

# The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

Vol. I, No. 31

Saturday, May 17, 1919

Price 3 Cents

## They Incite to Murder and Riot

**T**HERE are great actions coming in our social struggle. A general and implacable clash will flare up, in which victory will come to that class which has prepared most adequately.

Two developments now characterize American Capitalism—the development of an aggressive Imperialism, and the development of an aggressive struggle of labor against capital.

American Capitalism has conquered in the great war. American Capitalism is now a world power—“our” Imperialism shares with Great Britain the dominion of the world. The United States has not only made billions of dollars profit out of the war and secured a position of economic dominance, it has equally secured great military prestige and the appetite for more military conquests. The beast of American Capitalism is being convulsed with military hysteria. It has felt its strength, and it wants to use that strength again and more completely.

The industrial transformation wrought by the war in the United States is unparalleled in economic history. Prior to the war, American capital owed the world three billion dollars; to-day, the world owes American capital about five billion dollars. This country has become, thanks to the war, the chief money market of the world; and its finance-capital is now very much of a world dictator. Moreover, the requirements of the war have produced a new efficiency in American industry, larger capacity for production; and this means either that America will have to conquer new markets, or that industry will not absorb all the available workers, and a terrific unemployment crisis arise. But capital requires profits; and American capital must secure new markets, must find the means for absorbing its surplus capital and surplus products. This means militarism and aggression against undeveloped nations—a tendency already apparent in the campaign for “intervention” in Mexico. This tendency is all the more dangerous, since the Peace Conference in Paris, which re-divided the world among the conquerors, has recognized the priority of interest of United States Capitalism in Central and South America.

But, simultaneously, a new spirit is developing in American labor. The great revolutionary events in Europe have left their impress on the minds of our workers, an impress as yet vague in expression, but bound to assume a more definite character under the influence of events. But, even more important, a general unrest is developing out of definite American conditions. The workers did not share the “war prosperity” which created hundreds of new millionaires out of the bones and blood of the dead in Europe; and, moreover, the adjustment to peace conditions is such that millions are unemployed while the future is fraught with danger. The workers are losing their jobs, while the employed are being given cuts in wages, at a time when the cost of living, instead of declining, is actually soaring again. This condition of economic crisis is bound to become worse as Europe resumes normal production, and competes in the world markets which during the war were practically monopolized by the United States.

The new spirit in the American labor movement is expressed in many ways. It was apparent in the great general strike in Seattle, in the Butte strike, in the large number of strikes in which more aggressive tactics are being adopted. It is apparent in the upsurge of a more radical spirit in large unions of the A. F. of L., in the revolt of these unions against the bureaucracy and in their agitation for a general strike to compel the release of class war prisoners. And it is apparent, again, in the Left Wing movement in the Socialist Party, which is about to conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism.

But this aggressive class spirit in the American labor movement is most clearly apparent in the violent campaign of the hirelings of Capitalism against Bolshevism and Socialism, against the conscious proletariat.

A large and intensive campaign is being carried on against revolutionary ideas. Money and talent are be-

ing mobilized in this campaign, the government and the individual thugs of the “Loyalty” leagues uniting in this glorious work of reaction.

But the reaction senses the fact that this is not simply a matter of words, or of propaganda; but that vital economic forces are bringing a crisis. They are desperate. They feel that much more drastic means must be resorted to to crush the proletarian menace. *And they are consciously organizing a campaign of terrorism in order to crush the militant proletariat in blood.* This campaign has three aspects:

1. Provocation—the hirelings of Capitalism are trying to provoke an “uprising” of the workers which will provide them with a pretext for violent and bloody suppressions.

2. Terrorism against Socialists—the law and the thug are uniting to suppress Socialist meetings and

terrorism used against Socialists on May Day. In this, again, the purpose is obvious: to provoke a clash by means of which a real reign of terror may be organized by the Government.

Now comes another great plot, this time in Chicago. Federal agents and police there have “discovered” a “plot” for “an anarchist uprising, a campaign of terrorism and a series of bomb outrages” scheduled for July 4. Five arrests have been made—one of them a girl characterized as “Queen of the Anarchists.” Sergeant McDonough of the Chicago police says: “We regard this as an exceptionally important arrest.” But the whole thing simmers down to agitation for a demonstration and strike for the release of our political prisoners. . . .

Is there a conscious policy in all this? There is. Capitalism is apprehensive; it feels that the crisis is coming, and that with every day that passes the revolutionary forces will acquire more power and influence. *Capitalism is trying to provoke a test of strength at a time when it is strong and its enemy weak.* It is trying to provoke a revolt that would be suicidal for the militant proletariat. And the reasoning of Capitalism is diabolical: either our terrorism will produce a revolt, which we can easily crush; or our terrorism will not produce this revolt, in which event our terrorism will wipe out the revolutionary movement. Playing both ends against the middle!

This provocative movement proceeds to a chorus from the gutter and the palace of “hang the Bolsheviki,” “break their heads,” “wipe them out in blood.” . . .

The law of this country provides that incitation to riot and murder is a crime punishable by imprisonment. Perfectly innocent comrades of our’s have been imprisoned for alleged violation of this law. But not one of the bourgeois inciters to murder and riot have been punished. These bourgeois inciters to violence started a murder-riot in Cleveland; but it is the victimized Socialists who are being imprisoned. A brutal police and a degenerate Sergeant of Police deliberately shoot down our comrades in Boston; but it is the Socialists who are being imprisoned. That vile thing that once was a soldier, Sergeant Guy Empey, publishes a magazine *Treat ‘Em Rough*, in which he consistently urges violence against the Socialists; but the War Department protects him. Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle publicly urges “hanging places” and “cemetaries” for the Bolsheviki and I. W. W.’s, but Mayor Ole is acclaimed as a hero.

No! The law is class law, used against the proletariat and for the capitalists. These inciters to murder and riot are doing excellent work for Capitalism, and Capitalism protects them.

The revolutionary Socialist is a realist. Revolutionary propaganda to him is not an immediate revolution, but waging the class struggle in accord with the particular requirements of the moment.

The times are critical. They require action that is at the same time critical and aggressive. We shall meet Capitalism in the open, and give blow for blow. But we shall not allow Capitalism to determine our tactics, we shall determine our own tactics in our own way, in accord with the actual strength of the revolutionary proletariat.

The vital thing is that this terrorism is used against labor, not simply against the revolutionary Socialists, who are the conscious representatives of labor. Terrorism is used against strikes which are not at all revolutionary in character; but Capitalism knows that labor must sooner or later acquire the consciousness of revolutionary Socialism.

We shall neither advance precipitately, nor hesitate, nor retreat. We shall wage the revolutionary struggle in our own way and in our own time, come what may. The bourgeois terror is a factor that we can use to awaken the workers, to organize them for the great struggle.

Capitalism can neither provoke nor frighten militant Socialism. Our answer is to intensify our revolutionary agitation, to marshal the iron battalions of the proletariat for action and the conquest of power.

They cannot provoke us. But we shall prepare.

—

*The “fourteen points”  
have become fourteen  
daggers thrust at the  
heart of the peace and  
liberty of the world, —  
thrust directly at the  
heart of the colonial  
peoples and of the prole-  
tarian revolution in Ger-  
many.*

—

demonstrations, to assault our comrades, to provoke riots.

3. Strikes—the conscious use of terrorism in strikes is being resorted to by the hirelings of Capitalism; in Seattle and Butte the soldiers were mobilized against the strikers, in Lawrence the police are using a machine gun while they and their hirelings practice violence against the strikers and their representatives.

Consider the events of the past three months. “Plot” after “plot” has been “discovered” in which “radicals” were to start an “immediate” revolution. There was the great “plot” in New York City; scores were arrested; “blue-print” plans were produced by the police of an alleged plan of seizure of the Government—and the whole thing fizzled out. The “discovery” was given great publicity in the press, the fizzle was not.

Then there was the “great bomb plot” directed at prominent men. Dark were the hints of a “nation wide” conspiracy, dire were the threats against the radicals. Arrests were promised—“prominent Reds to be caught in net;” but so far one arrest alone has been made, and that of an innocent bourgeois gentleman. This “plot” was obviously a “plant,” the work of *agents provocateur*; but it provided an opportunity to inflame the populace to produce and justify the

# The Revolutionary Age

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LOUIS C. FRAINA ..... Editor

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## Disciplining the Youth

THE Boy Scout movement has always been a movement to discipline our youth into good servants of Capitalism—a characteristic of the movement everywhere. It is that military discipline which digs out the brains and makes loyal workers. Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the chief spokesman of the Boy Scout movement, has always made it clear that the Boy Scouts should be encouraged by the employers, for business reasons. In an address in Boston the other day, Sir Robert said: "After a boy has been a scout and has taken active part in the administration of his troop he is infinitely less liable to be led astray by violent soap-box orators. The Boy Scout has a training that will, for one thing, offset ill-advised strikes." Precisely! The most disgusting thing about Capitalism is that it uses human instincts for inhuman purposes. The boy likes the country, drill, music, games, excitement: natural instincts; Capitalism takes these and perverts them for its own purpose. Socialism means the liberation of the human spirit.

