematically, under the direction of agents of Capitalism, police and rowdy mobs, including soldiers and sailors, are being mobilized against Socialism.

The May Day murderous assaults upon Socialist meetings are a revelation of capitalist brutality and a challenge to Socialism. It is equally a revelation of the fear of Capitalism at the oncoming proletarian revolution. Capitalism is shaking, and it resorts to terrorism to preserve its plundering power.

In Boston, riots were provoked against Socialist Party meetings. About 1000 men, women and children marching from the Dudley Street Opera House to a new meeting at New International Hall, Roxbury, were assaulted by a rowdy mob acting in co-operation with the police. There was no disturbance until the police assaulted our comrades. The peaceful character of this parade is proven by the fact that at least one-third consisted of women and children.

The police were not satisfied with using clubs, they deliberately shot at the men and women. It was unprovoked shooting, with intent to kill.

Then the police and rowdy mobs hunted down our comrades until late at night, assaulting even women, making indiscriminate arrests and smashing Socialist halls.

The actions of the police on May Day in Cleveland, Boston and other cities, constitute an unparalleled outrage. It was a deliberate, provocative, murderous assault. Will the authorities investigate the police outrages and punish the guilty? No!

We do not protest against these outrages: Capitalism thrives on outrage. Capitalism provokes terrorism and profits from terrorism. But we declare that we shall proceed with our campaign to emancipate the working class. We shall not allow terrorism to frighten us. We shall answer this terrorism with the force of our ideas, with the might of the conscious, Socialist proletariat.

ization of petroleum from Baku or Roumania, of coal from Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine: the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat,—all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of finance-capital led mankind to the imperialistic shambles, so finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not alone the State but also itself. It is no longer able to fulfill its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers, in the name of the gradual transition into Socialism, to be temperate; who, during the war, asked for submission in the name of "civil peace" and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of the economic life,

so vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates and other economic monsters. The only question is what shall be the future mainstay of state production, the Imperialistic State or the State of the victorious proletariat? In other words, shall the whole of working humanity become the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under the name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy, here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the Proletarian Dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all materials and forces, introduces the universal duty to labor, establishes the regime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to new undreamt-of heights.

The national State which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalistic evolution has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces. And even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic buffer States. They, too, have their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power: namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled these smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical "points" of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of the Czarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old small States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente imperialists, exactly as the imperialists of the Central powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic co-operation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and gives even to the smallest and weakest peoples the possibility freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European continent.

(Continued on page eight)

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The Ideal Candidate

THE campaign that is being organized to make Major-General Leonard Wood the Republican Party candidate for President in 1920 fits in with the requirements of contemporary Capitalism.

Friends of Major-General Wood describe him as "the rightful heir" of Theodore Roosevelt. This comparison has truth, and characterizes the sort of President the plutocracy wants. Roosevelt was a dictator, the "man on horse-back" President; his militarism coincided with the requirements of imperialistic Capitalism, and his "strong" policy promoted the supremacy of trust-capital. An adept at deception of the workers, Roosevelt was in all things faithful to Imperialism. His "Larger Americanism" was a policy of Imperialism, of State Capitalism and war.

Major-General Wood has the Roosevelt ideology. He is a "strong" man, devout in his adherence to military ideals, strong for an aggressive international policy, recognizes the commercial basis of war,—and he promulgates all these reactionary ideas with a cynicism that people mistake for gentle candor.

Stormy days are ahead. Capitalism must fight for its life. It will use the White Terror. And Major-General Wood would make an excellent person to direct this Terror from the White House.

Terrorism—Against Whom?

IN order to show the real motives behind the terror unleashed against the Socialists and I. W. W.'s on May Day, come two items. One is that two strike leaders in Lawrence were kidnapped, being dragged out of their beds, beaten into insensibility and thrown out of town, one of them being left unconscious. The police, moreover, are preparing to use machine guns against the strikers. The other item is that in Providence, R. I., the police have discovered that "driving strike agitators into the river is said to have disposed of 'undesirables' so well that the practice will be continued. Deputy Superintendent of Police William O'Neil is credited with the new move. He disposed of a gathering of 200 men in the rear of the Weybosset mill by driving them into the Woonasuck river, obliging them to swim across the narrow stream."

This is terrorism against strikes and strikers—against men, women and children struggling for more of the means of life. And the terrorism against the Socialists and I. W. W.'s is against the conscious representatives of this struggle, against those who are trying to transform this small struggle for more wages into the larger struggle against Capitalism as the only means of actually securing more life and happiness.

Workers who participate in terrorism against the Socialists are acting against their own interests. The policy of Capitalism is divide and conquer, by means of terrorism.

Bolshevism—Its Two Phases

VERY much satisfaction is being derived by the capitalist press at the military "defeats" sustained by the Bolsheviks recently. They jubilate over the military crushing of the Bolshevik Republic in Munich; they chuckle over the "instability" of the Hungarian Soviet Republic because of the invasion of Rumanian troops; and they hold their sides in laughter at the defeats of the Russian Soviet troops.

The troops of the Ebert-Scheidemann bourgeois—"Socialist" assassins of the Revolution are temporarily in power in Munich; and they have unleashed the yellow terror of moderate "Socialism" against the revolutionary proletariat. But in Hungary, the Soviet Republic seems as strong as ever, the proletariat mobilizing to resist the invasion of Rumanian and Entente troops. In Russia, the news of Bolshevik "defeats" are misleading; preparations are being made for a new Soviet offensive, the re-distribution of troops provid-

ing the enemy with the chance to advance slightly; while it is indisputable that the French were forced to get out of Odessa and the Ukraine is Soviet.

The persistence of Bolshevism does not come out of its military power: that is one phase, and not the most important, except at certain junctures. The power of Bolshevism comes out of the social-economic collapse of Capitalism, out of the economic needs of the workers, out of the struggle of class against class. It is this social-economic phase that is decisive. While you cannot build a new society by means of military force, neither can you permanently save an old society from collapse by that means. Bolshevism is the proletarian answer to the economic collapse of Capitalism. That is why Bolshevism will determine the future.

Turn to the Left!

COMRADE Ludwig Lore has joined the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City. In a letter to Executive Secretary Cohen, Comrade Lore says:

"I was of the opinion that an organization as it exists here in New York—and I understand that nowhere else have such organizations been formed—would be a constant menace to the unity of the party in this most critical time. ... If the coming National Convention should declare itself against revolutionary Socialism, a split would not only be necessary but inevitable. But since I am of the firm conviction that the party membership, in its overwhelming majority, stands with us, I thought that we took no chances in waiting for the convention to speak.

"But now I am confronted with a situation, not a theory. The organization is in the field and if a split is to be avoided at this time it can be done only by so strengthening it that the conservative and opportunistic forces in the party will not dare to force expulsions or employ provocative measures."

This is an excellent appraisal of the situation. Our most important task at this moment, as adherents of revolutionary Socialism, is to strengthen the Left Wing in the Socialist Party, as the preliminary to conquering the party for revolutionary Socialism.

The Mooney Strike

THE preparations for a general strike to compel the release of Tom Mooney are not acquiring the speed that they should. There seems to prevail a tendency to remain satisfied with resolutions, to allow words to speak instead of deeds.

Meetings are held to pass general strike resolutions. The frame-up of Mooney is denounced in strong terms. But the action of actual organization for the general strike lags miserably.

The Mooney case is a test of organized labor. It is a challenge to the workers, and this challenge must be answered in one way: by the use of the economic power of the workers to compel the release of Mooney.

A number of organizations of the A. F. of L. have adopted resolutions which provide:

"Unless new trials or freedom are granted Mooney and Billings before July 4, 1919, we will go out on a general strike to take effect for five days—July 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

"Further, if justice is still denied in spite of our first protest, we will join in a general strike for five days, beginning Labor Day, September 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

"Again, if no relief is forthcoming, we will join a third strike taking effect November 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23.

"Following the third period, if Mooney and Billings are still in jail, we will join a general strike for an indefinite period."

This is progress; but why that interval provision? It savors too much of hesitation, of trying to avoid the struggle that is necessary in order to compel justice from the master class.

