

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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May Day--and the Revolution

MAY Day is the day of the workers.

This day is the day when the conscious workers, who are not mental slaves to the ideas of the masters, express their determination for a new life, for a new world.

May day is revolutionary Labor Day.

American Labor—that is to say, those workers who do not see beyond their noses, beyond small increases of wages—celebrates Labor Day on the first Monday of September.

But what is celebrated on "Labor Day" is the day of the masters—it is the day of the wage-slaves, not of conscious rebels.

"Labor Day" was granted the American workers by the capitalists, as a toy to play with, as a means of fooling the workers.

American Labor Day has no working class importance, no revolutionary meaning. It is a day to maintain the workers' suicidal confidence in the capitalist exploiters.

"American Labor Day" represents the old order, with its oppression of the poor by the rich, of the workers by the employers; with its small wages and hard hours, its employment and economic insecurity, its misery for the majority of the people and its fabulous luxury for the few.

International May Day represents the new society which is coming — the society of free men and women, in which labor will control its own means of making a living, in which there will be no masters and no poverty—economic security and peace shall prevail.

International May Day represents that great working class struggle to unite the workers of the world against the capitalists of the world,—against poverty, against oppression, against wars, against Capitalism, for the freedom of the masses.

International May Day is the day when the conscious workers cease their labor, *down tools in all shops*, to prove to themselves and to their masters the strength that is in them, eager for the day when the great struggle shall flare up into revolutionary action, *end Capitalism*, and establish a world for the workers.

On the first Monday of September, the masters of industry do not fear proletarian action; they know that their workers are in bondage; they await Tuesday, when the workers will return to their shops, to sweat agony and blood in *satisfaction* for starvation wages while the masters enjoy ease and luxury.

On International Labor Day—*May Day*—the masters tremble. May Day in Europe is the day when the masters expect revolutionary upheavals. They await in dread. It is the day of revolt.

On previous May Days, the storm did not break; and gradually the masters began to believe that the storm would never break—the storm of the workers' accumulated wrath at their misery, oppression and injustice—the storm which would sweep Capitalism out of existence.

But the day *did come*.

This year, May Day is a promise fulfilled. This May Day sees the proletariat of the world in action against Capitalism.

In Russia, May Day is greeted by millions upon millions of workers who have overthrown the rule of Capitalism, who have seized power, who are actually organizing the new society of communist labor and fraternity of the workers. They have completed their revolution, these Russian worker-comrades of ours, amid blood and tears and smoke, amid the attacks of the whole capitalist world, but they held grim, they refused to submit to international Capitalism and their revolutionary challenge, flaming through the world, has brought response in other nations, among the workers of the world. The cause of revolution—Russia is the cause of the workers of the world.

Capitalism is being smashed. The workers are conquering. May Day is coming into its own.

In Hungary and Bavaria, the workers are in control. They have established a Soviet Government, which means in every-day language a government of the poor against the rich, of the workers against the capitalists, of peace against war, of joy against misery, of life against death.

In Germany, the revolutionary workers, betrayed, threatened by the Altes, starving and butchered, are

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Boston, Local Cleveland and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City.

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party; the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practiced on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the Congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events,—all this, and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action.

This call is therefore issued for the holding of a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

- 1.—The crisis in the party, and action thereon; the conquest of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.
- 2.—The New International; ways and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "International" of the social-patriots, of the Ebert-Scheidemann gangsters, and the wavering centre; affiliation with the Bolshevik-Spartacan International alone.
- 3.—The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes of a national scope of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.
- 4.—Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing, for propaganda, securing of information and spreading information.
- 5.—To express and draw together the revolutionary forces in the party; to consider other means of furthering the cause of revolutionary Socialism.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branches and Left Wing groups within the party. The test of admission, provisionally, will be acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Where a local officially refuses to participate, branches or minority groups in the party accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send delegates.

Representation—one delegate for every 500 members. No local or group should send more than three delegates.

The conference will be held starting Saturday, June 21, at some central city to be decided after the distribution of delegates is considered.

Left Wing Locals and Branches, act! Send communications to Louis C. Fraina, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

securing new strength and are preparing for the new struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism on *May Day*—and this struggle of our German worker-Comrades against their own Capitalism is equally a struggle against *international* Capitalism and Imperialism.

In France, Italy and England, throughout the world, in every country, is unrest among the workers, preparation for struggle against Capitalism. The workers may not be completely conscious of what they struggle for; but experience teaches them that their struggle is a struggle to destroy Capitalism, to revolutionize the old world, to place industry in the control of the workers.

In our own country, May Day comes in the midst of general unrest. This unrest is tremendous, deep; but as yet it has not become conscious in action, except among those workers who have accepted Socialism—and May Day is the day of international Socialism.

On this May Day, the American workers face a serious crisis. The war "prosperity" — which was serious crisis. The war "prosperity" — which was crease; and as the soldiers are demobilized and industry in Europe resumes normal operations, this unemployment will increase by leaps and bounds. Wages are being reduced. During the war, they, the masters, smiled upon labor; now they fire labor if labor so much as opens its mouth to protest.

The economic crisis is awakening the American workers. They realize that things are wrong. They are accepting revolutionary ideas.

The capitalists and their government are scared. They fear the development of revolutionary Socialism among the working masses. They carry on a campaign against Bolshevik ideas. They pay to slander Socialism and the workers. They arrest Socialists and I. W. W.'s. They deport agitators. The law, the police and the army are being used against the workers and the rebels.

Hundreds of Socialists and labor agitators are in prison—among them Eugene Debs, William D. Haywood and Thomas Mooney. They are in prison because they stood by the workers, because they struggle against the oppression of the workers, because they are of the workers.

In jailing these men, the government of the capitalists is jailing the workers, is striking a blow at the struggle of the workers to secure economic freedom, peace and a new world.

They are going to crush the workers, if they can. They are going to use all means to smash the revolutionary movement—and in this they will smash the workers, for, workers, *the revolutionary movement is YOUR movement, the movement which alone represents your real interests.*

On this May Day, American Labor must resolve to throw away old ideas and old tactics. It must determine to struggle against the capitalists, who are your real enemies. It must determine to join with the class conscious workers of the world, who are engaged or preparing to engage in the final struggle against Capitalism—against unemployment, against misery and oppression, against war and those who profit from war.

You have power. You are in control of industry. You have the might to overcome the might of the capitalists, to break the power of the capitalists—the might of your industrial action.

The capitalists and the government of the capitalists are imprisoning your revolutionary representatives. These men and women in jail are calling upon you—they want to be with you in the great struggle that is coming. On this May Day, you must resolve to call at the earliest possible moment a general strike to compel the release of our imprisoned comrades.

This will mean much. It will mean a revolutionary act. It will fire the enthusiasm of the workers. It will prepare you for new and mightier struggles against the capitalists, until you break the power of Capitalism.

The old world is breaking to pieces. Amid the roar of cannons and the rattle of machine guns, a new world is being born, the world of the workers,—*your world, if you will have it.*

Workers! Do not trust the false promises of the masters. Do not depend upon words, but upon your own deeds.

Workers—men and women! May Day is your day, you must make it your day. *Down tools on May Day* and show your determination to conquer, to express your solidarity with your European comrades. Then prepare for a real general strike.

On this May Day—when the whole world is in Revolution — remember the workers of the world must unite to break the power of the capitalists, to break the power of those who make poverty, misery and war. Workers of all countries, unite for Socialism!

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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The Principles and Tactics of the New International

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finally the revolutionary left wing.

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

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

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

Mexico and the Monroe Doctrine

THE Mexican Government has made it publicly clear that it will not recognize the validity of the Monroe Doctrine. Mexico would not protest against the original Doctrine, which provided that there should be no colonization by European powers on the American continents; but the Monroe Doctrine today is something altogether different.

The reception accorded to Mexico's repudiation indicates clearly the character of the Monroe Doctrine today. There are two phases to this reception:

1.—It makes no difference, say the defenders of the Monroe Doctrine, what Mexico says; she will be compelled to accept the Doctrine.

2.—The Monroe Doctrine, say these defenders, is a national doctrine of the United States, maintained upon its own responsibility.

