

The New Wave of World Revolution

By John Pepper

AN airplane view of our current world-history would divide the years which follow the Russian revolution into three parts: First, the attack of the revolutionary working class against the citadels of capitalism, from November 7, 1917 to September 1920 when the Italian workers occupied the factories. Second, the offensive of capital on a world scale in 1921 and 1922. Third, our present period, which marks the checking of the offensive of capital by the working class, and which brings the first new offensive attacks of the proletariat. Of course the picture is one seen only from a considerable height; it is a view which does not take in minute details, nor the small and local contradictions to great tendencies.

The world revolution is here again. Ah, how often in the last years has it been buried by capitalists, by governments and by the press, and by the Socialist and labor agents of capital, or even by the defeatists of the revolutionary movement itself. Even so-called Marxists, in pamphlets and thick tomes, have erected heavy tombstones on the grave of the world revolution. There are the Kautskys, the Otto Bauers and the Martovs in Germany, Austria and Russia. And besides the melodrama, to mention also the slapstick—there are the renegades of Communism such as Paul Levi in Germany and Harry Waton and Salutsky in America. During the last years, Mensheviks and Social Democrats, conscious and unconscious agents of capitalism, scholars and jesters, all have declared in unison that our period is analogous to that period which followed the failure of the revolution of 1848-49. The period of reaction is on, and the proletariat must put away its dreams of conquest of power and must content itself with begging for alms in a peaceful manner within the confines of capitalist society; the Communist parties must disband, and the gentlemen, the so-called Marxist leaders, will withdraw to their libraries to study political economy. But these counter-revolutionary so-called Marxists, (who obviously have never understood Marx), have so long been counselling us to study political economy instead of partaking in political actions that lo and behold, they themselves have forgotten to study the political economy of our own present period. They have actually failed to perceive that **the basis for a counter-revolutionary restoration has not been restored—the economic and political balance of capitalism.**

Capitalism Can No Longer Lead

The revolution is here again, for capitalism has failed utterly to restore the **world market**. The Chinese Wall of differences in rate of exchange continues to separate the victorious and defeated countries. The capitalists could not restore the normalcy of trade relations nor the continuity of production.

Capitalism has not managed to restore **political balance**.

The **offensive of capital** against the working class is broken. It still wins sporadic victories, but it has not succeeded in enslaving the working class on a world scale.

During the dark period of 1921-22 the capitalists did

succeed in assembling under their leadership **other classes** of society which have no immediate interest in capitalist exploitation—farmers, petty bourgeois and intellectuals. But in our present period we see a great change. The lower middle class in England is again entering into politics independently of the capitalists; the peasants in France are growing more and more hostile to the National Bloc of Poincaré and are gathering about the Left Bloc; the farmers in the United States are drawing away more and more from the old capitalist parties; the lower middle class of Italy and Germany, even though in a Fascist form of expression, and even though against the workers, engages nevertheless in an anti-capitalist course of action.

Capitalism and the capitalist governments of the world are unable to solve a single world problem. The proudest and mightiest alliance of imperialism, calling itself **Entente**, won the most tremendous victory, and it did seem as if it would become the world government. But today the Entente is dead. France and England are in bitter conflict over the curse of reparations, over the Ruhr invasion, over the Turkish question. France robs England of its insularity through submarine flotillas and through a tremendous air fleet, while England is constrained to ask its Parliament for immense credits, not for protection against Huns or Bolsheviks but against beloved France.

England and France are arming against each other at a time when England is menaced by a million and a half unemployed and France by an inevitable, deep-going financial crisis.

And the rest of Europe is in **chaos**, economically and politically. Armed conflict between Greece and Italy. War-menace on the Italian-Jugoslav border. French invasion of the Ruhr. Civil war in Germany. Fascist dictatorship in Italy. Military dictatorship in Greece. Military dictatorship in Bulgaria. Military dictatorship in Spain. And continued military dictatorship of Admiral Horthy in Hungary. Hunger-riots in the cities of Germany and Poland. War and menace of war. Revolution and counter-revolution. Hunger, constant change, increasing instability, depreciation of money, decline of production—such is Europe.

International capitalism had three slogans in the war: To make the world safe for Democracy; the war to end all wars; the great, all-including political organization of the world.

Democracy? We repeat: Military dictatorship in Hungary. Fascist dictatorship in Italy. Military dictatorship in Greece. Military dictatorship in Bulgaria. Military dictatorship in Spain. Military dictatorship in Germany. That is the picture of European post-war Democracy. **Parliamentarism** is no longer the political form of capitalist rule. Whether they wish it or no, the capitalists must give up the good old comfortable rocking chair of parliamentarism, to sit on the points of bayonets.