## They Speak Socialism!

THE terms of peace imposed upon Germany are accomplishing a miracle: the Ebert-Scheidemann Government of the Betrayal of Socialism is actually using Socialist language. President Ebert declares that Germany is to be exploited by foreign Capitalism; the class struggle is spoken of again, and they appeal to the Socialists of the world. But it won't work. The German peace delegation—under the direction of that revolutionary Socialist, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau—is unable to arouse the least Socialist sympathy. All of them—the Count, Scheidemann and the trades-unionist Karl Legien—were uncompromising adherents of German Imperialism, its faithful slaves. The whole Ebert-Scheidemann Government consists of persons who were thick with German Imperialism before its collapse. They cut the throat of Socialism in Germany, during the war and the Revolution; and now they speak of Socialism!... The German majority "Socialists" deliberately made their choice: they chose Wilson instead of Lenin, Capitalism instead of Socialism. An oppressive peace is their punishment. The proletariat of Germany must repudiate these men and their counter-revolutionary policy: in that alone lies salvation.

## Calculated Defiance

CHANCELLOR PHILIP SCHEIDEMANN is indignant about the peace terms that are being imposed upon Germany—stigmatizing the peace as "murderous" and "unacceptable" to the German people.

The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government of Assassins of the Revolution is playing a contemptible game. It is arousing the nationalism of the German people and trying to preserve its prestige. But Scheidemann and his gangsters know that their Germany cannot resist the Allies: only a revolutionary proletarian Germany, a Bolshevik Republic, could defy the Allies and secure the sympathy and co-operation of the Socialist proletariat.

Accordingly, defiance is nothing but politics. These gestures are necessary, however. Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. all along insisted that if a Bolshevik Republic were established, the Allies would completely annihilate Germany—"it would ruin our economic life." Only a non-Bolshevik Government, they said, can secure a just peace from the Allies. And now this Government offers the people the very peace they

said would be imposed upon a Bolshevik Germany. So the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government tries to "save its face" with words of defiance.

The petty bourgeois Socialist policy is condemned. Empty words of defiance will not retrieve it, but may make the disaster worse. The German proletariat must now realize that only revolutionary Socialism is acceptable as a policy.

## Split the Party!

THE struggle between moderate "Socialism" and revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party is coming to a head. It is coming to a head, characteristically, by the moderates adopting the tactics of gangsters against the Left Wing.

These moderates have insisted that the Left Wing was breaking the unity of the Party, that the Party's forces were being broken up by these disputes, that it was the purpose of the Left to either split the Party or secede. Our answer was: No; it is our task to secure control of the Party, to conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism and impose upon it a consistent proletarian-Bolshevik policy.

The final answer to this controversy has been made by the moderates in New York, who are preparing to split the Party by expelling the Left Wing locals and branches. Guardians of the unity of the Party!

The first indication of this move was the resolution adopted by the State Committee of New York to expel all locals and branches affiliated with the Left Wing. But the Left forced the moderates to put this resolution to a referendum vote.

Now, before the referendum, before the membership has spoken, the Right Wing in New York City is preparing to expel the Left Wing branches. They are resorting to tactics of brigandage because every day that passes sees new accessions of strength to our revolutionary comrades in New York City, who are in this crisis waging the struggle of the whole revolutionary movement in the party.

The bureaucracy of Local New York, which is under the domination of the moderates, is using all means to break the revolt against its supremacy. On the Central Committee the Left was securing new strength, threatening to become a majority. The moderate majority, accordingly, authorized the Executive Committee to suspend all meetings of the Central Committee until the local is reorganized. The Executive Committee, in a declaration, says that no member's opinions will be considered, but that a branch must either break its affiliation with the Left Wing organization, or be "reorganized"—which means expelled from the Party.

The argument used by the moderates in this gangster manoeuvre is that a "separate organization in the party" cannot be tolerated, that the regular means of expression in the party should be used. But this "separate organization" consists simply of the revolutionary comrades getting together for purposes of action and counsel—a course absolutely necessary because the whole bureaucracy and party press in New York City is against the Left Wing. It is precisely this "separate organization" accused of refusing to use the regular party channels that has made an issue of the emergency national Convention of the Party.

The Left Wing in New York City is to be expelled: that seems determined upon. The unity of the Party there is to be broken, not by the Left Wing, but by the moderates who want to make the Socialist Party a regular, consistent party of moderate, counter-revolutionary "Socialism."

And this expulsion is being carried out to a chorus of cheap, disgusting affirmations of "loyalty to Socialism" and mean, contemptible attacks upon our comrades of the Left Wing. The moderates in New York City are issuing a weekly paper, *The Socialist*, in which a repulsive Scheidemann ideology unites with the gutter tactics of Tammany. The Left Wing comrades are virtually denounced to the police and the Government; we are accused of wanting to start riots and an im-Left Wing are attacked in a low, vile manner, worthy of the most unprincipled politicians.

The whole situation in Local New York, Socialist Party, is a scandal that affects the integrity of the whole Party. If the brigand tactics of the Right Wing there are to conquer, then the whole Party becomes transformed into a yellow caricature of Socialism.

The Socialist Party must speak out about this scandal. The national Party must intervene in order to protect the integrity of the Party. There should be an investigation. In any event, the whole matter will come up before the National Convention, at which, probably, two sets of delegates will appear claiming to represent Local New York. That will be the test.

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the Party! Our slogan is: Conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism!

## Germania Delenda Est!

IN its typical brutal Prussian fashion, the New York *Tribune* characterizes the terms of peace that are being imposed upon Germany: "Not since Rome punished Carthage for Punic faith has such a treaty been written." And: "They [the Germans] have been sentenced to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a couple of generations."

Rome's answer to Carthage was completely to destroy Carthage. This ruthless destruction was consubstantiated to the chorus of Cato's idealism, in whom, perhaps, there may appear a resemblance to Woodrow Wilson. Rome's great rival was forever crushed. The modern destruction of Germany—of Germany as an imperialistic world power—is not as complete as that of Carthage, since you cannot raze more than a hundred square miles of territory nor exile or massacre 65,000,000 people; but in terms of competitive power this great rival of the other imperialistic nations effectively disposed of. The comparison with Carthage might be pursued further, in its commercial and trade aspects; but this would be carrying coal to Newcastle.

That the destruction of Germany as an imperialistic world power was the purpose of the Allies, has now been made amply clear in the terms of peace. This destruction is complete. Germany is deprived of all its colonies—which are aggrandized by the Allies, each of whom is a "mandatory" over some of these colonial possessions—and its military and naval power completely broken. We shall shed no tears over this. But the ruthless policy of the Allies goes beyond military matters, to the economics which are the real factor in the situation: Germany's economic power is broken. And this, again, has another aspect: it is not bourgeois Germany, but proletarian Germany which is being punished. This is implied in that disgusting swank of the *Tribune*: "The Germans have been sentenced to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a couple of generations."

The condition which the terms of peace impose upon the German proletariat is one where it not alone remains the vassals of its own capitalist class, but becomes also the vassals of the Allies. ...

Old General Bernhardt declared that the issue for Germany in the next war would be: "World power or downfall." It has ended in downfall, as complete a collapse as any that history can show. The imperialists of Germany are getting what they would have given. And they whine—that cringing whine of the bourgeois who, while strong is ruthless, but when weak becomes a shameless beggar.

It is an oppressive peace—"a peace of annihilation," in the words of the contemptible majority "Socialist" organ, the Berlin *Vorwärts*. Let us say it: the Allies are completing the annihilation of Germany's imperialistic power, which the petty bourgeois "Socialists" of Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. did not wish to complete. It is "a peace of annihilation;" but they will sign it: not because they are weak, but because their most important task is to crush the proletarian revolution, to save out of the wreck what they can of bourgeois supremacy. Rather become vassals of the Allies that to be expropriated by the revolutionary proletariat!

The German bourgeoisie will try to re-gain its power, to pass on the burden to the workers. If the workers submit, then their future is black and hopeless.

Germany is crushed. And the proletariat will pay the bulk of the penalty. Every imperialistic war is a class war—in one sense, of capitalist class against capitalist class; in a more fundamental sense, of Capitalism against the proletariat, since world power means power over the proletariat. World power is with the Allies; and even before the German bourgeoisie felt the sting of this power, the revolutionary proletariat felt it. Imperialism is the oppressor of the proletariat.

Under these conditions, the German proletariat is condemned to an aggravated slavery unless it acts for the Communist Revolution. There is no way out except through Communism. And this is equally true of the proletariat of the Allies, who will yet perceive that the crushing of Germany will not measurably ease their own problems of reconstruction, will profit the capitalists alone.