What is this but the attitude of the conqueror? A national doctrine that another nation *must* accept—that is aggression, Imperialism. This aggression and Imperialism are actually comprised in the Monroe Doctrine today. It is not a question of European colonization, but of European *capital and investments*: the Monroe Doctrine is now an instrument to preserve these continents for the aggrandizement of American capital.

"Revising" the League

CERTAIN amendments have been made to the Peace Conference's proposed League of Nations. They have been made in order to satisfy certain objections to the League. They satisfy bourgeois objections, perhaps, but not the Socialist. The fundamental defect of the League of Nations—inevitable under Capitalism—is that it is not a League but an alliance of five Great Powers, a defect stressed even by parts of bourgeois radical opinion. This imperialistic alliance is consummated by means of the Council of the League, which is to consist of nine members—five representing Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Japan, and four representing all the other nations. This means that these five powers actually control the League, having a clear majority on the Council.

That is fundamental. A League must be a League of free nations; but this imperialistic alliance constitutes nothing but an imperialistic League against the nations of the world.

It is said that the new draft satisfies the Republicans in the United States Senate who opposed the original draft. Well it may; since the new draft recognizes and protects the Monroe Doctrine and makes the League even more a fraud than it was.

There is a real need for a League of Nations. The world must be united against war and for peace, must unite for purposes of life and prosperity. Production is international. But this League cannot actually be consummated under Capitalism, since Capitalism requires industrial and commercial competition, cannot abandon Imperialism. If it did, Capitalism would no longer be Capitalism. The federation of the peoples of the world, free and actual, is a task that history imposes upon the international Socialist proletariat.

New Aggression Against Russia

THE twistings of a snake are straight lines in comparison with the twistings of the Peace Conference in Paris concerning the "Russian problem." This "problem," of course, is simply what should be done—or can be done—to crush Soviet Russia, that realization in life of Socialist theory and practice, that menace to international Capitalism.

They tried invasion—but it didn't work: too many troops are required, and they are "corrupted" by revolutionary Bolshevik propaganda.

They tried to use the "oppressed peoples" of the Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic Provinces, whom they were to "liberate," to crush the Bolsheviks, but it did not work.

They tried to use the former German army against Soviet Russia, but the German imperialists had their own Bolshevism to deal with.

Intrigue and fair words, cunning and beautiful promises, treachery and expressions of friendship—all these have been tried: but they haven't worked.

So now they decide to continue their old policy of starving the Russian people and the Russian Revolution. They are to continue financing and feeding the counter-revolutionists; they are going to recognize the "Omsk Government" and provide it with munitions and food, while the barbarous blockade of Russia continues—this is the policy they are forced into, the policy of the skulking murderer of women and children. This is Capitalism! This is the Peace Conference!

No! This crime against the new civilization, against a revolutionary people must not be allowed. Capitalism is exposing itself in all its sinister horror. It scruples at nothing to accomplish its savage purposes. Nothing short of proletarian action, of mass pressure

upon the imperialistic governments, of the world revolution will help the Russian people and preserve the Russian Revolution for all peoples and for all time.

The Great Collapse

THERE was an enormous upflare of popular enthusiasm when President Woodrow Wilson first arrived in Europe. It was, to certain extent, mass enthusiasm. A popular image had been created of Woodrow Wilson as a great emancipator,—one of those suggestive social myths with which history abounds.

President Wilson, in his inimitable words (without deeds) catered to this popular sentiment,—in Italy even indulging in "Socialistic" expressions. Then he got together with the distinguished diplomats in Paris; and the social myth gradually disintegrated. Open diplomacy, democracy, all the beautiful ideas of President Wilson were, in the test, proven to be dross. The popular reaction developed immediately—the great illusion was broken. The second coming of Woodrow Wilson to Europe evoked no popular enthusiasm. This is how William Allen White, in an article from Paris dated March 27, describes the "second coming":

When President Wilson came to Europe in December, 1918, he appealed to the masses of Europe over the heads of their Governments. Now he is dealing exclusively with the organized Governments of Europe. When he appeared in Paris a dozen and six weeks ago great crowds packed the Champs Elysees. His progress from the Arch to the Tuileries was a great triumph. No other ruler ever had a greater reception: the day he came back to Paris in March a tattered cotton banner, sagging in the wind, rain-stained and and bedraggled, bearing the legend, 'Honneur a Wilson, le Juste,' a banner left from December, hanging near the corner of the Avenue Montaigne and the Elisyian Fields, was the only reminder of a day that was gone.

As the banner was fraying in the light spring breeze the train bearing the Presidential party was steaming into the station; a poilu band was throwing back its head and blowing into the brass the glory that is France in a grand salute; a dozen frock-coated, plughated, elderly gentlemen with cynical turn of face—Clemenceau, up from his bed of pain, Poincare and Baron Cellere, along with the Americans, Mr. Lansing, Bernard Baruch, Vance McCormick—gentlemen of the bed chamber—stood on a red velvet carpet in the station amid potted palms and evergreens and welcomed the President back to France. The whistles did not blow; there was no cheering in the station. There was little more ceremony in the greeting than if the village delegate had come from the Grand Lodge, ready to exemplify the new work.

This shift in mass opinion in Europe has two causes: the utter incompetence of the Peace Conference and the collapse of President Wilson's "ideals," and the penetration of revolutionary sentiments in the proletarian masses.

The abandonment by President Wilson of his "ideals" is not a study in personality, but a study in social facts and tendencies. It is not to the man alone, but dominantly to the social circumstances that is attributable the collapse of his beautiful program.

In the mouth of President Wilson, democracy and the League of Nations did not mean what they mean to an oppressed and butchered people. His ideals were the holy water that was to wash away the sins of Capitalism. The masses, however, expected deeds; and Wilson gave them words, while the Conference gave them deeds of reaction.

"When President Wilson came to Europe in December, 1918, he appealed to the masses of Europe over the heads of their governments. Now he is dealing exclusively with the organized Governments of Europe." This was inevitable. Experience showed the danger of appealing to the masses; the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans did the same thing; and the masses must not move, or Capitalism totters. President Wilson had to adjust his words to facts; and the facts imposed the necessity of the Peace Conference maintaining the supremacy of Capitalism. The requirements of maintaining the supremacy of Capitalism are responsible for the great collapse of Woodrow Wilson,—and his "ideals"—the words—were meant to maintain the supremacy of Capitalism.

The imperialistic war necessarily had to be concluded by an imperialistic peace. That is the peace being concluded in Paris, however it may be camouflaged.

The masses have nothing to hope for from Capitalism and the representatives of Capitalism. They may trust, but their trust will always be a great illusion doomed to a great betrayal. The most tragic aspect of a tragic war is that the masses developed dumb, blind hopes of a real change, of a new world; these hopes were exploited by astute diplomats and the journalistic hirelings of Capitalism; but this exploitation having accomplished its purpose of developing the popular ideology for "carry on," the masses are given a stone where they expected bread.

On all issues, Capitalism and the representatives of Capitalism are necessarily against the proletariat, the liberty of the world. Upon their own action the masses depend; upon the implacable and constant class struggle of the conscious proletariat against Capitalism and for Socialism.

In Germany

There is a new struggle preparing itself in Germany. This struggle will decide the immediate destiny of the international revolution, of Socialism. If the revolutionary proletariat conquers power, it means the world revolution; if not, it means new struggles, a series of class wars which must inevitably culminate in the Social Revolution.

Let us summarize the character and the course of the German Revolution: it is of the utmost importance that the Socialist proletariat should clearly understand the implacable class war that is being waged in Germany.

The agony of the war, the starvation of the people, the futility of the prolonged slaughter and defeat, provided the opportunity for the masses to act. That moment for which revolutionary Socialism, a small but militant minority, had been waiting and preparing for, came. Like a river that has burst its banks, the waters of the Revolution spread through Germany.

The Revolution that slowly developed during October 1918, broke forth irresistibly in November. The revolutionary mass action of the proletariat toppled over the Imperial German regime; the Kaiser fled to Holland; everywhere the masses organized Councils of Soldiers and Workmen; a new Government was organized.

But this was just the preliminary phase of the Revolution. The new government was controlled by the majority "Socialists" represented by Ebert, Scheidemann & Co., who had supported the imperialistic war, who had opposed the coming of the Revolution, and around whom the bourgeoisie now rallied against Socialism.