A general strike in order to compel action must actually threaten the capitalists, it must actually make a dent in their profits, and paralyze industry. Simply to cease work won't work; it must be a general industrial strike united with giant demonstrations of the workers.

Moreover, this sort of action requires preparations and organization; but these are not as yet apparent. Is sabotage still being used by the A. F. of L. officials against Mooney?

In this crisis, the militant Socialist must make his contact with the militant elements in the A. F. of L., and by means of the mass action of the membership compel the officials to cease their sabotage. This is a real task for the Socialist Party at this moment. It is a task that, while acting on an immediate issue, is potential of more revolutionary action in the days to come. The party must actively engage in the movement for a real general strike; it must use the opportunity, not only to organize this strike, but to educate the proletariat in the meaning and importance of the political strike in the struggle for labor's emancipation.

Our Red May Day

THE First of May has come and gone. But this May Day lingers in the memory; its events have imparted new inspiration and energy to the militant Socialists in our party.

In the streets of city after city was revealed the brutality of Capitalism and its official agents, and the savagery of mobs whose emotions have been savaged by the infamous campaign of slander and riot indulged in by the hireling enemies of the militant proletariat. But, on the other hand, the events of our first Red May Day revealed equally the awakening determination in our party to struggle for the streets, to combine the usual old meetings in halls with demonstrations of the mass in the streets.

Let us say it: the Red character of our May Day was imposed upon us by the masters. Their hirelings had prepared to crush the militant workers on this day. In the press and in the pulpit, in the courts and in the gutters, in newspapers and magazines, there was a systematic campaign urging murderous violence against the Socialists on May Day. The mob was inflamed; and this inflammation assumed the form of murderous assaults upon the Socialists, protected by the police.

The "great bomb plot," undoubtedly engineered by agents provocateur, was exploited deliberately to inflame the passions of the mob. It was openly declared that the program of revolutionary Socialism, of the Bolsheviks, was a program of murder, assassination and arson. The fact that the Bolsheviks opposed assassinations even in Russia, where if any where assassination could be justified, the Bolsheviks insisting on mass action as against these individual acts; the fact that neither the Bolsheviks in Russia nor the Spartacists in Germany have used assassination, while assassination has been used against them,—these practical and theoretical proofs were scorned by the bourgeois press and the bourgeois hirelings.

And that it is the bourgeois and their hirelings who resort to murder and riot was proven on May Day. ...

Characteristic of the campaign of incitation to riot and murder against Socialists and I. W. W.'s was the Victory Loan address of Mayor Ole Hanson, of Seattle, delivered in Topeka, Kansas, on May 1. Mayor Hanson, whose taste of "glory" for breaking the Seattle general strike went to his head and revealed the degenerate, murderous instincts of his soul, said:

[The policy pursued by the government toward anarchism and the I. W. W. is] skim-milk, weak, vacillating and changeable. ... The government is on the wrong track in starting conferences instead of cemeteries in dealing with the I. W. W. ... I trust Washington will buck up and clean up, and either hang or incarcerate for life all the anarchists in the country. If the government doesn't clean up, I will give up my mayorship and start through the country. We will hold meetings and have hanging places. ... Any Mayor that will permit an I. W. W. meeting in his city should be recalled and banished from America. He is not an American.

This is clear incitation to murder and riot. This is a clear revelation of the murderous, savage instincts of Capitalism and the agents of Capitalism. And these are the men who condemn the "savagery" of the Bolsheviks!

The result was inevitable. In city after city there were riots on May Day, beating up of Socialists, breaking of meetings, in which rowdy elements joined hands with the "respectable" thugs of the "Loyalty" leagues. The authorities co-operated by refusing permits for parades and preventing meetings being held; the police co-operated by protecting the rowdy and "respectable" thug elements, and by themselves "raising hell" with clubs and guns; the judges co-operated by imposing heavy fines and prison terms upon those arrested.

And the real inciters to murder and violence, the Hansons and the other thugs of the bourgeoisie, are still at large to wreak their murderous will upon the people. ...

The Socialists and conscious workers were not prepared for this terrorism. But, unprepared, they hit back. They were overwhelmed, and beaten; but next time they will be prepared.

The battle of May Day stretched all over the country; but it was particularly acute in Cleveland and Boston. There the comrades have acquired new determination, new energy, after the manifestations of bourgeois brutality. There they are determined to proceed unhampered to murder the conscious workers. And these two locals are at the heart of the Left Wing movement in the American Socialist Party. ...

The class war flared up in the streets on May Day. It will flare up again. ... On with the struggle against Capitalism, in spite of all and everything!

Which International?

I

Speech delivered by Jean Longuet at the Berne Conference on "Socialist Responsibility and the War."

COMRADES: We are in agreement with our comrades, Kurt Eisner and Karl Kautsky, in all their criticism of the majority Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The Socialists of the world, in the tempest of the war, have all more or less yielded to chauvinism; but the majority Socialists of Germany have yielded much more than the others. [The delegates: Very good, very good!] Consequently, having condemned the chauvinistic elements in our midst, in a measure, we are condemning the majority Socialists of Germany much more strongly because of their stronger manifestations of chauvinism.

There was evident everywhere an anquished preoccupation with the problem of national defence; everywhere there was the tendency to maintain national unity against the foreigner. This preoccupation with national defense has, in a number of countries, and more particularly in Germany, degenerated into nationalism; precisely as the preoccupation with the "union sacrée" [party unity for national defense, suspension of the class struggle] in France has degenerated into governmentalism and ministerialism. [Bravo!]

In our country (France) we were in a more difficult position, because it was vanquished yesterday and invaded today; and consequently we had to participate in the national defense,—for more pressing reasons, higher reasons, than the world will easily understand, stronger reasons than those of the Socialists on the other side of the Rhine.

It is not less true that these preoccupations have to a certain extent animated all the others. When they have those who were true to the International raised themselves in protest. [Bravo!]

Comrades, we for our part have deeply regretted that the majority of the German Social-Democracy could not understand that, no matter what the Russian danger, it did not excuse the violation of Belgian neutrality.

There was a bitter sentiment, which made our struggle particularly difficult, when the German majority Socialists did not make their protest heard against the submarine warfare, against the deportation of civilians by the German General Staff. In that moment you, Socialists of Germany, neglected your duty; and we, the minority of the party in France, who have nothing to reproach ourselves with from the international point of view, are anxious to tell it to you. [Tres bien!]

We have also regretted that, at the moment of the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties, the German majority Socialists did not protest more than they did, no more than you did when the Socialists of Finland were crushed with the aid of the German Government. [Tres bien!]

Our Comrades Eisner and Kautsky have, with force and courage, told you with all the authority coming from their past sincere service to the cause of the proletarian International, told you all that I am telling you.

All this, comrades, does not obviate the other faults that were committed. If we have had in France a situation particularly difficult in view of the national defence and the integrity of our country and the sacred treasure that was deposited with us, — it is the idea and the policy of the International. And it is with regret that we must admit that in our midst also there were comrades who forgot the International.

We cannot, at this moment, fail to consider those who made the Stockholm Conference a failure, besides the German majority. There was a smaller but not less serious mistake of our French comrades of the old majority in opposing the Stockholm Conference. We considered the supreme interest of the proletariat of the world, and of France, to end the war as soon as possible. We thought at that moment that the renegade enterprise of German militarism, of which Kautsky spoke this morning, had failed, and consequently we could give peace a Socialist character, a thing we cannot accomplish to-day because nationalism and Imperialism, defeated in Berlin and Vienna, have, alas, raised their heads in Paris, London and Rome.

Well! We regret it, comrades. We say that the failure of the Stockholm Conference was a great misfortune, a grievous fault. We say that then we could have united the whole International.

In ending, Comrades, I want simply to examine our conclusions. To establish responsibility may have its use, but it is not sufficient. Must we draw a conclusion that includes the motives of Thomas? Or one in which it is asked that the German majority Socialists be excluded from the International? I do not think that Thomas seriously proposes that. There will be many more exclusions to make in many other parts

of Europe. [Renaudel: Which? No half words!]