The New York *Tribune* admits that the Germans might have escaped this treaty "if they had Bolshevized themselves three months ago and entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Red Russia." It is now hopeless, it says. Who knows? Perhaps, immediately, but not ultimately. The crisis cannot be ended by a treaty of peace: it may simply give it a new form. The revolt of the proletariat is bound to come: it is the only way out of slavery and oppression.

## Peace That is Aggression

**C**APITALISM can produce maggots only. For a time, these maggots may be camouflaged with the scent of ideals and lofty declamation; but at the end they are revealed openly in all their ugliness and putrescence. Capitalism thrives upon organized plunder and calculating deceit; and all its ideals, all its morality, all its "aspirations for a finer world" are imply the expression of a monstrous hypocrisy, to promote its supremacy and disguise its malevolence.

The war was an apocalypse, revealing the seared and ugly soul of Capitalism. It was conceived in plunder, nurtured in fraud, and prosecuted by means of hypocrisy and brutality. Imperial Germany immediately revealed its lust of conquest: it brutally violated Belgium, openly placed its faith in the sword and the grenade, and developed grandiose plans for world domination, territorial plunder and annexations. The Allies were equally bent on plunder, as the contents of the secret treaty agreements amply prove. And all the while each group of belligerents was disgustingly declaiming about national defense, democracy and the civilization of the world.

The two belligerents proved their equality in crime and their similarity of purpose by their efforts to crush the proletarian revolution in Russia, to annihilate the Soviet Republic.

It was a war of plunder, of aggrandizement, a war against the colonial peoples and against the proletariat. It was Imperialism.

The character of the peace treaty is in absolute accord with the character of the war. The betrayers of socialism and the naive petty bourgeois radicals who placed faith in the Allies' ideals must now realize that these ideals were—maggots. During the war, Capitalism put forth a mighty effort to preserve and aggrandize itself: and this effort is clearly apparent in the peace treaty. It annihilates German Capitalism? Of course, since in the epoch of Imperialism the Capitalism of one nation aggrandizes itself by the expropriation of the Capitalism of another nation. It is beast rend beast.

The treaty is not only characterized by its own provisions, but by incidental circumstances.

First of all, there is China's refusal to sign the treaty, as a protest against awarding Germany's territorial and economic "rights" in China to Japan, particularly the Shantung Peninsula. These "rights" were wrested from China by German Imperialism through seizure and the might of brigandage; in a treaty that was "to make the world safe for democracy" these "rights" should have reverted to China. No! German Imperialism in China is expropriated, not to protect China, but to aggrandize Japanese Imperialism.

The treaty affirms directly the subjugation of the peoples of Egypt, Morocco and of all the former German colonies, and indirectly of all colonial peoples. The claims of Ireland and Korea to independence are complacently brushed aside.

But there is another important circumstance. The war was, fundamentally, a product of the antagonisms international finance-capital; the lust for territory in answer to the requirements of imperialistic finance-capital, and in this is revealed the character of our epoch. The war has made Great Britain, France, Spain and the United States, more particularly Great Britain and the United States, the financial (which implies political) masters of the world. As a proof that the peace is a prelude to financial aggrandizement, consider these tidings from Washington, May 12:

A new consortium has been arranged for the control of loans to China. Instead of Japan having the chief voice on such matters, as claimed under the secret agreements she made with China during the war, the matter will be handled by American, French, British and Japanese bankers backed by their governments.

An arrangement has been made whereby the Siberian railroad will be put into condition by these four powers, and Italy is to be advanced at once a temporary loan of \$20,000,000.

Great Britain and France, which failed in their efforts to have the United States take German bonds to cover their indebtedness to the American people, have now practically arranged to turn over securities of Brazil and other South American countries as part payment.

The dispatch adds that "at the State Department it was said officially that under the conditions which are to govern the consortium the Government practically, if not in specific terms, guarantees the investments of the banking groups interested." And: "Deep interest is taken in the plan to have the United States take over South American securities to cover its loans to Great Britain and France. Since this plan will have the effect of lessening European interests in South America it will strengthen the Monroe Doctrine and remove one of the possible causes of serious complications in the future."

Here is a financial trust of four imperialistic nations, with Great Britain and the United States in ac-

tual control; here is a plan to dispose of Siberia as international finance-capital determines; here is China being made a financial appanage of four great powers; and here is a brazen admission that the Monroe Doctrine is now an instrument to promote the supremacy of United States capital in the Latin-American republics.

This is a financial partition of the world, the unity of governments and investors, of politics and finance-capital. This is Imperialism, and it blisteringly characterizes the peace that is an aggression being concluded at Paris.

The financial partition of the world among the Great Powers, particularly the Big Three, is part of the territorial partition included in the treaty with Germany. Germany yields up all its colonial territory and all its trade and financial "rights" in all the world; these are aggrandized by France, Great Britain and Japan. France "gets" Alsace-Lorraine, unconditionally, with its iron and coal mines, and the Saar Basin and its coal, conditionally; recognition by Germany and the "League of Nations" of French supremacy in Morocco, and France will probably "get" Togoland and Kamerun; Japan "gets" the "German" Pacific Islands north of the equator and Chinese Shantung; while Great Britain "gets" the juiciest portions, German East Africa, South-West Africa, the Samoan Islands and other Pacific possessions. These territorial annexations, this subjection of colonial peoples, is disguised under the term "mandatory," but in fact constitutes annexation—a territorial re-division of the world in the interests of Imperialism. The United States "gets" no territory, but financial recognition and the acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine—which in fact "grants" Central and South America to "our" Imperialism.

This means an enormous aggrandizement of Anglo-American-French Imperialism, which is increased by the absolute crushing of Germany as an imperialistic power. Germany, moreover, is compelled to recognize Great Britain's "protectorate" in Egypt and the taking over by the Allies of all its former imperialistic "rights" in various undeveloped nations.

The treaty erects a number of independent nations, which is considered as a "victory of democracy" by the unsophisticated. But this is directly imperialistic. These small nations are in no sense independent, being the political and financial vassals of the Allies, instruments of their Imperialism and threats at the proletarian revolution in Russia.

The treaty is an aggression against the peace and liberty of the world. It aggrandizes French and British Imperialism; and the results of the whole work of the Peace Conference, is to assure Anglo-American domination of the world, political and financial.

The League of Nations, it is now clear beyond dispute, is an imperialistic instrument of the Great Powers, of the Allies. It is in the name of this League, which was to assure the peace and liberty of the world, that Germany is strangled and Anglo-American Imperialism assured the domination of the world. And this is made all the more clear by the proposal that Great Britain and France pledge themselves to come to the aid of France in case of a new German attack—what this actually means is the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between these three great powers. Why, if the League of Nations is to assure disarmament, peace and liberty, should this three-power alliance be necessary?

The treaty is an aggression against the peace and liberty of the world. Consider Russia: she is not included in the treaty, except in mention of reparation by Germany and in the clause providing that "German troops at present in territories to the east of the new German-Polish-Russian frontier shall return as soon as the Allied and Associated Governments deem wise." Why not immediate evacuation? The answer comes in the plans for an Allied army of 40,000 troops to march against Petrograd by way of Helsingfors, opening a new war against Soviet Russia.

It is Imperialism ascendant. It is, since the world revolution did not materialize, the natural outcome of the war. Imperialism is tightening its grip upon the world, and will wreak its predatory will unless the proletarian revolution intervenes. World Communism is the only answer to world Imperialism.

### REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

BY LOUIS C. FRAINA

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THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

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## Bolshevikjabs

**O**f course it is not in good taste to say "I told you so," but we are only human and we *did* warn Germany what would happen if she persisted in sticking to Scheidemann.

\* \* \*

However, things are never so bad but what they might be worse—suppose Wilson had had 28 points?

\* \* \*

And imagination staggers before what might have happened to Germany if there had been 12 points to violate.

\* \* \*

The chief difference between democracy and autocracy it would seem from the Peace terms is that democracy takes so much longer to say it.

\* \* \*

There is one thing stands out clearly in the whole affair at Paris and that is the mandatory. If the Bolsheviki had only thought of it what a lot of trouble we would all have been saved. For instance, the Soviets bluntly declare for the expropriation of the banks, and naturally bankers all over the world get sore; they declare for the seizure of the land and all landowners get red in the face with indignation; but if they had given the workers a mandatory over the banks and the peasants a mandatory over the land both the bankers and the landlords would have gotten used to working for their living before they had found out what it meant.

\* \* \*

No banker could draw a tear from the world at large by emitting loud wails about confiscation if it was clearly stated in black and white that the only change in the *status quo* was the granting of a mandatory to the workers for the purpose of protecting the banker from himself.