The new bourgeois-"Socialist" Government maintained all the old government institutions,—the army, the police and the bureaucracy. Behind it skulked the forces of the bourgeoisie, and even of the Junkers. Hindenburg was still in control of the army; Germany's foreign policy was manipulated by Dr. Solf and Dr. Erzberger—all consistent and malevolent representatives of the old regime of Imperialism, of war and plunder.

Against this bourgeois-"Socialist" Government there developed a new revolution, captained by the Spartans, whose program was identical with the program of the Bolsheviks. This new revolution aimed to overthrow the Ebert-Scheidemann Government, to destroy the power of the old army and its reactionary military chiefs, to destroy the old parliamentary institutions which deceive and shackle the proletarian masses, to crush the power of the bourgeoisie, decree all power to the Councils (Soviets) and establish a new proletarian state of the federal Soviets, upon the basis of which the definite introduction of communist Socialism could be initiated. This program was to link the German Revolution with the Russian Revolution, and assure the coming of the world revolution and international Socialism.

But the majority "Socialists," doing the dirty work of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, opposed this revolutionary program. They did not want to crush the power of the bourgeoisie; they wanted, not a Socialist but a bourgeois democratic republic; they used the army and the old government forces to crush the proletarian revolution. Revolt after revolt of the masses was crushed by this combination of the old regime and the traitorous Socialists of the bourgeoisie.

The revolution in Germany, as long as it remained within its parliamentary limits, had accomplished little. True, it had introduced parliamentary democracy, but it is not by means of parliamentary democracy that Socialism will come, but by means of revolutionary action and proletarian dictatorship. Capitalism was still in power. The forms of Kaiserism had been overthrown, but not the substance, since Kaiserism did not simply represent the rule of a monarch, but the unity of autocracy with imperialistic Capitalism: and the power of this Capitalism had not been crushed.

Threatened by the oncoming proletarian revolution, the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government not only concluded an alliance with the old regime, but asked unity with the imperialistic governments of the Allies to—crush Bolshevism!

But the masses, tortured by hunger, oppressed by the new reaction, menaced by the imperialistic designs of the Allies, acquired new vigor and new purposes. Out of each defeat they secured new strength for new struggles.

Then came the proletarian dictatorship in Bavaria, the proclamation of a Soviet Republic. This gave impetus to the proletarian struggle throughout Germany. The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government massed

ops against the Bavarian Soviet Republic; but Munich is still proletarian and Bolshevik, while all over Germany the struggle is again flaring into action.

The struggle is a struggle to complete the Revolution by making it definitely proletarian. Capitalism must be overthrown; the new regime must not be a regime of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which

is the form of expression of bourgeois supremacy, but a regime of communist Socialism, which is the form of expression of the proletariat. There must be a new state organized—the state of the organized producers, of the federated Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, which alone can break the power of capital. Workers' control of industry, communist organization of production, the abolition of parliamentary political forms,—that alone can assure the life and happiness of the workers, that alone can assure Socialism.

The experience of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany emphasizes the lessons of the Russian revolution: parliamentary, petty bourgeois moderate Socialism is the worst enemy of the militant proletariat. Only through revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship can the masses conquer power and realize Socialism.

Which International?

The most important problem of international Socialism, at this moment, is the acceptance or rejection of the Bolshevik call for a Communist Congress. It is important, since its purpose is to rally and integrate the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and Socialism for action and the conquest of power; and it is equally important as a test of the revolutionary character of the different Socialist Parties.

The minority, the Left Wing Socialist groups everywhere have enthusiastically accepted the call for an international Communist Congress. The Left Wing of the American Socialist Party has; and there is now a motion for a referendum to instruct the party's international delegates to participate only in an International Congress in which participate the Bolsheviks and the Spartans. But the old majority representatives of the party are silent, mostly, on this momentous issue; they are evading, perhaps waiting to see which way the cat will jump.

The Socialist Party of France, at its Congress the other day, voted down, 894 to 270, a motion to affiliate with the Bolshevik-Spartan Third International. The motion adopted was to affiliate with the Second International (of moderate, petty bourgeois "Socialism," which broke down miserably during the war and the proletarian revolution) providing that all those who are Socialists in name only shall be excluded. What a petty, miserable evasion, characteristic of Jean Longuet, who introduced the motion! The value of this proposed "exclusion" is tested by the fact that the Longuet majority does not exclude from its own party "those who are Socialists in name only."

On the other hand, the Socialist Party of Italy has proclaimed its uncompromising acceptance of the Bolshevik-Spartan International, and the revolutionary tactics this acceptance imposes. The Executive Committee of the Italian party has resolved to sever all connections with the old International Socialist Bureau and the old International. Its resolution is aggressive and incisive, a challenge to militant Socialism:

Whereas, the International Socialist Bureau is an instrument of the war policy of the pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie tending to mislead the proletariat, and is a real barrier to the reorganization of the Socialist Revolutionary International; and

Whereas, all the efforts of the International Socialist Bureau, now a hostage of the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the Entente, to restore the life and energy of the Socialist proletariat have been in vain; and

Whereas, the alliance concluded at Berne between the social-patriotic tendencies of Entente Imperialism and the social-patriotic tendencies of the Imperialism of the Central Empires brings into the open the reactionary character of all the factions who were false to the pledges made by the International in opposition to the bourgeoisie who threw the peoples into the war; and

Whereas, in consequence it is impossible to conceive the co-existence in a single organization of those who were loyal to the principles of the International and those who betrayed those principles and are still opposed to the realization of Socialism; and

Whereas, the International Bureau, instead of, as soon as the war ended, brining about the immediate convention of the parties and organizations affiliated with the Bureau, loaned itself to the work of making a success of the Berne conference, which was nothing less than a caricature of an International Socialist conference; therefore be it

Resolved, 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 by the Russian Communist Comrades at Moscow in the month of January for the convening of an International Socialist conference; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Committee shall carry active work to secure for the aforesaid purpose the adhesion of those Socialists of all countries who have remained faithful to the International, either by convening a preliminary meeting or by any other action deemed proper to attain the result sought.

This is an inescapable challenge to militant Socialism. A division is necessary in the International, and in our own movement. Which Socialism and which International. Comrades of the Socialist Party?

Bolshevikjabs

STATISTICIANS compute that if the words "Belgium," "Belgians," "Belgian," printed during the past five years were cut out and pasted together into a strip five inches wide it would go around the earth ten times, and that if the adjectives "poor little" were added the strip would go around the world fifteen times. The Belgians, however, say that on the other hand if the same words were printed every time they were uttered at the Peace Conference and then cut out and pasted together the strip resulting would be merely sufficient to blot out the first five headline letters of the term Peace Conference.

* * * *

Japan being an Oriental nation and not versed in the ways of Western diplomacy is most indiscreet. In a statement regarding the Korean situation recently issued the whole trouble is summed up as follows:—"The present trouble in Korea originated with a group of religious associations, some of which are Christian, and with certain students, who, unfortunately, bewildered by political ambition, misunderstand the term 'League of Nations' and misconstrue it as meaning 'self-determination.'" No wonder there is some doubt about allowing Japan the innermost—or should we say the least open covenants least openly arrived at—of the Peace Conference.

* * * *

Count Dentia Frazzo, member of the Italian Parliament, is quoted as denouncing "the Bolshevik rule for Russia." If all reports are true the worthy count will soon have the opportunity of denouncing "Bolshevik rule" much nearer home.

* * * *

It is reported that Premier Clemenceau is still wearing his old coat in order to "economize." It is reported that the French workers are economizing not only by wearing their old coats, but by tightening their belts.

* * * *

'Tis a pity that the workers can't take part in those diplomatic banquets at Paris. A worker of twenty could enjoy the food much more than 77-year old Clemenceau.

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The British White Book describing the "horrors" of Bolshevism in Russia, says that in Central Russia the linen industry is 50 per cent of normal, the woolen trade 60 per cent, coal production 60 per cent, the cotton mills 70 per cent. . . . The National Manufacturers' Association, after completing a survey of business in the United States, reports it as being 25 to 50 per cent normal. . . . Well?

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Is the United States worse off than Russia?