The war to end all wars? Never before has the menace of war been greater than at present. The first world war was pregnant with the second. Never before were the

armies of the various countries so large as now. Preparedness is not only a slogan in the United States of America, but is the chief slogan, as well, of the Disunited States of Europe. All the capitalist countries are now bleeding to death financially, and they are thereby purchasing for themselves the pleasure of bleeding to death in the literal sense of the word in the next war of the globe. The capitalist countries possess now two gigantic armies as permanent institutions; the industrial reserve army of unemployed to insure the necessary elasticity for expanding and contracting capitalist production, and the uniformed army of soldiers to shoot down the industrial reserve army in case it either demands or shirks work. But the greatest danger is not the perceptible armies of the Disunited States of Europe, but the imperceptible army of the United States of America. It is known to the intelligence service and spies of the various countries, but not to the people of Europe or the people of America, that in the last two years the United States has made full preparation so that in twenty-four hours a single order of mobilization can turn the entire population of the Union capable of bearing arms, into the biggest and most dangerous war machine of the world. And all the attempts of the capitalist governments to eliminate the danger of war are impotent no less than were the attempts of the Persian despot Xerxes to chain the stormy sea.

The Treaty of Versailles? It was proclaimed proudly as the basic document of regulation of world affairs and world peace. What is left of this parchment? It is like "the Wild Ass's Skin" in Balzac's novel. It had shrunk a few inches with every new wish of its owners, France, England, Belgium or Italy—just as the wishes of Lucien Rubenpre, the hero of Balzac's novel, cause the miracle-working Wild Ass's skin to shrink more and more. But with the shrinking and final disappearance of the Wild Ass's skin there shrinks and disappears also the power of England, France and Belgium, like the life of Lucien Rubenpre. **The Treaty of Washington?** The slang of the diplomats called it an agreement for naval disarmament. But translated in the intelligible language of real facts, it means the greatest naval budget of the United States, the construction of scores of new cruisers by Japan, and the creation of a new naval base at Singapore by Great Britain. **The League of Nations?** It was heralded broadcast as the new Savior, as the political organization of the world, as the coming of the Millenium of eternal peace. But the facts have shown over and over again that the imperialist powers combined in a league cannot bring about eternal peace, but only world imperialism. The serious and dignified priests of the League of Nations, Lord Grey, Lord Robert Cecil and Lloyd George, have been extolling the League of Nations for years as the king of eternal peace, have cried aloud that it is clothed in the wonderful cloak of love and carries in its hand the mighty sword of the Last Judgment against every war of the future. But the case is rather more like that of a fairy tale in which the small, ignorant cobbler's boy comes into the palace, even as the ignorant jester Mussolini comes, to cry out the truth: The king is naked, the king has no beautiful clothes of love and no mighty sword against war. The League of Nations has turned from the Savior of the Nations into Punch, of the Punch and Judy show.

Capitalism more and more irresistibly demands that the world be organized as an entity, but capitalism cannot organize the world. All its attempts to set up a world organization have been a failure. And upon the ruins of the world plans for a world organization we more and more clearly observe four dangerous plans of imperialist Powers. The first plan is Lloyd George's for substituting a **British-American** pact and hegemony in place of the world-organization. The second is the plan of the United States to form a **Pan-American organization under the leadership of** United States capitalism. The third is Baldwin's plan to build up the **British Empire**, to surround it with a Chinese Wall of high tariff. And the fourth plan is the **continental hegemony of France**, with its vassal states, Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. Capitalism is no longer capable of organizing the whole world as an entity; it is only capable of breaking the world up into small or large pieces.

The Will to Power Growing in Working Class

The working class, under the biting scorpions of the offensive of capital, collapsed at first, but then it began again to defend itself, and here and there it even begins to go over to the counter-attack, to the offensive. The will to power of the proletariat begins again to grow rapidly.

In Great Britain the Labor Party received four and a half million votes. Everyone who knows the leaders of the British Labor Party knows that the rule of Macdonald, Henderson and Snowden will never mean the rule of the workers. The British Labor Party is not an instrument for the rule of the working class, but an instrument for deceiving the working class. But that does not remove the basic fact that the four and a half million workers who voted against the capitalist parties and for the Labor Party want the end of the rule of capitalism and want the rule of the working class in its stead. The British Labor Party is only His Majesty's loyal Opposition, but the four and a half million workers are the not-so-loyal opposition to capitalism. The four and a half million labor votes in England represent one of the most important blows against capitalism.

The will to power becomes even stronger in the working class. We witness a political expression of that, in the fact that the Communist Parties in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia today have behind them a majority of the working class, that the Communist Party in France has become a militant party, the Workers Party of America could intrench itself in the labor movement, and what is most important, the Communist Party of Germany in the past year has become the leader of the German proletariat.