\* \* \*

Now if England came out boldly and stole the colonies from Germany that she had stolen from the natives, it would be clearly a violation of both the principles of democracy and self-determination. But when she is willing to have a mandatory thrust upon her, especially a mandatory that will necessitate the upkeep of a large army in those colonies for the purpose of explaining to the ignorant natives what a mandatory really is, all that we can do is gaze with reverent awe upon the sacrifices a good empire is willing to make for the benefit of the world in general.

\* \* \*

We use the "good empire" advisedly because there have been bad empires, such as Rome and Spain and Germany. Rome and Spain both seized territory when they won a war, and undoubtedly the Germans would have seized territory if they had won, their whole attitude during the war showed that they had none of the finer qualities at all. They deliberately invaded Belgium, instead of rushing to aid her from herself as the Allies did in Greece, they ruthlessly announced their purpose of raping Russia instead of rushing troops into the country for the purpose of stabilizing the government, and at Brest-Litovsk they never even hinted at the use of a mandatory.

The mandatory is the acid test of an empire.

\* \* \*

Of course the mandatory has its limitations and this is where internationalization steps in. A mandatory over the Saar basin might give rise to adverse comment by suspicious minded persons. But who, in this age of progress, could object to internationalization?

\* \* \*

Internationalization satisfies everybody, even the Germans will be allowed to burn coal from the Saar region—if they pay France for it.

\* \* \*

At any rate the Allies are not fooled about the Peace terms—they are already making provisions for safeguarding France from the results.

\* \* \*

It has now definitely been established that Conscription is an evil practice—in Germany.

\* \* \*

"Germany must pay the entire cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice." Talk about adding insult to injury!

\* \* \*

And the Allies insist that Germany consider the treaty of Bucharest as a "scrap of paper" which is a complete victory for the principle of the "sanctity of treaty obligations."

# Red May Day in Prison

By Martha H. Foley

*Who was arrested, convicted on perjured testimony, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.*

**R**ED—on my hands, red on my clothes, red on my comrades and in their hearts.

Blood—drawn from helpless men, women and, yes, children, by the relentless clubs and cruel bullets of the thugs and police of Boston. . . .

Sitting in a close, dusty cell with seven cowering women I live the day over and over again. In the next cell a woman, who has seen her husband beaten unconscious, is moaning in the agony of premature child-birth. We plead for a doctor. Police officers—can they be men born of woman?—jeer: "If you don't like it you can go back to Russia." Outside a howling mob, made up of the very workers for whom we have and are giving our all, thirsts for our blood.

I go back twenty-four hours. It is May Day. The sun is shining in a clean blue sky, leaves and grass of young, vivid green stir in the warm breeze, the call of spring is in the air and one thrills to its challenge. A new world is in birth.

A joyous, living crowd fills to overflowing the Dudley Street Opera House. They are there to celebrate that most significant of all holidays—International Labor Day; and this year its significance has been increased a thousandfold. In Russia the workers have won; they are winning in Germany, in Hungary, in Austria; gaining all over Europe and awakening in America. Everyone in the hall wears a bit of red, a token of the red blood that courses through the veins of all men alike, of all races. Even the children, laughing and playing seem to have captured some of the spirit that animates us. There are speeches received with enthusiastic applause and singing. Tears come to my eyes as I listen to the many languages blending into the "International," and I hear the cry coming down through the ages of peoples pitted against people, slaying one another that the masters might fatten on their blood.

At the end of the meeting the chairman announces that the parade that had been planned cannot be held since a permit was denied. However, we are all invited to go to the Bazaar which marks the opening of the new Socialist home in Roxbury, at "New International Hall." Slowly we leave, and slowly in the street the various groups coalesce into a body of marchers bound for New International Hall, half a mile distant. Some of those in the vanguard are carrying red flags. We are all happy, we are all wishing that everyone else should be happy, but—trouble is brewing.

On the opposite side of the street a rapidly increasing gang of hoodlums is following us threateningly. A policeman steps into the street, speaks to one comrade at the front, and then retires. Soon patrol wagons dash past, turn and block the street. From it

descend police with clubs drawn. Without ado they strike right and left among the body of marchers. Men fall to the ground, stunned by the blows. The crowd of non-Socialists surge over toward us (and strives to out-do the police in brutality. They are armed with large pieces of timber, with lead-pipe and heavy wire. Men prostrate on the street are kicked and beaten mercilessly. Women are attacked and children trampled upon.

A man carrying a club approaches an officer near me and complains that his crowd is not large enough to kill off those "damn Bolsheviks." The officer advises him to get together all his crowd, as they are too scattered. Amazed, I remonstrate with the officer for encouraging the mob to violence. "Oh, go to hell!" is the answer. I report him to the sergeant in charge, who asks me if I am with those foreigners. To his "You ought to be proud of your associates," I retort: "I am, thank God, I am!"

The police threaten to use their guns. One man tears open his coat bares his breast crying "Kill! Kill!" The sergeant takes deliberate aim at his heart. Confusion reigns supreme. We fly for refuge to door-ways whence we are dragged forth to be set upon once more by the mob. Stones are hurled, more shots fired, and more men beaten. The mob has grown amazingly. Several more patrol wagons have arrived and men and women are thrown headlong into them. Two officers drag me to a patrol and a dozen men, all bruised and bleeding, are crammed into it. They are too dazed to offer any resistance; and yet, while the wagon is jolting on its way to the station, they are coolly beaten over the head with the billies of the police. Will the sweetest music ever silence that sound of those clubs cracking against the skulls which still rings in my ears?

In the station we are pushed and shoved about. Already a large crowd has gathered outside and they rush up the stairs and almost through the entrance. After being listed we are closely herded into small cells and spend the night in cramped position. We listen to the obscene language of the mob outside and of the guardians of the law inside. The pregnant woman screams and the woman next me cries silently—her babies are being left uncared for all night.

Sleep refuses to come. It is a nightmare! It is not—it cannot be real. A revulsion towards all mankind seizes me. If some can be so cruel—then all can. Of

what use is it to try to change conditions? But—no, it is unreal. And yet on the other side of the bars a policeman is saying, "We'll show you that this isn't Russia, that you can't try such things in America."

The officer goes away. There is silence inside for a moment and then from the men's section comes, in Italian, the music of the "International." And we sing, sing with triumph and fervor—we are not yet conquered. After the "International" we sing the "Red Flag" and the Russian Hymn. Our songs give us fresh courage and new life.

In the morning we are thrust into closed vans and taken to cells in the courthouse there to await the administration of "justice." The pregnant woman, still without medical attendance, is taken with us. The courthouse like the station is surrounded by seething throngs including many children. Teaching the Hymn of Hate to German school children was no worse than the encouragement given the children of Roxbury in their attacks upon us. A Jewish woman whispers to me that she feels that she is losing something very precious, her love of children. And I understand too well. We sit on iron gratings in the cells in the courthouse basement and wait and wait.

Then a Russian saying: "I came to America away from the Czar because they told me it was the land of liberty. Now I am arrested for having been beaten up and what is my family going to do?" . . .

Down the corridor a young boy is sobbing. In answer to my question he tells me that he was arrested for stealing. He was physically unable to work, having just undergone an operation, and temptation proved too strong for him. He seems to be a manly little chap and his heart almost bursts with each sob. Only a boy who should be in school with his books or in the sunshine playing ball and instead he is here. But such things cannot go on forever, some day an eruption must come and then let the masters beware. As they sow, shall they reap.

At last I secure from the next cell a newspaper—never was I so anxious for one and I am asked to read. I read slowly and clearly to the other comrades. With what a thrill we learn of the demonstrations in Cleveland, in Detroit, in Chicago, in New York and in Paris. Each account is received with cheers. We are not alone! There are others, many, many others and we triumph!

Again we sing the Red Flag and the International.

Outside the crowd shouts and presses against the barred windows. They think they are free and us imprisoned. But we know better, and to their cries of "Down with the Bolsheviks! Kill the dirty Bolsheviks!" our song answers "Arise ye prisoners of starvation, Arise ye wretched of the earth."

## "A Poor Peace Better Than Proletarian Revolution"

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

**T**HE development of capitalistic society was characterized by Karl Marx as a development that produces "its own grave-diggers." This characterization proves more than correct as concerns the Peace Conference in Paris; for this Conference, more than anything else, perhaps even more than revolutionary Socialist propaganda and agitation, has contributed to breaking down the illusions of "liberal, peaceful reconstruction" and to developing a revolutionary Socialist conception of the fundamental nature of Capitalism among the proletarian masses of all countries.

And, thanks to the "successful activity" of the Peace Conference, that which formerly was understood and prophesied by revolutionary Socialists alone is now becoming obvious to all.

The "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson, it is now clear, have been in the hands of the Allies (regardless of the particular aspirations of Wilson in this or that matter) nothing but bait with which to catch German fish.