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Or are the figures a lying move to frighten the workers and get them to accept lower wages?

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"Rioting Continues in Indian Cities" says a headline. Poor England seems fated to be continually misunderstood, even in her spectacular sacrifices for small and subject peoples.

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The bourgeois liberal magazines are astonished at the Chinese puzzle of the Peace Conference's "policy" on Russia. Listen to this wail of *The New Republic*:

Another official Russian plan has just appeared, this time in the form of news given out by the State Department. The report is that Mr. Lansing has a policy. It is said to consist in the recognition of Admiral Kolchak and assistance to him for the prosecution of civil war. The bids in the Russian question, therefore, stand as follows:

1. Mr. Wilson and Mr. George in a signed letter to Dr. Nansen: "Cessation of hostilities and complete suspension of the transfer of troops and military material of all sorts to and within Russia's territory."

2. Mr. George to the House of Commons: "We are supplying munitions to Kolchak, Denikin and Kharkoff."

3. Mr. Lansing, supported by Mr. Wilson, according to the State Department: "Recognition of the Omsk government and military support to and within Russia's territory."

This can hardly be described as the clear and untroubled voice of reason speaking to a distracted world. Russian policy is still as difficult to follow as a Russian novel. The characters change their names so often, and their souls are so torn with conflicting emotions that their minds are stalled. It is time that somebody issued a guide book in which the relative value of letters, speeches and inspired dispatches was indicated by one, two and three asterisks.

May Day—and the Workers' Dead

MAY Day is the symbol of new life—of the germinal sap of Spring preparing to fructify in all the glory of the summer of joy and happiness.

There is a new life symbolized on Socialist May Day—the new life that is coming when the proletariat conquers Capitalism.

Our May Day is a day of life. But it is equally a day of death. The conscious rebel thinks on this day of the workers' dead—of the dead in the shops, mills and mines, of the dead in the social struggle against Capitalism. On more than one May Day have the armed forces of Capitalism meted out death to demoralizing workers.

On this May Day, the thought of our dead is emphatic and bitter, made so by our comrade-workers who are at this moment meeting death in Europe and Asia, death imposed by Capitalism in its fierce determination to retain supremacy.

In Russia, scores of thousands of our worker-comrades—men, women and children—have met death in the struggle against the exploiters, in the determination to make the world finer for those who are to come after them. They died in the struggle against Czarism, that putrid excrement of centuries; they died in the struggle against the compromiser Kerensky and the compromising "Socialists;" they died in the great revolution of November 7, and after in the struggle against the counter-revolution; they died in the struggle against German Imperialism; and they died in the struggle against the invaders that Allied Imperialism sent into Russia. And they are dying today, in the struggle against counter-revolution organized and financed by the Allies; more, *they are starving, a starvation deliberately imposed upon Soviet Russia by the brutal blockade of the Allies.*

But the Russian workers and peasants, who have seen the light of the glory of the new society of communist labor and fraternity, are patiently enduring death and starvation, in the flaming resolve to assure the world revolution against Capitalism.

At this moment, our worker-comrades in Germany are dying in the streets, to overthrow Capitalism and affiliate with Soviet Russia. They, too, are starving; many have not yet seen the glory; but the Spartacans—"the Socialist conscience of the Revolution"—are determinedly waging the revolutionary struggle. In spite of death, and all!

In Bavaria and in Hungary, our worker-comrades are dying to assure the supremacy of the Soviet Republic.

Workers are meeting death in Italy, France, Great Britain, *everywhere*, in the preliminary action that will soon flare up in the final revolutionary struggle against Capitalism.

Death in the workers' cause is not death, but life. In agony and in tears, in the shadow of the Valley of Death, the proletariat struggles onward to a finer world of life and love and liberty.

Death is the maker of life. Death is not death when used in the service of life. Life is not life when used in the service of death.

Capitalism threw our worker-comrades into a reactionary war, to meet starvation, death and mangling. It used life in the service of death—the death-in-life that is Capitalism. It used life against life, death for death.

Our worker-comrades in Europe are using death against death, life for life. They know the price, and they are paying the price.

But there is a world to conquer! There is life and liberty to gain!

It is a flaming, glorious death, this death secured in the inspiring struggle against the exploiters. It is a death that uplifts, that assures life.

In this struggle, Capitalism is doing its last killing.

There is protest against making death in the great social struggle. But it is Capitalism that makes the

dead in the revolutionary struggle. And think of the dead that Capitalism makes in the piping days of peace.

In the days of peace, our worker-comrades meet death in the shops, mills and mines. They are mangled by the machines; they are killed by industrial diseases; they die from over-work and under-nourishment; they die by the scores of thousands from industrial accidents. Our worker-comrades in the mills, shops and mines die slowly and they die quickly; but they die. And their wives and their children die from too much work, from starvation, from that evil thing which is Capitalism.

These dead are dead in the service of Capitalism. They die to make profits for the capitalists, to assure the supremacy of Capitalism. It is a miserable, tragic death.

Capitalism is terror: Capitalism is death.

Not satisfied with the dead it makes in industry, Capitalism plunges the world into war and accelerates the process of killing the men and women of the proletariat.

There is revolt against Capitalism. And there is death. But it is the death glorious. It is a flaming death, not the tortured death of the slave who accepts his slavery.

On May Day, we think of our dead. Our souls flame out in joy and glory at the thought of our dead in the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism. Theirs is the death supreme. . . . We think of our other dead, who met death in industry and in the holes that are the homes of the poor. And our hearts droop in sorrow—momentarily; for our hearts on May Day cannot harbor sorrow, but determination and inspiration to end Capitalism that makes death necessary in order to attain life.

On this May Day, let us resolve to devote all to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, to conquer finally that for which the workers' dead have died.

The Old Strike and the New

By Richard Hansen

THERE are two obvious reasons for the strike wave that is rising up from coast to coast all over the United States—two urgent problems that confront the working class of America and demand immediate solution, to prevent reduction in wages and to actually better conditions.

Any demands of the workers for something better, something worthwhile is considered dangerous, and consequently—scores of cities and towns of 100% patriots of yesterday turn "pro-German", "foreign" and "Bolsheviki" to-day.

The capitalists are ready to trample their wage slaves in the gutter, they have mobilized all their forces and are using them with the sinister determination of clinging to their absolute control over the means of human existence, of maintaining their bloody supremacy. The publicity agencies flood the country with poisonous and disruptive lies, the military and the judiciary institutions work with regular martial savagery—in order to nip in the bud the struggle of the working class. The capitalist ridden so-called labor organizations, the old fashioned leaders and labor fakers furnish great services to the enemy class. These are most dangerous in their injury to the labor class.

No wonder that great confusion is manifested in the ranks of the brave fighters of the working class. Their minds are infested with the old ideas, they are overwhelmed by the capitalist lies and by the follies of the labor fakers, who instead of guiding and organizing strikes are interfering with and obstructing them.

The old philosophy is: that this is no time for striking, that business is slack, and that therefore the workers should wait until the next period of prosperity—and then strike, or rather beg for a job, for an increase in wages, if they are still slaves by that time.

Another opportunist puts it this way: "You are not organized, you cannot think of a strike. Get busy, make your shop 100 per cent. unionized, fill your treasury and then—then you will not need to strike—then you will get everything without striking."

That, in a nutshell, is the whole philosophy of the old-fashioned strike. There certainly is an appendix to it, namely: if "everything" could not be obtained by begging and bargaining—then go out, but be sure to beware of sympathetic strikes, of general walk-outs and of other such heresies. Just stay out, as you went, and consume the savings of your

union. When you are broke again, just walk back as if nothing had happened. And do not forget to fill the treasury of your union anew.

After this you can begin this merry-go-round over and over again until eternity.

The high phrases of democracy and of the American standard of living which should not be lowered are forgotten completely. The fakers are willing to let the hundreds of thousands—the millions—of working men die from hunger on the streets were they thrown in midwinter and where their ranks are still growing. The fakers willing to submit to wage reductions while playing the shrewd game of arbitration—although being fully aware of the sterility of all the various Labor Boards of Arbitration and conciliation.