The Communist tactics of the **united front**, which amounts to a co-operation of the Communist minority with the great masses of the working class in order to awaken them and to induce them to defend themselves, has achieved great success. In the past year we have seen the three most outstanding mass successes of the united front tactics: an international united front of the transport workers; the united front of the German Communists and Social Democratic workers in Saxony; the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in the United States.

The Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals have united, the right wing and the "progressives" have concluded

an alliance at the Hague and Hamburg against the Communist International, and it proudly proclaims to the world that the Communists are universally isolated in the labor movement. But the spectre of isolation of the Communists has disappeared in the first real struggles of the workers. In Great Britain there is growing rapidly the left wing in the Labor Party, which wants to admit the Communists. In France the Communists in the last months have become the leaders in the revolutionary trade union movement. In the United States the idea and the organization of the Labor Party are marching forward victoriously. In Germany the Social Democratic Party is again split into two factions madly fighting against each other. And not only Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, but even the renegade Paul Levi is saying that the only salvation for the working class is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The most frightful years of the offensive of the capitalists against the workers coincided with the frightful years of the famine in Soviet Russia. But just as blockade, civil war, intervention, and Menshevism could not destroy Soviet Russia, so the famine could not ruin the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class of the world sees now with astonishment a new Russia emerging, a Russia of increased production, consolidation and stability. The workers see the terrible condition of the twenty million German workers under capitalist rule; and they see also that the workers' rule has overcome famine and starvation. The Russian workers see again that revolution means tremendous sacrifices, but that in the long run it is the only way to save the working class. In every other country the workers are slaves of industrial production; only in Russia are the factories, mines and railroads in the possession of the workers. In every other country the armies of Mussolini, Horthy or Coolidge advance against the striking workers but in Russia the Red Army marches to defend the workers' republic. In Europe there is a reign of chaos—war, war-menace and civil war. But even capitalist politicians and correspondents are forced to declare that peace reigns in Soviet Russia and that the Soviet government is the most stable government of the world. And the greatest, most hopeful augury for mankind, is the fact that while the League of Nations has miserably collapsed, Soviet Russia has been able to organize into an entity six various Soviet republics, one hundred and fifty million people, scores of nations and religions, no less than one-sixth of the earth. The workers see with astonishment that the League of Nations is dead, and that the new Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is lifting up its head.

The bourgeoisie is economically and politically bankrupt. It can no longer lead mankind. The might of the workers and the will to power in the workers is growing. New, decisive battles between the old ruling class and the ruling class of the future are imminent. We are living through the biggest game of history, and the stakes are no longer a piece of bread, as in those dark years of 1921-22, but power.

Germany, Field of the Decisive Battle

The greatest and most important battle of the world revolution and world counter-revolution is now being fought out to a finish in Germany. The German working class is today the Vanguard of the world proletariat, and

the German capitalist class is today the prize-fighter of world capitalism. The victory of the German revolution means a whole series of new revolutionary movements in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in hopeless Austria, in suppressed Hungary—it is the best guarantee for the definite victory of Soviet Russia. The victory of the German bourgeoisie will mean the victory of military dictatorship throughout Europe, will mean a new invasion against Soviet Russia.

The German capitalists, the present ruling class, are losing more and more the leadership of the nation.

The German capitalists are not in a position to assure the continuity of production. Every week thousands of factories close down; unemployment is increasing at the average rate of 400,000 more workers per week losing employment. The inflation of paper money grows to astronomical figures. The dollar is now one, two, six, eight billion marks. Credit has ceased to exist. Prices change with the rapidity and unreasonableness of the thoughts of a madman.

The bourgeoisie is no longer in a position to provide the most elementary needs of the masses. The workers, the petty bourgeois and intellectuals literally haven't anything to eat. Shopping for bread or potatoes has assumed in Germany the form of raids, robbery and hunger-riots.

The capitalist state power is in process of decomposition. Armed might is no longer a monopoly of state power, but every class and every political party has its partly open, partly secret, armed troops.

The capitalist class is no longer capable of safeguarding the unity of the nation. East Prussia is already separated from the body of Germany by the treaty of Versailles by the Polish Corridor. Germany's capitalist state power could not prevent the French invasion in the Ruhr. The Separatist movement for a Rhenish republic is gathering strength. Bavaria has proclaimed its independence and is only nominally connected with the German empire.

The bourgeoisie is bankrupt in Germany, and it is becoming clearer and clearer to the masses that the bourgeoisie can no longer fulfill the duties and tasks of a ruling class. Thereby is provided the **first basic factor** of a revolution, while at the same time we see the increasing strength of the **second factor**—the capacity and will for power on the part of the proletariat. The working class is becoming ever more unified, more class-conscious, and it has become the only class which can offer a program and solution for the whole nation. The Communist Party of Germany today has behind it the majority of the active part of the working class. The Social Democratic Party, formerly so strong, is being torn into factions. The right wing wants to continue co-operation with the capitalists, whereas the left wing calls for co-operation with the Communists.