This morning Kurt Eisner and Kautsky showed us with great force that there are important proletarian masses that have remained true to the old Social Democratic Party in Germany. We have no intention, I think, of excluding these proletarian masses from the International. [Tres bien!] Only, we say that the German Social-Democratic Party must come back to its old unity and ideas, tested and glorious, that have been adopted by all our international Congresses, for the past 25 years, on the basis of the Amsterdam Congress.

One word more: After Troelstra, and with him, I want to protest against the summary condemnation of the Bolshevik movement, and others, that we have heard here. The tactics of our Bolshevik comrades may be applicable to Eastern Europe. I do not know that we could transform the Russian tactics here. I know nothing and I want more information. But I want to say that to condemn and exclude them *a priori* is an impossible thing; the more so when it comes from the extreme right of our movement. [Tres bien!]

We are here to re-constitute the International solidarity of the workers, to make an end of the hatreds that the capitalists and the governments have created among the exploited masses, among the workers of the world. At the 1899 Congress of the French party in Marseilles, Wilhelm Liebknecht said:

"Between you, French workers, and us, German Socialists, there is a river of blood. It is not we who caused that river of blood to flow; it is our enemy, the bourgeoisie, it is Capitalism! Across that river of blood the workers of all countries must unite in the common struggle for their emancipation."

II

An Answer—Longuet, the Centre in France, and the New International.

THE Socialist Party of France, at its Congress the other day repudiated the Bolshevik-Spartacan International, and recognized the Second International, which collapsed miserably during the war and the proletarian revolution, as still the International.

Until about a year ago, the official majority in the French Socialist Party consisted of uncompromising social-patriots, pro-war "Socialists." Then a new majority came into power, captained by Jean Longuet. The French party, under this new majority, pursued fundamentally the old policy, with compromises and pretty words characteristic of the centre. This new majority corresponds, roughly, with the Haase-Kautsky Independents of Germany, who are playing such a miserable and disastrous role in the Revolution. This new majority was characterized by the resolution which brought it into power at the Congress: the resolution favored national defense, it dodged on the Bolshevik issue, and was a tapeworm resolution capable of infinite "interpretation;" while the Loriot resolution, short and to the point, urging the struggle for immediate pace and the Social Revolution, and uncompromisingly accepting the Bolsheviks, was defeated. Loriot represents the Left Wing.

This new majority in the French Socialist Party, moreover, is equally characterized by its spokesman, Jean Longuet; and Longuet is characterized in his speech on "Socialist Responsibility and the War," delivered at the Berne Congress of the Great Betrayal, of the social-patriots, which we reprint above.

Longuet is a centrist. The centrist deals in compromises and the "trimming of ideas" to be agreeable to all. He hesitates, and is never direct and revolutionary. The interjection of Renaudel, a consistent social-patriot, "No half words," fittingly describes Longuet's attitude on fundamental issues.

This speech accepts the doctrine of "national defense" which smashed the International and betrayed Socialism.

This speech deprecates that "national defense" which degenerated into chauvinism—but chauvinism is an inevitable excrescence of national defense; and this "defense" would be suicidal to militant Socialism even if it did not "degenerate into chauvinism."

This speech admits that "other" Socialists committed errors, but they were worse in Germany, and that therefore the German Social-Democracy was most to blame for the collapse of the International.

This speech bewails the fizzle of the Stockholm Conference, where the traitorous Socialists were to have gotten together to reconstitute the old International which had broken down, at a time when the Bolsheviks had issued a new order of the day to militant Socialism—the order to organize the new, the Third International of revolutionary Socialism.

This speech indicates that the majority Socialists of Germany are not to be excluded from the International—in other words, the speech is a plea for the yellow International.

The argument made in favor of this is that "there are important proletarian masses that have remained true to the old Social Democratic Party in Germany."

Bolshevikjabs

BUDAPEST, May 1.—Bela Kun today sent out a wireless stating that the report of the fall of the Hungarian Soviet administration is grossly exaggerated.

* * *

(Mayor Hylan of New York is very much concerned, of late, at the growing popularity of the color Red, and is inciting the Aldermen to pass ordinances forbidding its display.)

I pity Mayor Hylan, I pity him at dawn, I pity him at sun-set when I reflect upon the fact that when the sun comes up and coaxes Johnny out of bed it disregards Hizzoner's law, and comes up looking red. And even then it's not content but sometimes plays a second trick for when it settles down to rest its redder than a Bolshevik.

* * *

The New York Evening Mail, speaking of Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the Shipping Board, says: "Mr. Hurley pleads for big business in a big way. . . . His voice is the voice of the aroused determination of American enterprise to capture its full share of the trade of the reconstructed world." Presumably another war will settle what exactly is American big business' full share of the reconstructed world's trade.

* * *

Eugene V. Debs tells an interesting story: "I was awakened about two o'clock one morning by two railroad engineers and told that I must go with them to Chicago immediately to take charge of the Burlington strike. One of the engineers was Edward N. Hurley. . . ."

Debs took charge of the strike—he has always remembered that there were other people in the world besides Debs. Hurley, apparently, has always remembered that Hurley was in the world. It must be a source of satisfaction to him these days when he "pleads for BIG business in a big way" to know that the world has put its seal of approval on his course of action while it puts an iron padlock on the cell of the man who remembered too much.

* * *

But these are strange days and we wonder which man's appeal will be most successful.

* * *

Perhaps men, in the overalls of workers, will again awaken Debs in the middle of the night and tell him he must go with them immediately to Washington to take charge of the . . . Well, when you find out what he's to take charge of maybe you'll go and do it.

* * *

"Rome rushes 14 army divisions to Fiume," says a headline. One for each point!

* * *

Judging from the press reports Italy appears to think that if she got Fiume she would be able to build a much bigger foreign trade. Judging from the actions of the rest of Peace Conference it appears that Italy is right in so thinking.

* * *

"Italian Socialists quit Second International." In other words they endorsed the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing.

(Continued from Preceding Column.)

Very true; and this, to the revolutionary Socialist, is a challenge to get the masses away by exposing and smashing this traitorous "Socialist" party which is betraying "important proletarian masses." But Longuet proposes that we include this party in the International, thereby bolstering up its prestige and prolonging its betrayal of the proletariat. Imagine an International that harbors the "Socialist" murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg!

But Longuet says, of course, that the German majority party should return "to its old unity and ideas, tested and glorious." In the first place, this is impossible; in the second place, even if possible, it is undesirable.

The centrist speaks of the old unity and the old ideas. But they broke down, miserably and completely. Out of this collapse has come a new proletarian impulse and a new revolutionary Socialist movement. We cannot compromise with the old: we must repudiate it completely. We must not compromise. There is a challenge to Socialism, and we must accept this challenge: *reorganize the Socialist movement on the basis of Bolshevik-Spartacan policy and practice.*

The French Socialist Party, dominated by the centre, apologizes and accepts the old, repudiates the Bolshevik-Spartacan Communist International; the Italian Socialist Party, dominated by the left wing, repudiates the old and accepts the new Communist International.

Which Socialism and which International, Comrades of the American Socialist Party?

The Cleveland May Day Demonstration

By C. E. Ruthenberg

Secretary, Local Cleveland; Arrested

THE workers of Cleveland who are striving to throw off the yoke of oppression and exploitation have received their baptism in blood.

They have learned that the ruling class will not even permit workingmen to peaceably demonstrate. They have been shot, brutally clubbed and crushed by army tanks and heavy military trucks, all because they dared march through the streets of Cleveland carrying their banners demanding *freedom for Debs, freedom for Mooney, freedom for all political and industrial prisoners and work for the unemployed through the six hour day and dollar per hour minimum wage.*

The May Day Demonstration in Cleveland was the greatest outpouring of militant workers that this city has ever seen. Arranged under the auspices of the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., W. I. I. U. and nearly a score of A. F. of L. unions participated. The plans for the demonstration called for four sections of the procession to assemble in different parts of the city, all of which were to meet at a given point and then to march to the Public Square, where speeches were to be made.

Up to a certain point the program was carried out successfully. The different sections assembled and marched through miles of the city streets carrying their red banners and thousands of red pennants and signs bearing the *May Day* slogans. When the four sections arrived at Central and E. 9th Street the streets were lined for blocks and blocks in every direction by the various columns. No more glorious sight could be imagined by the mind of those inspired by the ideal of the Social Revolution than to look down these lines from the point of intersection and to see the scores of red banners waving high in the air, and then, with a mighty cheer, to see a veritable cloud of red as thousands of pennants were thrust high over the heads of the marchers.