The unique and strongest weapon in the possession of working class—the strike, has been annulled by the old labor leaders. And it is being used to the detriment of the workers, for instance in the textile industry—The John Golden clique fomented unrest and "threatened" strikes in order to obtain 12 1-2 per cent reduction of the "royal" weekly wages of 13 1-2 dollars of the textile workers. Apparently these fakers are working under the direction of the Woolen Trust and the famous Arkwright Club.

The real magnificent strike—like the Seattle general strike—are denounced and damned by the Gompers gang although this strike was led by bona-fide bodies of the American Federation of Labor

To postpone strikes until "periods" of prosperity, until the bosses begin to look for men instead of being annoyed by job seekers is folly, because during the most normal and prosperous periods the labor market is just as crowded. The army of the unemployed is always there—to furnish scabs in addition to the organized scabbery of the Gompers gang.

To postpone strikes until the shops are 100 per cent organized and until the treasuries are full is another fairy tale. The work of organization has been conducted energetically for decades—and where are we at present? Have we organized 10 per cent. of the workers in America? Where are the remaining 90 per cent? How many centuries will be needed to bring them into unions? By that time all of us will have died of starvation and of vile working conditions. Besides—organization in itself is an empty word; it can be used for bad as well as good purposes. For

instance, wouldn't it be of tremendous beneficial for the cause of the workers of America if the Gompers ridden part of Labor Organization didn't exist at all?

Essential as it is, the conscious organization of labor can never embrace the whole class or even the majority of it. To think of it is Utopian. To wait for it and to postpone the struggle on that account is a criminal folly. The forces of capitalism are too powerful to permit such a union to spread peacefully and to absorb a considerable part of the working class.

The process of organization itself—of forming class conscious fighting unions—requires strikes. The best unions have been born during the storms of actual struggles.

Pull a strike wherever you can—if you want a good organization. Where the circumstances warrant, where there exists sentiment—pull a strike. Stir up the existing unrest to open flames if you want an organization.

Throw into the waste basket the old concept that a strike, once begun, must be continued for months! On the contrary—let them be brief, let them last just as long as is needed to furnish the strikers with some education in class struggle. Continuous meetings and daily leaflets on the situation are the most essential points of the program while the strike lasts. For men, who cannot spare a nickel a day for dues on account of low wages—even a week may appear a fairly long time. This education should make every man understand that in a strike, as in every war, retreats and attacks are used and both are necessary for victory. Every participant in case of war must be ready to retreat—that is go back into the shops like an organized army with the grim determination to come out again, to fall upon the enemy at any moment with new energy and better equipment. If such education is obtained if the eyes of the strikers are opened as much as that—then even a so-called lost strike is a magnificent victory.

This is not an idle theory, but a very practical suggestion—applied with great success under almost the bad political conditions as prevail at present here in America, namely—under the regime of the Czar Nicholas, the last of Russia.

The American workers are seething with unrest—they can't remain uninfluenced by the labor struggles glorious victories in different countries of Europe and other parts of the world. The economic conditions in America are over-ripe for revolution. Isolated strikes are bound to become more general, more conscious in their means and ends.

After One Year in Soviet Russia

By N. Lenin

Translated by R. HANSEN

Address to the Convention of Delegates of the Committees of Agricultural Laborers (Poor Peasants) and Agricultural Communes (December, 1918).

COMRADES: The composition of this convention in itself indicates, in my opinion, the considerable change and the big step forward that has been made by us, the Soviet Republic, in the field of Socialist reconstruction; and particularly in adjusting our agricultural relations, the most important for our country. In this convention are united representatives from the Land Committees, from the Committees of the Poor Peasants, and from the agricultural communes; and this unity shows that during a brief period—just a year—our Revolution has gone very far in reconstructing those relations which are the hardest to change, which in previous revolutions were the most difficult obstacles to Socialism, and which require fundamental reconstruction in order to insure the victory of Socialism.

The first period, the first link in the development of our Revolution was characterised mainly by the victory over the common enemy of the peasantry, the victory over the *pomieschicks* (land-owning nobility).

All of you comrades know very well that the March (1917) Revolution—the Revolution of the bourgeoisie and the compromisers—promised this victory over the land-owners, but did not fulfill the promise. Only the November Revolution and the victory of the proletariat in the cities, only the power of the Soviets made it possible in reality to clean up all Russia from end to end of the disease of serfdom, to deliver the peasantry from the old feudal exploitation, from feudal land-ownership, and generally from the yoke of the *pomieschicks*.

In this struggle against the land-owners, the peasants rose in mass. They couldn't do otherwise. In this struggle were united all the poor peasants, those who did not live by hiring and exploiting other men. In this struggle, also, were united the most prosperous and richest of the peasantry, who cannot exist without hired labor.

While our Revolution had this task on its hands, while it had to use all the efforts of the united poor peasantry and the city proletariat in order to annihilate the power of the land-owners, the Revolution had to remain a peasant's, an agrarian revolution, and couldn't break through its bourgeois limits.

The Revolution as yet didn't touch the more powerful and more modern enemy of the toilers—Capital. There was danger that it would end half way, as did the revolutions of western Europe, where the united efforts of the peasantry and the proletariat destroyed the monarchies, and more or less completely annihilated the remnants of feudalism and feudal land-ownership, but where the fundamentals of the power of Capitalism were not affected.

And this much more important and most difficult task we started to accomplish at the end of the summer of 1918 and in the fall, by means of our Revolution. The counter-revolutionary movement, which began in the summer of 1917, became very strong. The invading armies of the imperialists of western Europe were re-inforced by the hireling Czecho-Slovaks and by all the forces of exploitation and oppression still existent in Russia. This counter-revolutionary movement developed new currents and a new life in the rural districts.

The desperate counter-revolts against the Soviets brought together all the European imperialists, the Czecho-Slovaks and everyone in Russia who stood for the feudal land-owners and Capitalism. The rich peasants joined the counter-revolutionary movement.

The rural districts ceased to be united. The peasants who had fought as one man against the land-owners (*pomieschicks*) were split into two antagonistic groups, the rich and the poor peasants.

The poorest toiling peasants went hand in hand with the proletariat toward Socialism, continuing the struggle against Capitalism. The feudal nobility being eliminated they now had to fight against the power of money, against the speculators and the rich peasants, who tried to use the great change in land-ownership for their own personal profit. In this struggle all the bourgeois and exploiting classes were swept aside, and our revolution started as a whole on the march toward Socialism, which the city proletariat had initiated in November, 1917; but which did not become general—and never could—until the rural population, the peasantry, gave the proletariat united and determined support.

There we have the tremendously important link of our Revolution forged during the last summer and autumn. The Revolution penetrated the most backward and isolated sections of Russia, spreading all through the rural districts. It was not quite so spectacular and conspicuous a movement as the *coup d'etat* of November 1917, but of much more importance and deeper significance.

The forming of Committees of the Poor (agricultural laborers, hired farm-workers) in the villages signaled that the fight against the nobility was completed and that the working class had begun the much harder and historically much more important struggle for Socialism. It was an immense task to awaken the class-consciousness of the agricultural laborers and poorest peasants, and to weld them into one class with the city proletariat. Without this, the decree socializing the land would have been a paper decree. The agricultural laborers and the poorest peasants, together with all those who do not exploit other men and do not live upon the toil of others, constitute the vast majority of the people. They are not interested in the continuance of exploitation, and were capable of going beyond the abolition of the feudal land-owners. They did go beyond this, emerging definitely into the proletarian struggle against Capitalism and for the establishment of Socialism.

This was the difficult task. Everybody who doubted the possibility of a Socialist revolution in our country prophesied inevitable failure in this task. Upon it depends our success in the future. The formation of committees of the agricultural laborers and poorest peasants, that soon covered the whole country like a net, the growth and transformation of these committees into actual and powerful Soviets, was destined to assume control of the proletarian constructive work in rural Russia. This is the distinctive feature of our Revolution, that differs so profoundly from the usual bourgeois democratic revolutions of western Europe.

No doubt, in a country so dominantly agricultural as Russia, Socialist reconstruction is hampered by very large obstacles. It was comparatively an easy job to depose the Czar, to abolish the power of the nobility. This was accomplished in a few days in the larger centres, in a few weeks all over the country. But the problem we are facing now can be solved only through a long period of hard work. Here we must go on step by step, inch by inch, to conquer Russia for actual Socialism, to cultivate land on a communistic basis.