These "Fourteen Points" at the time lulled the vigilance of the revolutionary masses of the German proletariat; these "Fourteen Points" provided a plausible excuse for the German diplomats to sign the armistice agreement dictated by the Allies and in obvious contradiction to the "points;" and now, when the conditions of the armistice have been complied with, when the Rhine provinces are occupied by Allied troops and Germany lies prostrate and almost helpless at the feet of the Allied imperialists,—these "Fourteen Points" are declared as rubbish, as a useless scrap of paper. Terms of peace are imposed upon Germany in comparison with which the infamous Brest-Litovsk conditions of peace imposed upon Soviet Russia by Germany appear as innocent, kind and meek.

The "Fourteen Points," we repeat, lulled the vigil-

ance of the revolutionary masses of the German proletariat and provided a plausible excuse for the German diplomats to sign the armistice. . . . It was simply an excuse. For we did not think at the time and we do not think now that these "points," for a single moment, lulled the vigilance of the experienced

### Deporting Democracy

*Letter from Herman Shuster, U. S. Immigration Station, Boston, Mass.*

Circumstances compel me to appeal for your assistance. I am detained at the above mentioned station, and was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio, in December 1917, for failing to register. But as the U. S. authorities were unable to prove my right age they preferred to switch the charge to entering the U. S. illegally. Therefore, my deportation to Russia has been ordered by the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. in May 1918, but up to date this order has not been carried out. They simply keep me in detention without giving me the opportunity to leave on parole or upon bonds until the deportation can be effected.

In the winter of 1917 I received, while at the county-jail, Cleveland, a letter from the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., (holding card No. 204,122 Industrial Union 200 M. T. W.) to the effect that a lawyer was ordered to see all members detained there. However, I have never seen the gentleman.

On February 4th inst. I mailed a registered letter to Mr. Louis Ratnosky, No. 27—4th St., New York City. (Labor Defender), but in spite of the fact that I have the return receipt at hand, I never heard of him.

Therefore I beg of you the favor to take this matter up and let me know whatever you might learn by inquiring into my case.

and alert German diplomats and generals, and their aids, the social-patriots; they never really and sincerely placed any confidence in the "points." The act of signing the armistice, under conditions of martial law and the revolutionary situation in Germany; allowing the Allies, in conformity with the armistice terms, to occupy the Rhine provinces, unparalleled in military annals; surrendering with conscious alacrity the revolutionary fleet to the Allies, the sailors of which had been the first to raise the banner of the Revolution,—all this we consider acts of deliberate treason and betrayal of the Revolution by the bourgeois diplomats and bourgeois "Socialists." It was an attempt to betray and disarm the German Revolution with the aid of foreign bayonets, an attempt which finds its analogy in the project of General Ivanov proposed to the Czar in the early days of the March Revolution, a project involving opening the Russian frontiers to the Germans and the surrender of Riga by General Kornilov.

The German "Socialist" traitors of the Ebert-Scheidemann persuasion and the ordinary bourgeois traitors knew and felt sure that the Allied knife thrust at the heart of Germany would descend, and with their connivance, since they were a party to the plot. And this knife was to descend, no so much in order to damage bourgeois Germany, but to devour and crush the German proletarian revolution.

And now it has come. The knife hanging over Germany has descended. The peace conditions imposed by the Allies will transform Germany into a vassal of the Allies. But we have no doubt that the German bourgeoisie and the Ebert-Scheidemann Government will, while protesting, pay this price and a still higher price if necessary, in order to secure in the Allies a guardian and defender against the proletarian revolution that is still threatening.

Better to save something than to lose everything!

# Manifesto of the Communist International

**T**HE new era has begun! The era of the downfall of Capitalism—its internal disintegration. The epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer,—that is the picture of world conditions to-day.

Humanity, whose whole culture now lies in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist “order” can exist no longer. The ultimate result of the capitalistic mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of Communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World Capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the “League of Nations” and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

## *The Conquest of Political Power.*

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government: disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie—on the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them under control of the communist system and gradually bringing them into accord with its work.

## *Democracy and Dictatorship.*

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted “popular will” exists as little as a unified people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the “popular will” as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organization and through its Soviets, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into classless Communistic Commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its

## *Program Adopted by the First Congress of the Communist International, at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919*

Translated by IDA FERGUSON

press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Soviet type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Soviet power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their

## *Expropriation of the Bourgeoisie and Socialization of Production.*

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workingmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old regime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of Capitalism, so as to postpone socialisation, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a systematic plan. As the first steps—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the power of the proletariat of all government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products: to which end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois-State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the production-epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labor be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure.

(Continued on page eight)

## The Collapse of Capitalism

*Declaration of the First Congress of the Communist International.*

The contradictions inherent in the capitalist system have become manifest in a gigantic explosion—in the great imperialistic world war.

Capitalism is trying through organization to overcome its anarchy in production. Instead of numerous competitors, huge capitalist associations are being formed (syndicates, trusts, cartels.) The banks unite with industrial capital; the whole economic life is dominated by this financial oligarchy, which becomes a dictatorship through the systematic organization of its power. Instead of free competition—monopoly.

But while capitalist organization may modify the anarchy in the capitalist system of production in a few countries, this, by making ever sharper the opposition (the war of competition), intensifies the anarchy in world production. This war of competition between the great robber states leads inevitably to a giant imperialistic war. The struggle for profits drives on world-capital to acquire new markets, make new arrangements, engage in new combats for raw materials and colonial slaves to turn into cheap workers. The imperialistic powers that parcelled out the world among themselves—the African, Asiatic, Australian and American proletariat and peasantry that have been converted into working cattle—must sooner or later come in clash with each other, exposing the anarchic nature of their capitalist system. Thus arises the greatest of crimes—the world war of plunderers.

Capitalism is also trying to end the contradictions in its social structure. Bourgeois society is class society. The capitalists of the most civilized nations wish to cover up these social contradictions. Out of the plunder drawn from colonial peoples, capital “rewards” its own slaves at home, creates a common ground between the exploiters and the exploited, in order to oppress the peoples—yellow, black and red peoples—chains the European and American proletariat to its imperialistic fatherland.

But this method for the permanent corruption of the working class, which created its patriotism and spiritual subjugation, was converted into its opposite during the war. Physical demoralization, world wide enslavement of the proletariat, unbearable pressure, world hunger, misery,—that constituted the final reward of the “civil peace.” It collapsed.

organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Council-Soviet system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the Councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of working boards. Above all this union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Council-Soviet system brings true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favored in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the semi-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

# The Czar's Hirelings are Active

By A. Nyemanov

THESE have recently appeared in the capitalist press obviously inspired reports concerning the general tendency of Allied policy in Russia and on the Russian "problem." If previously the politicians of the Allies adopted a cautious policy toward the "Kolchak Government," if they disguised with the fig-leaf of "neutrality" their actual support of this "government" — now, with commendable frankness, the Allies are showing their cards. The newspapers report that the Government at Washington, together with the governments of the Allies, are ready to recognize the "government" of Kolchak, that henchman of Czarism. In the opinion of the gentlemen who loiter in the corridors of the Peace Conference in Paris, the "best" elements in Russia are represented by the Kolchaks and the Semenovs. The "salvation" of Russia, apparently, depends upon these pitiful remnants of the Czar's regime.

Well, it is no secret to us that the Allies have been supporting the Russian monarchists with their gold. This was confessed the other day by Lloyd-George, that hireling of British Imperialism. And if now they finally decide openly to conclude a bloody contract with the men of the old Czarist regime — this will frighten neither the Soviet Government nor its adherents in all countries, who have been rapidly in-

creasing. In the last analysis, this openly counter-revolutionary policy of the Allies must prove more advantageous to the Soviet than the old hide-and-seek game.

But, then, let not the Allies say they wish to deal with a "democratic" Russia; let them not cling, with fastidious fraudulence, to the slogan, "All power to the Constituent Assembly;" let them admit openly that their policy is the same as that of the Czarist generals, who march directly toward a monarchist restoration.

The Russian people will defend Soviet Russia to the end. They have proven their capacity to fight, equally against the enemy within and the enemy without.

Doubtless, the present policy of the Allies has been shaped, in a not small degree, by the Russian travelling salesmen now in Paris. For some months now a coterie of the Czar's diplomats and politicians have been active in Paris,—the Sazonoffs and the Hirshes, the Bakhmetievs and the Maklakovs. The nests of the Allied vultures have been open to them,—those vultures who are now deciding the world's fate. A

crow will not pluck the eyes of another crow, but they unite. The Pichons and the Lloyd-Georges are apparently acting at the instigation of this bourgeois-Czarist coterie.

It will not surprise us, accordingly, if it should be discovered that all this agitation for the recognition of the Kolchaks and the Denikines is fabricated in the laboratory of Sazonov & Co., and that all the reports concerning the "defeats" of the Soviet troops, all the malicious and slanderous inventions appearing in the American and Allied press, are equally fabricated by Sazonov & Co.