Not less than twenty thousands workers participated in the procession and when the head of the line reached the Public Square another twenty or thirty thousand workers were there to greet the marchers.

The joined sections started down E. 9th Street and the head of the line had covered three-fourth of the distance to the Public Square without the slightest trouble. Rather were the marchers applauded and cheered, as they had been applauded and cheered while the sections were passing through the working class sections of the city to the meeting place.

When the head of the line was within a block of the Public Square the first trouble occurred. An officer in the uniform of the Red Cross jumped from a "Victory" Loan truck and endeavored to take a red flag which a soldier in uniform was carrying at the head of the procession. A scuffle followed in which other soldiers from the truck and some business men joined. During the scuffle one of these business men drew a revolver and wildly threatened the workers in the procession. In five minutes, however, the struggle was over. The lieutenant and his supporters were

driven back to the sidewalk, the head of the line reformed and with the red flag still flying, marched on to the Public Square.

Up to this point the police had been conspicuous by their absence from the line of march. With the exception of two or three traffic officers at important corners, not a policeman was to be seen. This fact was particularly noteworthy as it is the custom in Cleveland, when there are parades, to station officers a few hundred feet apart, along the whole line of march, and the police had asked for and had received a detailed statement of the plans for the procession.

When the head of the line entered the Public Square there were two noteworthy events: first there was a great wave of cheers and applause from the twenty or more thousand workers who were assembled there to participate in the meeting, and the police made their appearance. They came down Superior Ave., which divides the "Square" into northern and southern section, headed by the mounted squad, followed by auto load after load. The newspapers later reported that seven hundred men had been concentrated at the Central Station, who now descended upon the marchers.

The head of the line was not molested. The first thousand or so of workers marched onto the square and took possession of the "Victory" Loan speakers' stand, which had been built over the stone blocks placed on the Public Square for the use of speakers at public meetings. These marchers with the workers already assembled covered the entire section of the square.

The chairman of the meeting was about to introduce the writer as the first speaker when an officer and a few soldiers tried to climb to the platform, demanding that the soldier holding the red flag give it up. Comrade Lawrence A. Zitt, the chairman, entered into an argument with him and showed him the foolishness of his conduct and had him calmed down, when, without warning, a squad of mounted police dashed into the audience, driving their horses over the assembled workers and clubbing them as they went.

Meanwhile the police had cut the line a block away from the Public Square and had begun their attack all along the line, stretched out over a half mile and upon the thousands who had not yet left the meeting place of the sections.

What followed is indescribable in its brutality. The police drove their horses into the lines crushing and beating men and women alike. The police autos were similarly driven into the ranks of the workers. The police were soon joined by truck loads of soldiers and members of Cleveland's Black Hundred, the Loyal American League, and by army tanks which everywhere drove into the line of marchers. One heavy truck loaded with soldiers and the Black Hundred drove along the line while those on board, armed with

long, heavy clubs, with nails projecting two or three inches from the end, beat everyone within reach.

The sudden attack of the police, the quick appearance of the trucks loaded with the Black Hundred and their helpers, the tanks, all prove that the whole affair was carefully planned in advance in order to teach the workers who dared take up the fight against their masters, a lesson.

Of course the workers fought back and fought bravely. But they were caught at a disadvantage, with their lines extended through the heart of the city four abreast, as it no doubt had been planned that they should be caught. The fighting continued from about 2 o'clock until late in the evening.

Two of the workers were shot by police officers, one being killed on the spot and the other has since died in the hospital. Hundreds were brutally beaten, men and women alike, and about a hundred and fifty were arrested.

The brutalities did not cease with the attack made upon the streets. The writer was arrested with others, and worker after worker placed in the same cell block told of how the police took advantage of a dark corridor leading into the station to administer some extra blows with their clubs. One man, unable to stand up, was dragged into the corridor, set on his feet and told to stand up before the registry clerk, and when he collapsed was brutally shoved into a corner. The floor before the clerk's window was soon covered with blood from the workers' wounds and medical aid was not furnished for hours after.

While the fighting was going on a crowd of hoodlums, with police looking on, entered the party headquarters and tore and smashed everything they could lay their hands on.

Rumor says after the slaughter was over the Chamber of Commerce gave a dinner to those who did such effective work in their interest and that many thugs and hoodlums received wads of money from the same source.

The arrested workers are being charged with "disturbance" and are being railroaded to the workhouse to serve sentences of thirty days and a fine and costs. The writer is charged with "causing a disturbance," but the authorities are working hard to frame-up some evidence for a more serious charge in order to fasten responsibility for their own bloody work on other shoulders.

Meanwhile, the Socialist organization remains intact in spite of the destruction of the party headquarters. Committees are at work arranging for protection of those in prison and to raise the thousands of dollars needed to pay fines. The workers have had their lesson. They have learned how "democracy" meets a peaceable protest. They know from the thousands who marched that their power is greater than ever. Another day is coming. They will go on until victory is achieved.

The Red First of May in Boston

ON THE morning of May Day, the Comrades of Boston assembled at Dudley Street Opera House; at 11 o'clock a meeting was in session. ... Outside were police and a patrol wagon; they had come prepared for trouble, and were disappointed at being unable to "start something." The night before four comrades (one of them a former Canadian soldier who had fought four years in the war and had more decorations than one could count) were arrested for distributing a leaflet, "May Day—and the Revolution." Bail had been granted the night before, but withdrawn in the morning. ...

At the meeting, there were addresses and the singing of Socialist songs in English, Lettish, Russian and Italian. At two-thirty, it was decided to hold another meeting at the New International Hall, the new headquarters of the Roxbury Socialists, because many comrades had been unable to get in the Opera House. The comrades flowed out in the street, and began walking to New International Hall, which was about twenty minutes walk away. They formed in line, in order to facilitate matters and not obstruct anything; at the head of the crowd was a Red Flag and a flag of Soviet Russia. At least one third of the crowd of 1000 were women and children. The mood was one of gaiety. There was no disturbance, no obstruction of traffic—just a crowd marching on.

Then a group of young thugs, including soldiers and sailors, were seen to hold a consultation. The plan was explained by one—"we'll head them off and grab the flag." But they didn't. A policeman appeared; the gangsters held a consultation with him, and he sent a call for the reserves.

Still there was no disturbance. Then, suddenly, two police wagons appeared, and about fifteen policemen jumped out. They did not ask the crowd to disperse. They did not parley. They immediately, with drawn clubs, assailed the front of the crowd, where the flags were, and where there were at least ten women and children. The police used clubs freely, and smashed the Red Flag. This brutal, unprovoked assault was resisted. For fifteen minutes there was a struggle; broken heads and smashed faces, including those of women and children.

Then the police, having destroyed the Red Flag and made a number of arrests, drew their revolvers. The crowd was at bay. One comrade, an old man of fifty, barred his breast, and said: "Kill!" Deliberately, Sergeant Casey took aim and shot this comrade, straight at the breast. The bullet hit the comrade's watch, and this saved his life, but he is now under a physician's care. We have the dented watch and the bullet. ...

This first shot was the signal for indiscriminate shooting by the police. In the meanwhile, more police arrived, thugs with sticks and stones attacked our comrades, and the fight became general. Scores of comrades were in the police wagons under arrest; and thugs with sticks went into the wagons, protected by the police, and beat up our comrades. ...

While the fighting was still going on, a large group of the comrades marched down a side street, formed in line, and proceeded on their way to New International Hall. Then two more police wagons appeared, scores of police; they again attacked our comrades, again shot at the crowd with deliberate intent to kill.

Then the crowd dispersed. Two policemen had been shot, four of our comrades, one a woman; and many heads of comrades and police had been smashed. About forty had been arrested. ...

But this was just the start of things. Police and thugs surrounded New International Hall, arrested everyone there, ate up the sandwiches and cake prepared for the formal opening, and wrecked the whole place. At Dudley Street Opera House, more comrades were arrested, the police beating them up mercilessly. Up until midnight the fighting went on, police and thugs assaulting everyone they suspected of being "foreigner" or a Socialist.