And it is obvious that the transition from individual small farming to communistic production will require a long period. It cannot be done in a day.

We know very well that in countries where small farming is predominant, the transition to Socialism requires many preliminary measures and gradual steps. Being aware of this during the November Revolution we put forward only the demand for the confiscation of the lands of the nobility—we made every effort to sweep away the power of the *pomieschicks*. Later on (March 1918) the new law of the socialization of land was introduced unanimously, by the representatives of the communist workers as well as by the peasants' delegates to the Soviets, who were not as yet communists. This law is the embodiment of the will and aspirations of the majority of the peasants, and it shows at the same time that the proletariat and the Communist Party (Bolsheviki), being aware of their duties, are relentlessly and patiently pursuing the path of Socialist reconstruction, taking systematic steps to awaken the poorer peasantry. Every step forward is based upon this awakening and organization of the peasantry.

We know very well that such a reconstruction in the life of tens of millions of people, which is transforming the deepest foundations of everyday relations and habits—the transition from private individual production to communist agriculture—is to be accomplished only by prolonged and insistent efforts, can be accomplished only when necessity compels the people to reconstruct their life.

And after the long and terrible world war we can perceive the beginning of the social revolution all over the world. Even in the most backward countries there now exists a necessity that—independent of all theories or Socialistic teachings,—speaks authoritatively to each and everyone that life cannot go on as before.

When a country has suffered such a gigantic destruction and has been thrown into chaos, when we see that this chaos is being spread all over the world, that all the results of civilization, science and technique acquired by humanity during ages of unrelenting toil—when we see all this wantonly destroyed in four years of a capitalistic war of plunder and conquest, when all of Europe has been brought back to barbarism—then the broad masses and especially the peasants, who suffered most of all from this war, begin to realize

that all forces and extraordinary efforts must be exercised in order to get rid of this inheritance of the damned war, that has brought us on the brink of utter exhaustion and misery. It has become impossible to continue to live as we did before the war, it has become impossible to continue the wastage of human energy in primitive production on a small individual basis. The results of human labor would be doubled or trebled, the conservation of human energy would be doubled or trebled if communistic production could be put in place of individual private production.

The devastation that we inherited from the war does not permit us to restore this system of small agricultural production. More than that. The majority of the peasants not only have been awakened by the war, not only are they aware of the wonders of technique for purposes of destruction of men and goods, but they are awakened also to the consciousness, that this marvelous technique must be applied in the most necessary and most backward branch of human economies—in agriculture. This applies to science which has been utilized for sinister purposes of Capitalism, from now on must serve humanity. Our duty is to turn agriculture to new roads, to abolish the old primitive methods and base production on the very last conquest of science and the achievements of modern technique. The consciousness of this necessity has been awakened by the war in higher degree than we really appreciate. Besides this awakening, the war also made a return to old methods quite impossible.

Those people who cherished the hopes of restoration of the old, are compelled to realize their blunder more and more with every passing day. The destruction brought about by the war was so monstrous, that our small individual farms do not have either cattle or implements or tools. The limit was reached. The poorest toiling peasantry, which gave highest number of martyrs for the revolution, which were most terribly victimized by the war—did not take the land from the nobility for the purpose of turning it over to the speculators from their own class—to the rich peasants. Before this poor peasantry life itself puts the problem of communism in agriculture, as the only means of restoring the civilization that was annihilated by war, as the only way out of the darkness, the misery and the oppression—these "blessings" of Capitalism for the peasants—which gave to the capitalists the possibility of torturing humanity for the war for four years, and from which the toilers have decided to liberate themselves all over the world.

Comrades, when we adopted the law of socialization of the land there was no full unity of opinion between the Communists and other parties. The left wing of Social-Revolutionists, who supported the Soviets, did not believe in communism in agriculture. And nevertheless the vote was unanimous. And this communistic law prevails and is gaining ground. The struggle in cities was simple. There we got a thousand workers against one capitalist. In rural districts the struggle became more complicated. The first onrush against the noble land-owners was crowned with complete and easy victory. Then the struggle among the peasantry itself took root. The speculators and exploiters of the peasant class set out to get fortunes out of the spoils and from the sufferings of the hungry industrial proletariat of the cities. A number of riots and revolts occurred during the summer of 1918. Later on we had to adjust the relations between the poorest and the medium, small peasantry. And our policy was to unite these two groups. The medium, small peasants are not enemies of the Soviets, neither of the proletariat, nor do they oppose Socialism. Certainly they are unreliable, they are with us only when they see on practical grounds, that socialization is a measure of necessity. They cannot be converted by theoretical discussion or by propaganda. We don't have illusions on that score. But they are being converted by the example set by the determined unity of the toiling peasantry with the city proletariat. Gradually during a longer period, by a number of transitory measures, the unity of the communists with the medium, small peasantry can be accomplished successfully.

The policy of the Soviets in agriculture is the introduction of communism all over the country. In this direction they are working systematically. For this purpose the Soviets are organizing land communes under their own management. To this end are made the provisions that the priority of the utilization of land belongs to the state, then to public organizations, next to agricultural communes. These provisions are necessary for the transition to complete Communism.

The Soviets are using unrelenting efforts to this end. They assigned a billion rubbles for improvements, provided that this sum is spent for transition to communal production.

Welcome — Soldiers and Sailors!

By Eadmonn MacAlpine

WHEN the United States entered the war the problem of withdrawing two million men from industry was one of the vital topics of the day. Many suggestions of more or less value were offered whereby this huge depletion of industry could be effected without throwing the whole industrial machinery out of gear. The army of unemployed, which is one of the concomitants of Capitalism, and the influx of women into industry, however, solved the problem without the aid of the experts. Nevertheless much ink was spilled and great anxiety for the welfare of the country was manifested.

But now that we are faced with the much greater problem of turning two million men back into industry the experts, for the most part, are silent and the newspapers and magazines are apparently ignorant of the entire subject. The soldier, who during the war was a hero, the idol of the crowd, the darling of the nation, has now become a disagreeable problem. He is no longer mentioned in polite society. After he has been brought back, paraded through the streets and showered with the verbal laurels, he is expected to return to the obscurity from which he sprang and to take his place in the ranks of the jobless, not as a returned soldier, wearing a uniform with service chevrons and would stripes on the sleeves, but as an ordinary member of the proletariat, who through hard luck is out of a job, to whom society owes nothing and who must expect nothing from society.

When he insists on looking for work in his uniform he is covertly reproached for his lack of taste, and when he very naturally replies that he is in uniform because he has no civilian clothes, society assumes an air of injured dignity and says "something must be done." The "something" usually takes the form of a charity bazaar or concert, and when it is found that the soldier cannot be comfortably disposed of in the same way as our industrial cripples—by relegation to an institution—society becomes very annoyed indeed and leaves him to his own resources.

It must not be assumed, however, that the returned soldier is not welcomed. On the contrary, he is very welcome. All the newspapers say so, electric signs blazon forth the fact to the world by night, while appropriately colored posters herald it by day. Every railroad in the country announces the fact; aldermanic resolutions inscribe it on city records; triumphal arches, monuments of the contractor's art, (and the bills for same, monuments to his imagination), establish it beyond dispute. There is no lack of the external symbols of welcome. And every succeeding troopship that reaches port is a signal for new parades. But after being welcomed the soldier is supposed to gracefully disappear.

When he sailed away to France, service flags were flung to the breeze. Every employer hung out a banner, the number of whose stars told the immensity of the sacrifice made by the firm in allowing its employees to march off to war, hired new employees and forgot about the matter until the casualty list caused the substitution of a gold star for one of the blue ones. Now the service flags have disappeared, and the suggestion that it should be replaced by a flag showing the number of returned soldiers reinstated in their old jobs is quietly ignored. The truth of the matter is that the employer, being first and last a business

man, does not want men who have developed the independence and self-reliance that comes to those who have stared death in the face.

The master dearly loves a willing slave, and the employe whose slave training is unbroken by adventure in foreign fields invariably proves the better servant. The man who has daily brushed shoulders with death is not likely to cower before a foreman's glance. And so the returned soldier's welcome ceases when he returns to civilian life and offers himself for sale in the labor market. He has been welcomed and feted and he must step down to make room for the next batch who will be welcomed and feted in its turn.