It has been clear for some time that the extreme reactionary forces would make another desperate attempt to restore their former power. It seems a if the moment for that has now come.

Soviet Russia wants peace. The responsible representatives of the Soviet policy have declared that again and again. But should the Allies unite with the Russian counter-revolution in a new attempt to storm the positions of the Russian proletariat, they will again be repulsed.

The time has gone by when the destiny of the Russian people can be determined by the decisions of Sazonov & Co. That time will never return.

## British Imperialism in Egypt

From "The Red Flag" of Canada

lashed with the Egyptian shorthide whip until they changed their minds.

There were boys of 14 taken and men of 70 or even over.

The medical examination, if any, was a farce, and men gravely ill were sent to do military duties. Once the men were enlisted discipline was maintained by the free use of the lash, and whippings were so common that a medical officer told off to oversee the administration of the punishment arranged to have his "sick parade" and his "whipping parade" at the same time, the whipping parade being quite near to his tent where he saw the sick, so that he could overlook both functions (with a little agility) at the same time.

The men received their pay, I understand, but rations were often deficient, and clothing, blankets and

tentage very often deficient. In the winter of 1917-18 Egyptians died like flies as the result of epidemics of typhus fever and other diseases, cold and insufficient food.

The medical arrangements for the men were entirely inadequate, and the sickness rate and death rate would prove interesting, if grim reading, if they could be obtained. Egyptians were treated so brutally in their own units that they were afraid to report sick and those discharged as permanently unfit on medical grounds were not exempt from being recruited again by the next press-gang party which came to their village. Very frequently indeed also men were kept beyond the stipulated time of their contract service.

In addition to these raids on the homes of the fellahen for men we also requisitioned nearly the whole of their donkeys and their camels—at any rate, all the good ones.

Of course, these animals were paid for, but the peasant cultivator could not make a few piastres do the work of a four-footed assistant. Also we bought up much food, and directly and indirectly, as a result of the presence of large bodies of troops in Egypt, the cost of living went up tremendously without a corresponding rise in wages.

Before November last the Egyptian papers even—which are censored as to practically every word by a semi-military official—were reporting riots around food stores and shops, where half a dozen people were killed. In Alexandria practically all the poorer classes were underfed—Egyptian and European alike.

Is it very remarkable, therefore, that we were hated and detested in Egypt, and that it was currently said that all Egyptians were pro-German?

What I have said hitherto is the economic social foundation of the "trouble."

But this has not contented our Imperialists. We have conquered Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Turkey—and been studiously mysterious and vague about what we are going to do with these countries. Are we going to turn the Arabs out? That is a question which Egyptians of the highest standing could not get answered when they asked it of those in power. How, then, should the Arab in his village get an answer?

And the rumor ran from village to village, from camp to camp, of some vague disaster overhanging the Arab Moslem world from the infidel Frank world. Is it any wonder we lighted up religious fanaticism?

In the east "nationality" does not exist as it does in the West, and its place is taken in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and adjoining countries by the sentiment of religion. Men feel themselves one as Mohammedans. Egyptian nationalism is thus only the local expression of Near Eastern Mohammedan religious feeling—and the more dangerous for that reason.

The whole of the Near East is in ferment. We have treated the Egyptians with gross injustice; we have not cared for their elementary human needs; we have stirred up Mohammedan religious feeling against us; we are now playing the fatuous game of "high politics" with the destinies of races and continents as though they were card counters.

ON DECEMBER 18, 1914, Egypt was formally declared a protectorate of Britain, which became entirely responsible for its government and administration. We declared Hussein Kamil to be Sultan (no longer Khedive), and he has since been succeeded by the Sultan Fouad, who is reigning at the present moment. But the Sultan of Egypt only takes important action on the advice of the High Commissioner representing H. M. the King. Sir Reginald Wingate was appointed to this office on January 1, 1917, but is now in England, and all power at the moment is in the hands of General Allenby, who is virtually dictator.

During the war Egypt has been under exceedingly severe military restrictions amounting to a very large measure of martial law, and governed on the civil side by the fiat of the High Commissioner and on the military by the orders of the General Officer in Command of the Forces in Egypt.

The High Commissioner receives his orders from the Foreign Office and the G. O. C. from the War Office. The Home Government, therefore, is directly responsible for the executive acts of the civil and military aides of the Egyptian Government.

When it became necessary during the war to raise a large body of men for transport duties, road-making and other work on the lines of communications of the army in Egypt recourse was naturally had to the men on the spot, the Egyptian Fellahen.

The Egyptian Fellah, or peasant, of whom there are about 11,000,000 in all Egypt, is a simple, laborious, almost entirely illiterate, man. The vast number of these people are Mohammedans, and they live in the little villages of mud-hovels and in the small towns of Egypt all along the course of the Nile.

Their living depends on their daily work in their fields; they are intensely conservative and home-loving. So big a factor is this in their character that there are practically no Egyptian sailors, the voyage even to Greece taking them too long away from their homes. Besides the Fellahen there are about 1,000,000 other people in Egypt, including all the European, and this 1,000,000, who correspond roughly to the educated and propertied classes, include the small group of educated non-European Egyptians, who are "nationalists." To the peasantry our civil and military administrators turned for help when men were needed, and devised a plan of "voluntary" enlistment in the Labor Corps, Donkey Transport Corps or Camel Transport Corps, for service with the E. E. F.

The period of enlistment was to be for six months (as a rule), the rate of pay good from the peasant standpoint, and food, clothing, blankets and tentage were also to be provided.

A certain number of men enlisted readily enough. Then there came a pause, and men were still required. Orders were then sent round to stimulate the recruiting, and eventually a press-gang method was established. A friend described to me how it was done.

A party of "recruiters" would go up to one of the little mud villages (many look like big ant-hills) and wait for dusk when the fellahen would return from the fields. When they returned they were "rounded up" like cattle, and the suitable ones picked out and enlisted. If they refused to "volunteer" they were

## In the Shops

By T. L.

THE advocacy of mass action means to educate the masses: (1) in the theory of revolutionary Socialism and (2) the necessity of its application to the actual problems of revolutionary action.

Assuming, then, that this is our present task, I think that the Left Wing is accomplishing this task rather incompletely; and that the main and central problem of preparing the masses for action is considered only from time to time when an opportunity presents itself, as during periods of large strikes.

We must organize our comrades and sympathizers in the unions and the shops for the purpose of educating the masses of the workers in our theory and practice.

An organization committee of the Socialist Party in every locality should get immediately in touch with the comrades in the different unions for the purpose of organizing in the shops, where the particular comrades are working, a group of 5 or 10 men, which should get in touch with a propagandist at least once a week; while the comrade of the propaganda committee is spreading the theory of revolutionary Socialism, explaining from our point of view the present situation and emphasizing the necessity of increasing the number of similar shop groups, etc.

In industries where several hundred or thousand workers are employed, every shop group should elect a delegate to a factory executive committee which should direct the whole propaganda work in that particular industry.

In large cities where there are many factories, these groups should be ready to connect us with the masses, so that when the day for mass action comes we shall control real power.

This work will prove as efficient as it did in Russia. It should proceed under the direction of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and in secret, if necessary.

Mass action without the masses of the workers is an empty phrase.

# Imperialism — the Final Stage of Capitalism

(Continuation)

By N. Lenin

Translated from the Russian by Andre Tridon

IN the first months of 1904 the steel syndicate of Germany was organized: in November 1904 the international rail combine was reorganized on the following basis: England 53.5%, Germany 28.83% and Belgium 17.67%. France joined the combine on a basis of 4.80, 5.80, and 6.4% of the profits above 100% for the first, second and third years, respectively. In 1905 the Steel Trust of America (the United States Steel Corporation) joined the combine and so did Austria and Spain.

"Now," wrote Vogelstein in 1910, "the division of the earth is completed, and the large consumers, especially the national railroad systems, can live like the poet on Jupiter's cloud, for in that division of the world their interests have not been taken into account." (70)

We may also mention the international zinc syndicate founded in 1909, which divided up the business among five groups of mills, German, Belgian, French, Spanish and English. Also the international powder trust which, to quote Liefmann, was "a close combine of all the explosive plants of Germany and which agreed with similar French and American factories for the production of dynamite to divide up the world, so to speak." (71)

Liefmann listed in 1897 some 40 international combines, including Germany, that number rising to 100 in 1910.

Some bourgeois writers have expressed the opinion that international combines, being one of the most striking features of the internationalization of capital, justify one in expecting peace among the nations under the capitalist system. Theoretically, such an idea is absurd: practically, it is a peace of sophistry and can be used to justify the lowest kind of opportunism.