All together, 112 comrades were arrested (one a boy of 15, who the police lyingly accuse of carrying a revolver) among them about 20 women. ...

There was no disturbance until the police came. They started it.

The police deliberately assaulted the crowd. The police loaned their clubs and "billies" to young thugs to beat the women and children.

The police beat up prisoners, in one case, at least, lining up a comrade against a wall while four of them brutally beat him about the face.

And now our comrades are being tried before a prejudiced judge, while the police indulge in more lying in one day than Ananias could in a year. Sentences of 18 months, one year and 6 months are being imposed on men and women.

The Socialists of Boston are now aware, more clearly than ever, of the class justice of bourgeois society. And they are more determined than ever that Capitalism shall go.

The Congress of the Communist International

By A. Nyemanov

THE first Congress of the Communist International, called into being by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) met in session on March 2, in Moscow. Our news of the Congress is meagre and indirect, only the reports in some German newspapers now being available.

Thirty-two delegates with full power to act participated in this first Congress of the Communist International, representing the Communist or "left" Socialist parties and groups of Germany, Russia, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria (the group "Tsesniki"), Rumania, Finland, Ukraine, Esthonia, Armenia and America (S. L. P.). [The S. L. P., however, has, through its official organ, the *Weekly People*, practically repudiated the Communist International by repudiating the original call for this Congress. The S. L. P. was "represented" by Boris Reinstein, who has not been in touch with his party.]

In addition, there sat as full members at the Congress delegates of the "Union of Socialists of Eastern Countries," a union functioning in Russia, representatives of labor organizations of Germans in Russia, and the "Union of Revolutionary Socialists" in the Balkans.

There were also present, with consultative powers, representatives of the Socialist Propaganda League (represented by S. J. Rutgers—the League is now merged with the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party in New York City), and the Communist parties or groups of Switzerland, Holland, Bohemia, Jugoslavia, France, Britain, Turkey, Turkestan, Persia

and Corea. The Chinese "Labor Group" was also represented.

The Congress would have been considerably larger had it not been for the fact that the representatives of nearly all capitalist countries did their best to prevent representatives of the revolutionary Socialist organizations from getting to Moscow.

The Russian Communist Party was represented by Comrades Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Bucharin and Stalin. A letter was read to the Congress from Comrade Lorient, leader of the Left Wing in the French Socialist Party, attacking and repudiating the Berne Congress of the social-patriots. The letter aroused great enthusiasm.

The following questions were on the agenda: 1, program of the Communist International; 2, dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois democracy; 3, attitude toward other Socialist tendencies and the Berne Conference; 4, the present international situation and the policy of the Allies; 5, electing an International Bureau of the new International.

The Moscow labor organizations made a gala day of the first session of the Congress, to greet the founders of the Third International. Comrade Kamienev in his speech compared the Moscow Congress with the London Congress of 1864 which organized the first International. The Moscow *Izvestia*, organ of the local Soviet, declared that attempts to restore the sec-

ond International are doomed to inevitable disaster.

This first Congress of the Communist International decided to liquidate the Zimmerwald "International Commission," hitherto headed by Comrade Balabanova. Participation in the Zimmerwald Congress, C. Rakovsky, N. Lenin, G. Zinoviev, L. Trotzky and F. Platten, made a joint declaration that, while at the time the Zimmerwald movement played an important part, it gradually out-lived its usefulness. The misfortune of the Zimmerwald movement was that there clustered around it representatives of the Socialist "centre" who in the end joined the social-patriots and betrayed Socialism. The Bolsheviks, as early as 1916, realized that a severance of relations was necessary with the "centre" and Zimmerwald, a severance prompted by the interests of the revolutionary movement. This explains why, proceeds the joint declaration, even at the time a split occurred among the participants in the Zimmerwald Conference, the "left" elements of the Socialist movement rallying around the "International Commission."

The "Central Bureau" of the Communist International will comprise representatives from the following countries: Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, one representative from the Scandinavian countries and one representative of the Balkan Socialists. Any Socialist Party that severs its relations with the second International and accepts the Communist International (as has already been done by the Socialist Party of Italy) is entitled to a representative on the Central Bureau.

Socialism and Mass Action

By S. J. Rutgers

ROSA LUXEMBURG has called the mass strike the dynamic method of the proletarian struggle in the Revolution. She considers mass action, and its most important feature the mass strike, as the sum total of a period in the class struggle that may last for years or tens of years until victory comes to the proletariat. In permanent change, it comprises all the phases of the political and economic struggle, all phases of the Revolution. Mass action in its highest form of political strike means the unity of political and economic action, means the proletarian revolution as an historic process.

The word "mass action" like the words "class struggle," "industrial action," "Imperialism," etc., may mean nothing; in fact they are used to cover the most conflicting thoughts and deeds. Representing a general conception living in the minds and the deeds of millions of workers, a word may become a powerful symbol and active force in the struggle for emancipation. Since Capitalism is outgrown and has to maintain its grasp on the world by mental and moral fraud, a clear conception of proletarian methods is most essential. Science being the monopoly of non-proletarian classes under Capitalism, all the workers can hope for, unless they will leave their fate in the hands and heads of middle class representatives, is to grasp some of the fundamental proletarian truths. These truths inevitably have to be coined into short slogans, this being the only form of theoretical abstraction, suitable both for the purpose of proletarian theory and fighting practice. What a "thesis" means to the scientist is expressed by the workers in general slogans and expressions; such as mass action, Imperialism, industrial unionism, class struggle, etc. Such and similar words may be said to express the proletarian philosophy, the strength of which depends upon the completeness and the unity of conception reflected by these words in the minds of the workers. The meaning of the words changes with the position of the workers in the class struggle and together with the consolidation of tactics, the corresponding conceptions get a more definite and more general shape. But at the same time the consolidation of these conceptions in the heads of the workers results in a more efficient, a more powerful struggle for emancipation.

Conservative Socialists may call any meeting of a dozen persons or over, a mass meeting, and may consider a big middle class vote the highest form of mass action—there is little doubt, however, that in large and increasing groups of American workers the idea of revolutionary mass action grows into a living and powerful conception. Industrial action, no doubt, forms the backbone of the conception in a country with highly developed industry. Industrial Unionism may, however, develop into a struggle for wages only; into job control without any further vision. Mass action is the broader vision, which includes all mass movements towards the Social Revolution.

It may be objected that, if industrial action is the most efficient form of mass action, why bother about minor issues? Why not concentrate all our efforts and thought in building our industrial unions so strong

as to overcome the capitalist employers and their centralized power—the capitalist state? Such an objection overlooks the complexity of real conditions. We are not free in choosing our methods in accordance with certain general theoretical constructions, but have to build on the solid ground of actual facts in the light of historical developments. No matter what our preachings mass movements in one form or another will develop and we will have to make the best of it. And on the other hand, industrial organization has its historical limits beyond which we cannot rise at the given moment of our action. Large groups of workers will continue for a certain length of time to organize in craft unions, and although we will tell them they are wrong and fight them where injurious to their class, still they will be a factor in our revolutionary struggle either for or against. Moreover large groups of unskilled workers will continue to live in such a state of slavery and terrorism, that only occasional shocks will be able to overcome the pressure of the iron heel. We also have to bear in mind that the very process of capitalism consists in swallowing middle class groups and farmers between the grinding wheels of industry and that each generation needs again its education towards industrial action, and at any given moment millions and millions of proletarians will continue to work under conditions very remote from large industry, and though it may be true that these groups never will be the backbone of revolutionary movements, still they will have to play their part. To overcome the capitalist organization and the capitalist state is a job in which we cannot afford to neglect whatever forces may contribute to success. We are not satisfied to wait until in some problematic future all capitalist production will be in the form of big industry and all proletarians will have passed the school of industrial education. We are convinced that the technical development of the capitalist world makes conditions ripe for a Socialist commonwealth at this very moment, that only our lack of power stands in the way of the realization of our hopes. What we want above all is a unity and concentration of the forces already existing in a latent form, a combination and further development of these forces towards our revolutionary aims.