But the returned soldier must live, he must find employment, and what better occupation could he get than assisting in the welcome to his brothers in arms? A new industry is created by the spirit of welcome, flags and buttons proclaiming the welcome are manufactured and offered for sale. And who can refuse to buy from a soldier, especially if he has been wounded in the country's service? Here is the solution of the problem! Let the soldier sell the welcome buttons—the soldier is kept busy, the public is ashamed to refuse the salesman, and the manufacturer makes money.

Thus the streets of our cities are swarming with soldiers in uniform, offering gaudy buttons and bunting for sale. Fine up-standing fellows are reduced to street hawking, and street hawking is a hard job. The returns are small, the hours of work are long and the experience is humiliating. After a spell of this work the spirit is broken and the slave psychology again gains the ascendancy. Any job, where the begging element is absent, is welcome and the foreman's glance regains its old power.

It is only fair to give honor where honor is due, and some cities have attempted to make provision for the returned soldiers. New York is a notable example. The city fathers have decided that soldiers shall have precedence in the matter of licences for newstands, street corner stores, etc. The intensity of the scramble for a living is depended upon to render the soldier blind to the fact that in this manner old men and women will be deprived of their livelihood and the city fathers know that it is easier to deal with starving hawkers than with out-of-work soldiers.

The provisions made by a grateful country for its returned soldiers have not yet been exhausted. The sweep of revolution across the world has not left America unmoved. Labor is everywhere manifesting the spirit of unrest and strikes are a daily occurrence, so the soldier is offered the job of strike breaking. Himself suffering under the rule of the industrial barons the soldier is expected to jump at the offer of earning a few dollars by scabbing on his brother in industry who is in revolt against intolerable conditions. Being hardened in the fire of war the soldier is thought to be impervious to the plea of the women and children out of whose mouths he is to snatch the bread! This is the final insult heaped on the soldier by the professional patriots.

But the soldier has a better opinion of himself than

have his eulogizers. In almost every case he has refused to scab. A case in point is furnished in Holyoke, Massachusetts: In one of the shops 200 boiler-makers went on strike against a cut in wages. About thirty soldiers were sent to the plant from Springfield, a distance of about ten miles. When they arrived the strikers' pickets informed them that the shop was on strike, whereupon the soldiers unanimously refused to enter the premises, some of them, it is said, walking back to Springfield because they were unable to afford the carfare. Incidents of this kind are numerous and the evidence obtainable overwhelmingly proves that not only is the soldier unwilling to become a strike-breaker but he actively sympathizes with the strikers, going out on the picket lines with his former fellow workers, as in Butte, Seattle, Lawrence, Paterson, and Newark. In fact, the presence of soldiers in uniform on the picket lines has caused an order to be issued which amounts to prohibiting the soldier from striking or taking part in a strike in his capacity as a returned soldier.

So long, however, as the soldier acts as an individual, so long he will be subjected to these indignities; no matter how much he sympathizes with his brother in the shop he will be powerless to help him, no matter how pitiful is his own plight he will be powerless to help himself. The only solution is organization. But the organization must be along industrial lines, along the lines of his class. Societies similar to those formed by the veterans of other wars are worse than useless as they use the soldier against himself. Mutual admiration societies, however much they may pander to the vanity of the individual soldier, are a danger to his interests and invariably degenerate into a machine for utilizing his vote in the interests of a particular group of politicians.

The soldier and sailor must organize, not as heroes but as men. They must unite with the workers in industry. They must organize without any "letters patent" and they must themselves control the organization. They must recognize their citizenship, their basic unity of interest with their brothers in industry and they must unite their organization with that of the workers through Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers' Councils.

The bourgeois statesmen of the world have proved their inability to face the real problems arising out of the war, they have demonstrated their bankruptcy alike in power and ability. If the world is to be saved from future misery and chaos the proletariat must decide, and the soldiers and sailors are by no means the least important sections of the proletariat. Organization along the proper lines is the solution of the immediate problems facing the soldiers and sailors. If those who have already returned will form and perfect such organization they can assure their brothers in arms, who are yet across the seas, a real Welcome Home, a welcome in which the men and women in the workshops, factories, fields and mines—the men and women who want to welcome Jack and Bill and Tom—can join without the reservation caused by fear of unemployment in their hearts.

Lenin or Wilson — the Bourgeoisie Scents Danger

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

IF one could, for a moment, take himself to the skies and secure a bird's-eye view of the stormy, bloody struggle, the sufferings and tears that are agonizing our world, it would appear clearly as a struggle between Bolshevism and Capitalism—a deadly clash between the new, glorious proletarian-communist society towards which humanity is advancing, and the old rotting capitalist system which is desperately trying to save itself from destruction.

The ultimate result of this clash—which the bourgeois press, accustomed to think in terms of "great men," calls a struggle "between Lenin and Wilson"—is easily foretold. At this moment, the forces of the two opponents are almost equal; but the forces of one, the revolutionary proletariat, grow and multiply, while the forces of the other, Capitalism, are rapidly on the wane.

It is quite natural, accordingly, that a view of this great spectacle of struggle and revolution provokes a feeling of sadness in the bourgeois press.

Precisely this spirit is wafted from an editorial recently appearing in the big bourgeois paper, the *New York American*:

"The fate of the world is being decided not in Paris, but in Berlin." This is the tragic announcement, at the very beginning of the editorial. But as you may glean from a further reading of the editorial, and

particularly, if you are capable of reading between the lines—the real situation which evokes this spirit of resignation is that the "fate of the world" is being decided, not in Berlin, but in—Moscow. . . . Berlin, in this case, plays the part of a "dam" which holds back the Bolshevik revolutionary stream that threatens to flood the whole of Europe.

It is not surprising that the thought of the writer of the editorial runs ahead of events, and paints a lurid picture, full of horrors, of what may happen when "this last defense of Europe against anarchy" will be destroyed and "Prussia fall into the hands of the Reds."

And the picture, indeed, is a terrible one! . . . "The other governments of Europe will tumble in swift ruins. . . . It is impossible that either the French or Italian Governments can retain power over their proletariats if the resources and population of Germany and Austria are added to the vast territory and the millions of people over which the Red Flag now waves."

And, for the information of those who doubt that France and Italy might become "victims" of Bolshevism, the *American* says:

"Every well informed man knows that the Reds in

France and Italy and in England, too, are eagerly waiting to strike great blows for the International, and that the signal for these blows would be the Red Flag waving over Berlin and the message that the Red Armies of Russia, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria and Hungary were marching to the help of their comrades in Paris and in Rome."

"Red Flag and the Hymn of the International are neither one new to France or to Italy. And there are millions of Frenchmen and Italians ready to be led to march under the blood colored banner, singing the songs of revolution. . . ."

In horror at this picture painted by his imagination, the writer of the *American* editorial turns to the statesmen sitting at the Peace Conference in Paris with the appeal to lessen their bellicose spirit and spare "democratic Germany," and not to throw it into the embrace of the "reds" by too exacting and humiliating demands.

"Remember,"—the *American* cautions severely, but at the same time softly—"remember, if Berlin falls beneath the blows of Bolshevism, the Peace Conference will be lucky if it can find ships to carry its members away from Europe."

Have not these "words of caution" something to do with events at Murmansk among the American troops, and our own situation in this country?

A Call to the Workers of the World

PROLETARIANS! Men and Women of Labor! Comrades!

The revolution in Germany has come! The masses of the soldiers who for four years were driven to slaughter for the sake of capitalistic profits; the masses of workers, who for four years were exploited, crushed, and starved, have revolted. Prussian militarism, that fearful tool of oppression, that scourge of humanity—lies broken on the ground. Its most noticeable representatives, and therewith the most noticeable of those guilty of this war, the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, have fled from the country. Workers' and Soldiers' Councils have been formed everywhere.

Workers of all countries, we do not say that in Germany all power actually lies in the hands of the working people, that the complete triumph of the proletarian revolution has already been attained. There still sit in the government all those Socialists who in August, 1914, abandoned our most precious possession, the International, who for four years betrayed the German working class and the International.