International combines reveal the growth of capitalist monopolies and also what groups of capitalists are fighting for among themselves. The latter point is the most important, but it only throws light upon the historical and economic meaning of the past, for the fight may assume and does continually assume a shape, for various reasons, more or less local or temporary; but the essence of the fight itself, its class character, cannot change as long as class distinctions remain. Of course, it may be of interest to some bourgeois, let us say, the German bourgeoisie, misrepresent the essential of the modern economic fight (for the division of the world) and to insist now on one detail, now on another detail of the fight. This is the mistake Kautsky makes. For after all, it is the German bourgeoisie which is under consideration, but the bourgeoisie of the entire world. Capitalists divide up the world, not out of any malicious intent, but simply because the degree of business concentration which we have reached compels them to resort to that device in order to make any profits.

And they divide it up according to "their capital," to their "power," for under a capitalist system of production, the division cannot be made upon any other basis. Power does not vary according to economic and political development; in order to understand the past one must know what questions are settled by variations of power, but whether those variations are purely economic or extra-economic (for instance due to wars) is after all a secondary question which cannot in any way change the essential aspects of the latest stage of Capitalism. To neglect the essentials of the fight and of the division of the world among capitalists in order to discuss the outward appearance of that fight and of that division (world wide one day, more restricted the next day, and then again world wide) is to dally with sophism. A glance at our modern Capitalism will show us that groups of capitalists reach certain agreements among themselves on the basis of an economic division of the world, but that concurrently, and in connection with them, political groups, or governments reach certain agreements on the basis of a territorial division of the world, of a struggle for colonies, for exclusive territories.

## VI

### The Division of the World Among the Great Powers.

The geographer, A. Supan, in his book on *The Territorial Development of European Colonies* (75) gives us in a condensed form a clear idea of that development at the end of the 19th century.

Area occupied by colonies of the various European Powers and of the United States:

	1876	1900	Gain	Loss
In Africa	10.8%	90.4	79.6	
In Asia	10.8%	90.4	79.6	
Polynesia	56.8	98.9	42.1	
Asia	51.5	56.5	5.1	
Australia	100	100		
America	27.5	27.2		0.3

"The most noticeable fact of that period," the author says in his conclusion, "is the division of Africa and Polynesia."

As there are no unoccupied lands, that is, no lands belonging to no power in particular, in Asia and in America, we might go farther than Supan and say that the most noteworthy fact of the period in question is that the division of the world is complete, not in the sense that a redistribution of territories is henceforth impossible. (on the contrary that redistribution is possible and inevitable) but in the sense that the colonial policy of the capitalist nations has attained its object, which was to take possession of all the unoccupied lands on the planet.

The world has been divided up, and what is coming now is a redistribution of lands, that is, the passage of land from one domination under another, not from independence into dependence.

We are living through a peculiar era of world-wide colonial expansion which is intimately related to the latest phase in the development of Capitalism, with finance capital. We must therefore dwell at length upon concrete facts which will enable us not only to show wherein this era differs from the one preceding it, but also to visualize clearly the actual state of affairs at the present day.

And first of all we must answer two definite questions:

Do we notice a keener struggle for colonies in our epoch of finance capital? How is the world divided up at the present time, from the point of view of colonies?

An American writer, Morris, in his book on the history of colonization, gives us an idea of the growth of the colonial empires of England, France and Germany in the course of the 19th century.

Here are, in condensed form, the figures he arrives at:

Years	England		France		Germany	
	Area millions miles	Population millions	Area millions miles	Population millions	Area millions miles	Population millions
1815-30	?	126.4	0.02	0.5		
1860	2.5	145.1	0.2	3.4		
1880	7.7	267.9	0.7	7.5		
1899	9.3	309.0	3.7	56.4	1.0	14.7

It was between 1860 and 1880 and, significantly enough, in the last twenty years of the 19th century also, that England entered her greatest period of colonial conquests, while France and Germany secured most of their colonial possessions between 1880 and 1900.

We have seen in a preceding chapter that the pre-monopolistic era in the development of Capitalism, that is Capitalism dominated by free competition, stretched from 1860 to 1870.

We now see that that era preceded an enormous "rise" in colonial acquisitions, a more and more bitter struggle for the territorial division of the world. It is evident therefore that the transition from monopolistic capital to finance-capital is bound to make the struggle for the division of the world more and more relentless.

Hobson, in his book on *Imperialism*, characterizes the period from 1884 to 1900 as a period of powerful expansion for the leading European powers. According to his estimates, England secured during that period 3.7 million square miles of land with a population of 57 million souls; France 3.6 million square miles with a population of 36 millions; Belgium, 900,000 square miles with a population of 20 millions; Portugal 800,000 square miles with 6 million people. The hunt for colonies at the end of the 19th century, especially in the eighties, on the part of all the capitalist nations, constitutes a generally admitted fact in the history of diplomacy and foreign relations.

When free competition was especially flourishing in England, that is from 1840 to 1860, the bourgeois politicians who were in the saddle opposed any sort of a colonial policy, and considered that it would be necessary for England to grant her colonies their independence, to let them secede entirely.

M. Baer, in an article published in 1898 on the latest developments of English Imperialism, quotes the imperialistically-minded Disraeli as saying in 1852: "Colonies are just a millstone around our neck." At the end of the 19th century the men of the day in England were Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain the prophets of Imperialism applying purely imperialistic policies with the greatest cynicism.

It is not without interest to notice that the connection between the purely economic and the social-political essentials of the newborn Imperialism was perfectly obvious to those leaders of the English bourgeoisie: Chamberlain stated that Imperialism was the only wise and economical policy, and pointed to the competition which England is now meeting with in the world market on the part of Germany, America, and Belgium. The salvation lies in monopolies, capitalists said, and they organized cartels, syndicates, trusts. Salvation lies in monopoly, the bourgeois leaders repeated, and they endeavored to annex parts of the world which had not as yet been seized by some nation. But Cecil Rhodes, as his intimate friend Stead tells us, offered in 1895 the following argument in favor of his imperialistic plans: "I was yesterday in the East End of London and witnessed a meeting of the unemployed. After listening to all the wild talk and cries for bread, bread, I went home, and reflected upon what I had seen and heard, and came to the conclusion that Imperialism was more imperative than ever. . . . Here is my solution for the social problem: if we are to save the forty million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a murderous civil war, we, the colonialists, must secure new territories to be occupied by the growing population, where we can find new markets for the goods manufactured in our mills and factories. It is all a question of food supply. If you do not want a civil war you must become imperialistic." (74)

Thus spake in 1895 Cecil Rhodes, millionaire, financial magnate, more than any one else responsible for the Transvaal war.

To present a clearer picture of the territorial partition of the world and of the various changes having taken place in the distribution of colonial lands in the course of the last decade, we shall quote the figures given by Supan in his writings on the colonial possessions of all the nations. Supan's figures are for the years 1876 and 1900. We shall start with the year 1876 for it marks the end of the development of pre-monopolistic Capitalism and establish a comparison with the year 1914, giving for the latter year Huebner's figures taken from his Geographical-statistical Tables.

Supan only gives us the size and population of the colonies. To make the picture more complete, we intend to mention also the area and population of non-colonial or semi-colonial lands, such as Persia, China and Turkey: the first of those lands is almost entirely colonized, the second and third are gradually becoming so.

Colonial possessions of the great powers in millions of square Kilometres and millions of population.

	Colonies		Motherland		Total			
	1876	1914	1876	1914	1876	1914		
	area	pop.	area	pop.	area	pop.		
England	22.5	251.0	33.5	393.5	0.3	46.5	33.8	440.0
Russia	17.0	15.9	17.4	33.2	5.4	136.2	22.8	169.4
France	0.0	6.0	10.6	55.5	0.5	39.6	11.1	95.1
Germany			2.9	12.3	0.5	64.9	3.4	77.2
U. S. A.			0.3	9.7	9.4	97.0	9.7	106.7
Japan			0.3	19.2	0.4	53.0	0.7	72.7
Totals	40.4	273.8	65.0	523.4	16.5	437.2	81.5	960.6

Colonies of other nations (Belgium, Holland etc.)	9.0	45.3
Semi-colonial lands (Persia, China, Turkey)	11.5	361.2
Other nations	28.0	289.0

Entire world . . . . . 139.9 1657.0

We see clearly that the division of the world was "completed" by the dawn of the 20th century. After 1876 colonial empires grew by gigantic steps and bounds, something like 150 per cent, through the annexation of between 40 and 65 million square kilometers; six great powers seized the equivalent of 150% of their own area, that is 16.5 million square kilometers.

In 1876 three powers had no colonies; and a third one, France, had hardly any. In 1914 those four powers had acquired a colonial empire of 14.1 million square kilometers, or approximately one and a half times greater than the area of Europe, with a population of some 100 million souls. The new colonial possessions were very unevenly divided. If we compare the colonies of France, Germany and Japan, three nations which do not differ greatly in area and population, we see that France acquired three times as much land as Germany and Japan put together.