The mental expression of this unity of proletarian forces is "mass action." It is the expression of the firm belief that the workers can only count on their own power. It means a definite break with the diplomacy, corruption and betrayal of middle class leaders. It calls for clear-cut, straight-lined class struggle theory and tactics, not only within the mental grasp of the average worker, but in such a form that the mechanism of its organized expression can be carried on by the workers without being dependent upon high-brow intellectuals. Mass action appeals to the numbers, but numbers welded into a mass, numbers bound together by a common cause, a common aim, a common thought, leading to common action and common organization. In its complexity of form, mass action mir-

rors the actual variety of the working class, in its unity of action it throws aside all middle class elements, that are not willing to break with their capitalist affiliations. Mass action is the very horror of the small bourgeois minds; is mere craziness to the intellectual radical. How in the world should the poor uneducated worker get along without the well meaning costly advice and representation of intellectuals?

But is it possible to increase our power by street demonstrations, strikes of protest, general campaigns for political issues, such as freedom of speech, judicial murders, militarism, high cost of living, unemployment, etc.? Are not the masses who come together for those purposes too heterogeneous, too much liable to be dispersed or annihilated by military force, too unorganized to develop power? To answer this question, we should first realize what the purpose is of our power. We want power for the Social Revolution to overcome capitalist society. You may overcome power by strengthening your own; as well as by weakening your opponent's power. A wrestler may subdue his colleague by a supreme effort, but he will more likely succeed because his opponent tires out quicker. Mass demonstrations may not be able to force a government to give in, but there is no doubt that mass demonstrations, strikes of protest, etc., have a strong tendency to weaken the position of the capitalist state. Demonstrations can and will be suppressed by military force, but this at the same time endangers the morale of militarism itself. In a period of demonstrations and protests all over the country combined with a variety of strikes, the bureaucratic apparatus will have great difficulty in maintaining its regular efficiency. At the same time the government will, through concessions in some places and brutality in others, open the eyes of large groups of workers previously caught in bourgeois ideologies of a state for the benefit of "the People," etc. And we should not forget that education through mass action is one of the most important factors to increase our power. No education without action and no greater educator for the workers than mass action.

Mass action never can be antagonistic towards industrial action, because the latter is only the most efficient form of mass action, is a part, is the backbone of general mass action. No successful mass action is conceivable without being firmly rooted in the economic power of the workers, and the strongest form to organize this power is in industrial unions. But this does not mean that there is no economic power outside of this particular form of organization. In fact industrial unions at present are surprisingly weak. Is it logical, is it less than a crime to neglect all other forms of economic power of the workers so far as they can be utilized for the big fight against Capital and the capitalist state as its most formidable instrument? Will the Russian revolution with its splendid unity of industrial strikes and street demonstrations into one sweeping mass movement have no lessons for us?

Will we wait for certain forms where others act and win?

The Left Wing and the Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

From "The New York Communist"

THE distinguishing feature of the controversy in the Socialist Party between the Right Wing and the Left Wing, between the moderates and the revolutionists, is that the Right Wing refuses to develop and defend its *real* program. This is partly fear, partly camouflage, and partly sheer stupidity.

The moderates have a program, and a consistent program. It consists of parliamentarism, of reforming Capitalism out of existence, of municipalization and nationalization of industry on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, of the theory that the coming of Socialism is the concern of all the classes,—in short, the policy of the moderates (which is in itself consistent, while inconsistent with fundamental Socialism) is a policy of *petit bourgeois*, "liberal" State Capitalism. But this policy broke down miserably under the test of the great crisis of Imperialism; it broke down under the test of the proletarian revolution, and revealed itself as fundamentally counter-revolutionary. But the moderates, essentially, still cling to this reactionary policy, although they are compelled by circumstances to disguise it, to camouflage it with cheap talk about "being left wing" and "a shift to the left" in the international movement, compelled to wait until "normal" times in order openly to defend their reactionary policy. So the moderates refuse to discuss the fundamentals of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program; they refuse to oppose their real policy to ours; they dare not. . . .

Accordingly, the Right Wing indulges either in vituperation of our revolutionary comrades, in threats of expulsion (guardians of the unity of the Party!), or in sophistry.

Characteristic of this sophistry was Algernon Lee's letter in the *Call* of April 2nd. Lee implies that the acceptance of the Left Wing policy depends upon an actual revolutionary crisis, and says:

Have we reason to expect a revolutionary crisis in this country in the proximate future, aside from the possibility of such a crisis being voluntarily precipitated by one element or another? In such a crisis, if it should be precipitated (no matter by whom) would the majority of the people probably be actively with us or against us? Or would the majority remain neutral and inert, ready to accept the outcome of the combat between a revolutionary minority and a reactionary minority? In this latter case, taking into account only the supposed active minority, which of them would probably win in a decisive struggle at this time? On the basis of our answers to these questions, have we reason to seek or welcome a hastening of the crisis?

These are fundamental questions. Upon the answers we give to them must rest our decision on detailed problems of methods and tactics. They are unescapable questions.

It is important to understand the immediate "moment" in the great social struggle as a basis for action; but Lee uses it to make arguments *against* action.

The policy of the Left Wing, in general, which is the policy of revolutionary Socialism, is not a policy only for an actual revolutionary crisis. The tactics of the class struggle, of the unrelenting antagonism on all issues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, function in "normal" as well as in "revolutionary" times.

It didn't require an actual revolutionary crisis to oppose the imperialistic war.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's acceptance of the war "in order to save the Russian Revolution" a betrayal of Socialism.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for Liberty Bonds, a betrayal of Socialist practice.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for a "Liberty Arch," on which is inscribed "Murmansk" as a glory of the American troops, a betrayal of the international revolution in general, and the Soviet Republic in particular.

It doesn't require a revolutionary crisis to condemn the policy of petty-bourgeois reformism and compromise pursued by Algernon Lee and his confreres in the Board of Aldermen.

And it doesn't require an actual or immediate revolutionary crisis to accept the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing; but this acceptance is necessary for the immediate struggle of the moment, and as a preparation of our forces for the revolutionary struggle that is coming. . . .

Let us discuss this problem more fully. It is necessary to completely expose the miserable arguments of the Right.

The Central concepts of Left Wing theory and practice are mass action and proletarian dictatorship. From these concepts flow three sets of tactics: before, during and after the Revolution. The immediate "moment" in the social struggle may compel a different emphasis; but the tactics are a unity, adaptable to the particular requirements of the social struggle.

Mass action implies the end of the exclusive concentration on parliamentary tactics. It implies awakening the industrial proletariat to action, the bringing of mass proletarian pressure upon the capitalist state to accomplish our purposes. It means shifting the centre of our activity from the parliaments to the shops and the streets, making our parliamentary activity simply a phase of mass action, until the actual revolution compels us completely to abandon parliamentarism. Mass action has its phases. It isn't necessary to have an actual revolution in order to use mass action,—before the final form of mass action we may use its preliminary forms, in which however, the final form is potential. Take, for example, our class war prisoners. It is necessary to compel their liberation. The Right Wing depends upon appeals to the Government which has imprisoned our comrades, upon liberal public opinion, upon co-operation with bourgeois and essentially reactionary organizations in "Amnesty" conventions,—upon everything except the aggressive mass effort of the proletariat. The Left Wing proposes a mass political strike to compel the liberation of our imprisoned comrades, to bring proletarian pressure upon the Government. Get the workers to down tools in the shops, march to other shops to pull out the workers there, get out in the streets in mass demonstration,—that is mass action we can use *now*, whether or not we are in an actual revolutionary crisis.

In proletarian dictatorship is implied the necessity of overthrowing the political parliamentary state, and after the conquest of power organizing a new proletarian state of the organized producers, of the federated Soviets. These concepts were implied (if not fully expressed) in revolutionary industrial unionism, which equally contained in itself the implication of mass action. Revolutionary industrial unionism placed parliamentarism in its proper perspective. The acceptance of and the propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism did not require an actual revolutionary crisis: yet the moderates refused to accept this vital American contribution to revolutionary theory

and practice (even refused to accept industrial unionism as necessary in the immediate economic struggle).