The German Communist Party has not only been able to make itself a powerful mass party, but it has also created organs of the united front which assure it the co-operation of the laboring masses not as yet Communistic. And these organs of the united front—the factory committees, the proletarian Hundreds, the control commissions, the Socialist-Communist Cabinet in Saxony and Thuringia, are constantly growing, and are rallying greater and greater masses about themselves. And these organs of the

united front are at the same time the nuclei for taking over power and wielding power for the working class. The factory committees are the embryos of the future Soviets. The proletarian Hundreds are embryos of the future Red army. The proletarian control commissions are the embryos of the future organs of food distribution. And the left Socialist-Communist government in Saxony is the nucleus of the future Soviet government of Germany.

But the Communist Party of Germany has not only assembled the majority of the working class around itself and around the organs of the united front, but it is succeeding more and more in winning over the strata of society between the capitalists and the workers—the farmers, lower middle class and intellectuals, as allies of the working class, or at least in neutralizing them. The great lower middle class masses in Germany are losing more and more their faith in the leadership of the capitalists, and are putting their hope more and more in the working class, as the only saviour from political and economic chaos.

It is becoming constantly clearer that only the working class in Germany can safeguard the unity of the nation against separatist efforts and can save Germany from the fate of becoming a colony of France. The passive resistance conducted in the Ruhr by the German capitalists has proved a complete failure. Stinnes, the most powerful representatives of German capitalism, is negotiating in open high treason with the French general, Degoutte. The only counter-balance against the treacherous Separatists in the Rhineland is the working class. All the diplomatic tricks and cunning of the German capitalists, all the negotiations with France, Belgium and England have remained futile. Only the working class, only the victorious proletarian revolution can lift Germany out of hopeless isolation, can secure for it the alliance of Soviet Russia, the support of the Red Army and the help of the agricultural surplus of the great Russian plains for the starving populations of the German cities.

In the measure that the German Capitalists are split in more and more factions, the German working class is becoming ever more unified under Communist leadership. In the measure that the capitalist class is forced to abandon the leadership of the nation and to become an open traitor, in the same measure does the working class assume leadership of the nation and constitutes itself as the leading class of the entire nation.

The decision in Germany cannot be held in abeyance very long. More and more clearly do we see two centers of power concentrate themselves—the center of power of the counter-revolution—Bavaria, and the center of power of the revolution—Saxony. The deciding phase of the revolutionary struggle shows in Germany a new feature, different from the Russian or the Hungarian revolution. The struggle of the Russian and Hungarian workers for seizing power was openly the fight of the suppressed workers against the oppressing state power. In Germany the deciding battle of the class struggle of workers and capitalists will assume the form of a struggle and war between two state powers—between counter-revolutionary Bavaria and revolutionary Saxony.

The decisive battle of the new period of world revolution is being fought out in Germany now. The fate of the

whole working class of the world depends on this battle. But for that very reason it is not sufficient to look on with bated breath; we must give our active aid. The victorious German revolution will have against it the enmity of the entire capitalist world. The government of the United States in the White House and Stock Exchange will attempt to send money, ammunition and perhaps even troops against the German revolution. We must alarm the American working class today. We must proclaim today the solidarity of the American and German working class. We must today drill the slogan into the American working class: Not a cent, not a ship, not a gun, not a case of munitions against the German revolution!

And God Changed

By N. Bryllion Fagin

BEFORE I went to work,
When I was yet a hopping little runt,
I used to think of God sometimes.
I used to think of Him way up there
Sitting on a great big throne
Like a European muck-a-muck
Surrounded by seraphs and music and gold.
Only He would never be kicked off
Like a European muck-a-muck,
'Cause He was kind and forgiving
And He loved us all.
I could picture Him crying
Over some fool of us
Who'd made a mess of it down here,
Like I once seen my own dad cry
When he couldn't teach my big brother
Not to steal.

But that was long ago,
Before I went to work.
I've had no time to think of God
Only once in a great spell,
And then I wonder what He's like.
And because I've met that tribe
And broke words with them
And rubbed my greasy elbows against their whites
And seen them close to their property—
Because of that, I guess, I sometimes think
Of God as just the Big Boss of the works down here,
Who keeps an office and a swivel chair,
And all his seraphs are a bunch of timekeepers
And prying foremen and spies
Always flying around and round everywhere,
Poking their noses into every mortal's job
To see if anyone has laid down on it.
And one of them's got a harp
And some's got a big ledger
And everything's written down and reckoned up
And a man's share is doled out
According to the amount of work done
And to his good behavior.
And no man can ever do enough
To please the Boss...