From the point of view of finance-capital, France was probably at the beginning of the period under consideration several times wealthier than Germany and Japan combined.

(To be continued)

# The Socialist Party of Italy

TWO recent items of news from Italy indicate the character of the Socialist movement there, and the imminence of great events.

The frontiers of Italy were closed the other day because of "revolutionary disturbances."

And the Italian Socialist Party has emphatically repudiated the Berne Conference of the Great Betrayal, severed all connections with the Second International and its Bureau, and decided to affiliate with the Communist International organized in Russia.

While in its issue of March 21, *L'Avanti*, central organ of the Socialist Party, greets the formation of the Left Wing Section of the American Socialist Party. . . .

When war was declared on August 4, 1914, the Italian Government assumed an official attitude of "neutrality" while secretly bargaining and intriguing with the Allies. The Socialist Party condemned the war as an imperialistic war, and adhered to the policy of militant Socialism. When the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, with the turpitude and insolence of a gutter strumpet, sent a delegation to Italy, headed by Dr. Suedekum, to urge the Italian Socialist Party to favor Italy's participation in the war together with the Central Empires,—the Party sternly repudiated the delegation and its monstrous proposal. The Party equally repudiated Jules Guesde, when Guesde, the former revolutionist who had developed into a watch-dog of the imperialistic government of France, urged the Socialists to plunge Italy into the war together with the Allies "for democracy."

Then the Italian Government, having driven a satisfactory bargain with the Allies, declared war against Austria "in the name of humanity and civilization." . . . The Socialist Party declared itself as uncompromisingly against the war. It did more: it translated this opposition into uncompromising propaganda. Government persecution could not stay its activity, which was based, not upon petty bourgeois pacifism, but upon the basis of Socialism and the proletarian class struggle.

In the summer of 1917, Italy was on the verge of a revolution. The revolutionary propaganda was about the bear fruit. Then came the military disaster at Caporetto, the invasion of Italy by the Austro-German troops. The Government exploited this to crush the potential revolution and inflame people against the Socialists. The bourgeois press blamed the Socialist activity for the disaster, and demands were made upon the Socialist Party to, "in the hour of danger," accept the national defense and its policy. Some of the Socialist leaders, a few, wobbled; but the Party spoke out sternly and uncompromisingly: in spite of the invasion of Italy, we cannot yield or compromise our activity against the war and our struggle for the Revolution.

This crisis was a test for the party, and the party met the test in the spirit of militant Socialism. Compare this with the attitude of Algernon Lee & Co., who wished our party to accept the war "in order to save the Russian Revolution."

The Bolshevik Revolution inspired the Italian Socialists, who rallied to its cause. They accepted the Bolshevik proposal for an armistice on all belligerent fronts, and the Bolshevik policy of a revolutionary peace. In December, Comrade Morgari delivered an address in the Italian Parliament, in which, amid hoots and interruptions from the bourgeois delegates, he declared that the Socialist Party wanted an immediate peace, not only on Bolshevik terms, but by Bolshevik methods.

This acceptance of Bolshevik policy and practice inspired the Party to new activity, in spite of new and more intense persecution by the Government. Steadily, the Party as a whole grew more revolutionary; sections of the party in the summer of 1918 condemning certain minor compromises in the Party's official policy.

## AN APPEAL TO YOU

The capitalist class thirsty with hatred in their hearts, wild with rage, is about to commit a dastardly foul deed.

Enraged by the demonstrated solidarity of the workers of Seattle during the general strike and the success of the general strike, it is determined to exact punishment from the workers by victimizing and seizing upon over thirty loyal workers, whose activities in the labor movement, and self sacrifice for the cause of labor, has made them the most hated and dreaded workers in the eyes of the capitalist class.

They are charged with starting a revolution, attempting to overthrow the City government of Seattle, the State and the United States government; conspiracy, criminal anarchy and felony.

Thousands of leaflets, dodgers and propaganda matter, the organization of the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council, and also some articles published in *The International Weekly*, which is published by the Press Board of the Socialist Party of Washington, alleged to incite the workers to seize the shipyards, form the basis of the prosecution and charges.

The arrest was precipitated on the excuse that *The International Weekly*, which sold by the thousands of copies on the streets of Seattle on Sunday of the general strike while the capitalist papers were not permitted by the strike, contained the charged articles.

Comrades:—Behind the capitalist class of Seattle is lined up the whole capitalist class of America which was terrorized by the (first) great general strike, the governmental administration of the City, State and Nation.

Behind these comrades we must line all the workers of this nation.

Upwards of fifteen years in prison stares in the eyes of these victims of the general strike.

Your moral and financial support for the defense is urgently needed.

Send your contributions to  
SOCIALIST PARTY DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
215 Liberty Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

In the revolutionary street battles in Milan, Turin and other cities, the Italian Socialists received their baptism of deeds. Scores were killed and wounded, and many of the Party militants, including Comrade Serrati, editor of *L'Avanti*, were arrested on the charge of treason. Comrade Lazzari, secretary of the Party, was also arrested on a charge of treason. They were sentenced to three and one-half years and four and one-half years in prison, respectively, and released shortly after the armistice. Compare this with the acts of the American Government. . . .

The Italian Party repudiated equally the Social-Democratic Mission, headed by Spargo & Co., and the A. F. of L. "Labor Mission," headed by Gompers & Co. The Party has consistently, in its international policy, acted on the basis of the class struggle and revolutionary Socialism.

Since the armistice, the Party has intensified its revolutionary propaganda, which is a propaganda for Proletarian Dictatorship. It has no parliamentary illusions: it uses its parliamentary activity to promote the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat. As against a Wilson Peace, the Italian Party, unlike the majority in the French Socialist Party, opposes a Lenin Peace of Communist revolution. The Party was strong enough to compel the Government to release its class war prisoners shortly after the armistice.

## Manifesto of the Communist International

(Continued from page 5.)

but on the other hand constantly draws ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

### The Way to Victory.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form

of Soviet rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the danger of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian action,—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual help the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imper-

The fundamental revolutionary integrity of the Italian Socialist Party is revealed in its attitude toward the Berne Conference of the Great Betrayal: of the social patriots and petty bourgeois "Socialists" of the Entente and the Central Empires were negotiating "terms of agreement" on the basis of which they could meet together. The Italian Party, through *L'Avanti*, answered: "We do not have to discuss agreements with our Socialist Comrades of the Central Empires, in the manner of petty bourgeois shopkeepers: we know in advance the basis on which we are willing to confer with the Spartacans and other of the Austro-German Socialists who did not abandon their principles: the basis of unrelenting antagonism to Capitalism and the Social Revolution. It is only the betrayers of Socialism who must discuss "terms of agreement."

The Italian Party sent Comrades Jules Catalini, C. Lazzari and Morgari to Berne. After acquainting itself with the Conference, the delegation, through Comrade Catalini, issued this statement: "The Socialist Party of Italy has authorized me to support the Berne Conference if it adheres to the old International spirit. Having observed, since my arrival, that the Congress does not correspond with the point of view of the party to which I belong, a point of view that manifested itself during the war in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, I shall not participate as a delegate, and shall remain only as a newspaper man." Comrades Lazzari wrote in *L'Avanti* of February 12: "The Socialist Party of Italy can not consent to participate in partial conferences of parties or groups which worked hand in glove with the bourgeois governments during the war . . . and, for a stronger reason, with those upon whose conscience lies the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg."

This repudiation of the Berne Conference was immediately followed by the Italian Party's repudiation of the International Socialist Bureau and the Old International and complete acceptance of the new Communist International, through the following resolution:

"That the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Italy withdraw from the International Socialist Bureau and affiliates with and works for the establishment of the Socialist Revolutionary International upon the basis and principles laid down in the mor of January by the Russian Communist Comrade Moscow for the convening of an International Socialist Congress."

The Socialist Party of the United States do not profit from this revolutionary integrity of the Socialist Party of Italy. These two parties alone, of old majority Socialist parties, took a stand again the war. The Italian Party is drawing the logical conclusions from its against-the-war policy by accepting the Bolshevik-Spartacan International; it is now the task of the comrades of the American Socialist Party to act in the same revolutionary manner. . . .

The Italian Government imposes a rigid censorship, and it is difficult to know precisely what is going on in Italy. But it is clear that the revolutionary unrest is general and becoming more intense. It is clear, moreover, that in the event of a revolution in Italy, the majority Socialist Party will not oppose the Revolution, and in that way facilitate the conquest of power by the proletariat. The revolutionary spirit of the Italian Socialist Party is a challenge.

ialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of imperialistic world system.

The capitalistic criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German Imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and Finland. Now the Entente states unmask themselves as world despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—have they lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this final struggle.

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital.  
Long live the International Republic of the Proletarian Councils!