"No! It is miserable sophistry to affirm that the Left Wing policy accords only with an actual revolution. That is precisely what the moderates in Europe said. When the war broke, the moderates (led by Scheide-mann, Cunow, Plekhanov and Kautsky), declared that the Basel Manifesto had proven wrong in expecting an immediate revolution, that the masses had abandoned Socialism, therefore—they had to support an imperialistic war! But the Basel Manifesto did not assume an immediate revolution; it asserted that *war would bring an economic and social crisis, and that Socialism should use this crisis to hasten the coming of revolutionary action.*

The moderates in Germany said it was absurd to expect a revolution; and then they used all their power to *prevent* a revolution. And when the proletarian revolution loosed itself in action, the moderates acted consistently and ferociously against the revolutionary proletariat.

In Russia, the moderates said a proletarian revolution was impossible; but when it came, they acted against the revolution.

That is the attitude of the moderate Socialists everywhere, who are riveted with chains of iron to the bourgeois parliamentary state, who are absorbed in futile petty bourgeois reformism and the "gradual penetration of Socialism into Capitalism." Their arguments may appear plausible, until the test of the proletarian revolution reveals them as sophistry. Lee's arguments and policy are characteristic of the Scheide-manns, the Hendersons and the Vanderveldes. . . .

Imperialism, roughly, appeared in 1900; and with its appearance developed the revolt against parliamentary Socialism,—Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, Mass Action, Bolshevism, the Left Wing. Imperialism, as the final stage of Capitalism, objectively introduced the Social-Revolutionary epoch. But the dominant moderate Socialism did not adapt its practice to the new requirements; and it broke down miserably under the test of the war and of the proletarian revolution.

The war was the expression of the economic contradictions of Capitalism, of the insoluble problems of Imperialism. It is clear that Capitalism is breaking down; that the proletarian revolution is conquering. Capitalism cannot adjust itself to the new conditions, cannot solve its enormous economic problems. The world of Capitalism is in a revolutionary crisis,—more acute in Europe, less acute in the United States, but still a crisis. This crisis, which is a consequence of the economic collapse of Capitalism, provides the opportunity for Socialism to marshal the iron battalions of the proletariat for action and the conquest of power.

The final struggle against Capitalism is on; it may last months, or years, or tens of years, but this is a revolutionary epoch imposing revolutionary tactics. And *revolutionary agitation is itself an act of revolution.*

It is not our job to "hasten" a revolutionary crisis. Capitalism itself takes care of that. Our job is to *prepare*. Our job is to act on the immediate problems—unemployment, the soldiers, strikes, class war prisoners—in the spirit of revolutionary Socialism, in this way *preparing* the final action.

The Left Wing Program is a program of *action*, not a program of wishing for the moon. Sophistry can't annihilate it. Life itself is with us.

They Destroy the Left Wing!

By A. L. Sugarman

THE old guard within the Socialist Party is standing on its head, in desperation. All of its literary talent has been drafted into service in an attempt to save the Party for the old leaders and the old policies, and to stamp out the rapidly growing movement of the Left.

Now comes Ralph Korngold with a communication addressed to the Socialist press and officialdom, an effusion entitled "Revolutionary Romanticism." Ralph's effort is indeed a gem.

We quote: "The great Russian novelist Turgenieff warned the revolutionists against what he called the worship of the dirty shirt." Korngold's reflection is of course upon the wage worker who doesn't dress as immaculately as himself, but as between a dirty shirt and a muddy brain, such as Korngold's, we much prefer the former. Then, Comrade Korngold refers to the fact that W. F. Dunn, a Butte syndicalist, who is rather vague on a number of questions, was a candidate for mayor on the Democratic Party ticket. This is to be deplored, but the fact that Dunn made a democratic campaign on the Democratic ticket is scarcely

as deplorable as the fact that many alleged Socialists make democratic campaigns on the *Socialist* ticket. And poor Ralph gives the impression that *The Liberator* is a left wing organ!

Those of the left, says the estimable Korngold further, use Billy Sunday methods. This is laughable. Recall, for a moment, the typical campaign speech. . . .

"Vote for ME! If I am not elected, the city will go to the dogs. There is only one road to salvation, that is my election. The Republicans are liars. The Democrats are thieves. Follow me! . . .

And so on, *ad nauseum*. Yet Korngold says we use the Billy Sunday methods!

"The slow plodding processes of education and organization they (the left wing) will have nothing of" charges our critic. Korngold was manager of the literature department of the national office for a time. The "educational" stuff that he got out is well known. Let us teach the workers the common sense of the milk question! "They don't tell us exactly how their rev-

olution is to be brought about," wails Ralph. He wants blue prints, I suppose, and a detailed program of each day's events.

The logic of the gentlemen of the right is indeed peculiar. Workers have rejected milder programs, they urge, and therefore 'tis folly to present more radical ones. The first is true. They have rejected mild programs, *because they are mild programs*. We have lost fights in the past; what reason to suppose we can win now?—is one of their questions. As if conditions are the same now as in past decades! The main difficulty with these Socialist standpatters is that they cannot keep pace with the times. Events are moving too rapidly for them. They cannot keep up. They are still living in the last century!

"It is characteristic of these literary faddists and extremists that they never finish anything they start," concludes the estimable Mr. Korngold. Well—there is one little job that we've started and that we intend to finish and that—soon. We're going to clean out the Socialist Party to begin with; the moderates will be forced to get out of the way. For the day of the *Socialists* in the Socialist Party has arrived!

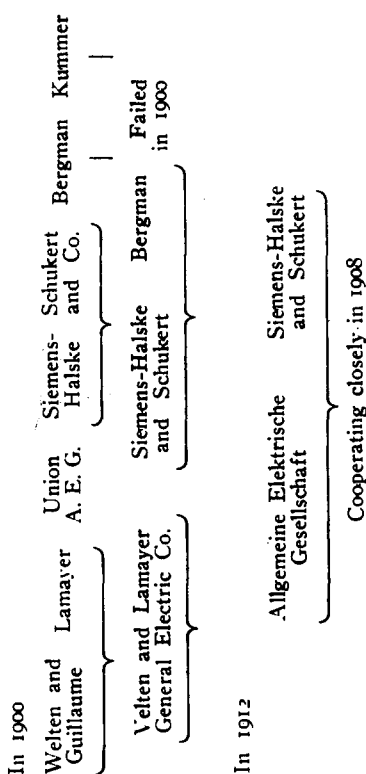
Imperialism — the Final Stage of Capitalism

(Continuation)

By N. Lenin

Translated from the Russian by Andre Tridon

BETWEEN 1908 and 1912 all those groups combined into two or rather one single group. The combination took place as indicated below.



The well-known Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft controls now (by way of "participation") between 175 and 200 societies and a capital amounting approximately to 1½ billion marks. It has 34 direct foreign representatives, among them 12 stock companies in ten different countries.

In 1904 the amount of capital invested in foreign countries by the German electrical industry was estimated at 233 million marks (62 millions in Russia). The Allgemeine Gesellschaft is, in other words, a gigantic combine comprising as many as 16 manufacturing concerns alone, producing everything from cables and insulating material to automobiles and flying machines.

Concentration in Europe was only part and parcel of the process of concentration in America. This is what I mean:

General Electric Company			
America	Thompson - Houston Company organized in Europe the firm:	The Edison company organized in Europe the "French Edison Co." which gives the use of its patents to the German firm:	
Germany	Union Electrical Co.	Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft.	
Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft			

Thus two electrical "powers" combined. "There does not exist any electrical company on earth independent from them," writes Heining in his article "The Ways of the Electricity Trust."

The following figures will give us an idea, although rather superficial, of the magnitude of the returns and operations of the two electricity trusts:

	Goods produced in millions of marks	Working-men in millions	Net profits in millions of marks
America:			
General Electric Co.	1907 252	28,000	35.4
	1910 298	32,000	45.6
Germany: Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft			
	1907 216	30,700	14.5
	1911 302	60,800	21.7

In 1907 the American and the German trusts came to an understanding for a division of the world between themselves. No more competition: The General Electric Company "received" the United States and Canada. The Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft "received" Germany, Austria, Russia, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Turkey, the Balkans. Special arrangements, of a confidential nature, were concluded as regards the daughter-concerns opening new fields of industry and "new" territories not as yet divided up. Inventions and experiments are to be pooled. (65)

One can understand how difficult it would be to compete against what practically amounts to a world trust, disposing of several billion marks and having its own branches, agents and representatives in every corner of the globe. But a division of the world between two powerful trusts does not exclude a redistribution in case uneven development, wars, failures, should change the distribution of power.

The petroleum industry gives us such an example of redistribution accompanied by strife.

"The petroleum market of the world," Jeidles wrote in 1905, "is still divided between two large financial groups: the American Oil Trust (the Standard Oil Company), controlled by the Rockefeller interests and the Rothschild-Nobel combine, exploiting the Baku oil fields." These two groups are closely united, but their monopoly is being threatened from five sources: (66) 1. the exhaustion of the American oil wells; 2. the competition of the Mantashef firm in Baku; 3. the new oil discoveries in Austria; 4. in Rumania; 5. oil finds in the Dutch colonies, controlled by the wealthy firm of Samuel and Tell, allied also to English banks. The last three are backed by large German banks under the leadership of the Deutsche Bank. Those banks have systematically developed the petroleum industry, in Rumania, for instance, in order to secure important points of strategic importance to them. In 1907 the capital invested in Rumanian oil fields amounted to 185 million francs out of which 74 millions had been invested by German banks. (67)

Then began a struggle which economic literature designates as the war for the partition of the world. On one side there was Rockefeller's oil trust, which, bent on controlling the situation, founded a daughter-concern in Holland and bought up oil wells in Dutch India, thus trying to deal a death blow to its chief competitor, the Dutch-English oil trust. On the other hand, the Deutsche Bank and other German banks were trying to control Rumania and to line up with Russia against the Rockefeller interests. The latter disposed of enormous amounts of capital and of an excellent system of transportation and delivery. The fight was bound to end, and did end in 1907, with the absolute defeat of the Deutsche Bank, which could only do one of two things, either liquidate its oil holdings at a loss of several millions, or make its submission. It chose the latter and concluded a most unfavorable agreement with the oil trust.

According to the terms of that document, the Deutsche Bank engaged itself not to "undertake anything unfavorable to the American interests," the agreement to be void should Germany pass a law giving the government the monopoly of the oil trade.

Then began the "oil farce." One of the financial kings of Germany, Von Gwinner, director of the Deutsche Bank, started through his private secretary

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(Continued from page eight)

of the Second International held before the war. They appear as before with proposals of compromise and conciliation and thereby paralyze the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy and corruption of the decadent official Socialist parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletarians, so the Third International is the International of open mass action of the revolutionary realization, the *International of deeds*. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all countries! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—*unite!*

Under the standard of the Workmen's Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, proletarians of all countries *unite!*

(To be continued)

an agitation to bring about the oil monopoly. All the gigantic machinery of the largest Berlin bank was put in motion, all the strings were pulled, and the press was filled with patriotic declamations against the tyranny of the American trust. On March 15, 1911, the Reichstag passed an almost unanimous resolution calling upon the government to prepare a bill establishing the government's monopoly of the oil trade.

The government welcomed that popular idea; and the Deutsche Bank, which was endeavoring to strangle its American competitor and to close a profitable deal thanks to a government monopoly of the oil trade, had almost won the game. The German oil kings were already dreaming of profits as huge as those made by the Russian sugar manufacturers. Only, the large German banks fought over the division of the spoils, the Disconto Gesellschaft exposed the greed of the Deutsche Bank, and then the German Government was afraid of fighting the Rockefellers; it had to count on them for its oil supply, the Rumanians needed billions for war preparations in 1913. The monopoly plans were postponed till some future time. The Rockefeller interests came out of the fight with all the honors.

The Berlin review *Bank* stated on that occasion, that Germany could fight the petroleum trust by simply establishing a monopoly of electrical power and transforming all water power into cheap electrical current. But it added: "that monopoly will be established whenever convenient to the producers of electricity. That is when a large crash will be impending in the electrical industry, and when the enormous and expensive electrical stations which are being built everywhere by private concerns and for which those concerns are already securing monopolies from cities and governments will no longer prove profitable. . . . Then we shall have to rely on water power; but it will be impossible to transform that energy into cheap electrical power through direct government management; we shall give it over to private monopolies controlled by the government, because private industry has already closed a number of deals and secured for itself large rewards. This is what happened in the case of the potash monopoly and this will happen when the government acquires the monopoly of electrical power. It is high time our state Socialists who allow themselves to be blinded by fine principles should realize that in Germany monopolies are not means to benefit the consumer or to secure for the government a share of the operating profits, but merely to rehabilitate, at the expenses of the government, private industrial enterprises on the verge of bankruptcy." (66)

Such is the remarkable admission which bourgeois German economists are compelled to make. We see clearly how private and public monopolies are entangled one with another in this era of finance capital, and how the one and the other are simply details of the struggle raging among the large monopolistic groups for the division of the world.

In the field of mercantile navigation the giant growth of concentration has also brought about a division of the world.

In Germany we find two large companies, the Hamburg American and the North German Lloyd with a capital of 200 million marks, stocks and bonds and a fleet costing 185 and 189 million marks.

On the other hand there was organized in America on January 1, 1903, the so-called Morgan trust, the International Mercantile Marine Co., comprising 9 American and English lines and disposing of a capital of 120 million dollars. An agreement was signed in 1903 between the German colossus and the Anglo-American trust with a view to dividing up the world and trade profits. The German lines agreed not to compete for freight and passages between England and America. Lists of the available ports were established, and a general committee of control was created. The agreement was to be in force for 20 years with a clause specifying that in case of war it was to be void. (69)

Very illuminating is also the history of the international rail combine. The first attempt at combining English, Belgian and German rail plants was made in 1884 at a time of great industrial stagnation. The nations joining the combine agreed not to compete in their home markets and divided among themselves the foreign markets on the following basis: England 66%, Germany 27%, and Belgium 17%. England was left entirely in possession of the Indian market. One English firm which remained outside of the combine was subjected to a concerted attack for which funds were supplied from a certain percentage of the general profits. In 1886, however, the combine broke up when two English firms withdrew from it. It is to be noticed that no agreement could be reached during the following periods of great business activity.

(To be continued)

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ent—what for?—for their right to remain slaves of England or France. Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery, brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm-name of colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can come only through liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations. The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the laborers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle goes on not only under the flag of national liberation but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalistic Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalistic whirlpool, and Socialistic Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of Socialistic economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of triumph of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!

II

The whole bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a higher *working-class democracy*. The whole course of capitalistic development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian elements, as well as the slum proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farms, as well as in the cities, are hindered by Capitalism in their historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French wine-grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by Capitalism, are called on paper by the regime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the bourgeois State has at its command in order to gain its ends all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule multiplied by the wonders of capitalistic technique: lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life and death struggle with Capitalism that it should follow lamb-like the demands of bourgeois democracy would be the same as to ask a man who is de-

fending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In an empire of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation, but also the institutions of political democracy represent bloody ruins, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is represented in the *Workmen's Councils*. The old parties, the old unions, have proved incapable, in person of their leaders, to understand, much less to carry out, the task which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. This indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

Wherever the masses are awakened to consciousness. Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils will be formed. To fortify these Councils, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former leaders. By means of these Councils the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these Councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these Councils the working class, once attaining power, will control all the field of economic and cultural life, as in Soviet Russia.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, czaristic to

most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilized by Imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic states. Insurrection of the peasants against the landowner, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldier against commander and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation, has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The Communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

Conscious of the world historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized Socialist movement for an international union. The foundation stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first International. The Franco-Prussian War, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the First International, giving rise at the same time to the national labor parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organized the Second International. But during this period the center of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national ground, confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism, to the narrow compass of national states and national industries. Decades of organizing and labor reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the program of social revolution but denied it in substance. They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois state. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the labor parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a deathblow to the First International by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary program any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the Second International by showing that above the consolidated labor masses there stood labor parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois state.

This includes not only the social patriots who today are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as preferred confidential advisers and reliable hangmen of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle and irresolute Socialist *Centre* which is today trying to revive the Second International, i. e., the narrowness, opportunism and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present Majority of the Socialist Party in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which the old official parties

(Continued on page seven)

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