But, workers of all countries, now the German proletarian himself speaks to you. We believe we have the right to appear before your forum in his name. From the first day of this war we endeavored to do our international duty by fighting that criminal government with all our power and branding it as the one really guilty of the war.

Now at this moment we are justified before history, before the International and before the German proletariat. The masses agree with us enthusiastically, constantly widening circles of the proletariat share the conviction that the hour has struck for a settlement with capitalistic class rule.

But this great task cannot be accomplished by the German proletariat alone; it can only fight and triumph by appealing to the solidarity of the proletarians of the whole world.

Comrades of the belligerent countries, we are aware of your situation. We know full well that your governments, now that they have won the victory, are dazzling the eyes of many strata of the people with the external brilliancy of their triumph. We know that they thus succeed through the success of the murdering in making its causes and aims forgotten.

But we also know that in your countries the proletariat made the most fearful sacrifices of flesh and blood, that it is weary of the dreadful butchery, that the proletarian is now returning to his home, and is finding want and misery there, while fortunes amounting to billions are heaped up in the hands of a few capitalists. He has recognized, and will continue to recognize, that your governments, too, have carried on the war for the sake of the big money bags. And he will further perceive that your governments, when they spoke of "justice and civilization" and of the

The revolutionary aspirations of May Day are magnificently expressed in this appeal of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, issued Decemb 25, 1918.

"protection of small nations," meant capitalist profits as surely as did ours when it talked about the "defence of home"; and that the peace of "justice" and of the "League of Nations" are but a part of the same base brigandage that produced the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Here as well as there the same shameless lust for booty, the same desire for oppression, the same determination to exploit to the limit the brutal preponderance of murderous steel.

The Imperialism of all countries knows no "understanding," it knows only one right—capital's profits; it knows only one language—the sword; it knows only one method—violence. And if it is now talking in all countries, in yours as well ours, about the "League of Nations," "disarmament," "rights of small nations," "self-determination of the peoples," it is merely using the customary lying phrases of the rulers for the purpose of lulling to sleep the watchfulness of the proletariat.

Proletarians of all countries! This must be the last war! We owe that to the twelve million murdered victims, we owe that to our children, we owe that to humanity.

Europe has been ruined by this damnable slaughter. Twelve million bodies cover the grewsome scenes of this imperialistic crime. The flower of youth and the best man power of the peoples have been mowed down. Uncounted productive forces have been annihilated. Humanity is almost ready to bleed to death from the unexampled blood-letting of history. Victors and vanquished stand at the edge of the abyss. Humanity is threatened with famine, a stoppage of the entire mechanism of production, plagues, and degeneration.

The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this unchained chaos—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is incapable of banishing it, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

Socialism alone is in a position to complete the great work of permanent peace, to heal the thousand wounds from which humanity is bleeding, to transform the plains of Europe, trampled down by the passage of the apocryphal horseman of war, into blossoming gardens, to conjure up ten productive forces for every one

destroyed, to awaken all the physical and moral energies of humanity, and to replace hatred and dissension with internal solidarity, harmony, and respect for every human being.

If representatives of the proletarians of all countries could but clasp hands under the banner of Socialism for the purpose of making peace, then peace would be concluded in a few hours. Then there will be no disputed questions about the left bank of the Rhine, Mesopotamia, Egypt or colonies. Then there will be only one people: the toiling human beings of all races and tongues. Then there will be only one right: the equality of all men. Then there will be only one aim: prosperity and progress for everybody.

Humanity is facing the alternative: Dissolution and downfall in capitalist anarchy, or regeneration through the social revolution. The hour of fate has struck. If you believe in Socialism, it is now time to show it by deeds. If you are Socialists, now is the time to act.

Proletarians of all countries, if we now summon you for a common struggle it is not done for the sake of the German capitalists who, under the label of "German nation," are trying to escape the consequences of their own crimes; it is being done for your sake as well as for ours. Remember that your victorious capitalists stand ready to suppress in blood our revolution, which they fear as they do their own. You yourselves have not become any freer through the "victory," you have only become still more enslaved. If your ruling classes succeed in throttling the proletarian revolution in Germany, and in Russia, then they will turn against you with redoubled violence. Your capitalists hope that victory over us and over revolutionary Russia will give them the power to scourge you with a whip of scorpions.

Therefore the proletariat of Germany looks toward you in this hour. Germany is pregnant with the social revolution, but Socialism can only be realized by the proletariat of the world.

And therefore, we call to you: "Arise for the struggle! Arise for action! The time for empty manifestos, platonic resolutions, and high-sounding words is gone! The hour of action has struck for the International!" We ask you to elect Workers' and Soldiers' Councils everywhere that will seize political power, and, together with us, will restore peace.

Not Lloyd George and Poincare, not Sonnino, Wilson, and Erzberger or Scheidemann, must be allowed to make peace. Peace must be concluded under the waving banner of the Socialist world revolution.

Proletarians of all countries! We call upon you to complete the work of Socialist liberation, to give a human aspect to the disfigured world and to make true those words with which we often greeted each other in the old days and which we sang as we parted: "And the Internationale shall be the human race!"

Bourgeois or Proletarian Dictatorship — Which?

By A. Nyemanov

THE dark forces of Capitalism always avail themselves of the opportunity, at any favorable moment, to raise a howl about the "horrors" of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. To Russia is now added the Soviet Republics of Hungary, and Bavaria. Every opportunity and every means are used to spread condemnation and calumny. In the press, the churches, clubs, theatres, parliaments and courts, the bourgeoisie and the agents of the bourgeoisie hypocritically express their "indignation" at the fact that, the proletariat of Russia, Hungary and Bavaria having become the ruling class, it deals blow after blow mercilessly at the class of the exploiters. Look—say these impudent lackeys of Capitalism—the Soviet Government rejects "freedom" of the press, "freedom" of assemblage; it deprives the people of the right to the franchise; it prosecutes and even throws into prison those who until now were considered the "elite" of society.

To be sure: the proletariat of Russia, Hungary and Bavaria, having become the ruling class, builds its policy in accordance with its class interests. Fearlessly, it introduces measures which are dictated by the interests of the proletariat and the poor (proletarian) peasantry. Needless to say, all the measures of the Soviet Government in Russia, Hungary and Bavaria are directed toward one object—to raise the oppressed class economically, politically and socially, and crush the oppressors: to end the division of society into classes. If the accomplishment of this requires the application of forcible measures against the bourgeoisie, these measures are determined by the logic of the class struggle, by the dominant majority of the proletariat and proletarian peasantry.

But has the bourgeoisie the right to attack the proletarian dictatorship when it itself everywhere has

established an iron dictatorship of the bourgeois class?

When a delegation of Norwegian journalists interviewed Lenin, in March, and asked him concerning the suppression of "freedom" in Soviet Russia, Lenin advised them to go to Siberia and compare the bourgeois dictatorship there with the dictatorship of the Socialist proletariat.

We know already how Admiral Kolchak, that hireling of the Russian and Allied bourgeoisie, deals not only with the Bolsheviks but with his own former supporters—the social-patriots. Kolchak suppresses them both, thoroughly, brutally.

The Kolchak dictatorship—which the Peace Conference in Paris apparently wishes to recognize—is an eloquent example of bourgeois dictatorship in all countries. If there is any difference between the Kolchak dictatorship in Siberia and the dictatorship in Italy, France, India and Egypt, in any capitalistic country, the difference is purely formal. And always the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is the dictatorship of the propertied, privileged minority against the vast majority of the people, the toiling masses.

Let us take as an example the coterie of Allied diplomats now sitting in Conference on Peace in Paris. Do they realize, in fact, the dictatorship of the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the Allies, a dictatorship directed against not alone the proletariat, but against the whole peoples (Russian, German, Hungarian)?

When a clique of British imperialists applies violent measures to crush the Hindus, Egyptians and other oppressed peoples, is not this a dictatorship of

an insignificant minority over an overwhelming majority?

The bourgeoisie, with the aid of the press, parliaments, courts and prisons, in a most cynical and brutal manner crushes down the least move of the working class to better its conditions. Martial law and "states of siege" are not an exception but the rule in bourgeois society. The so-called "freedom" of the press in bourgeois society is an obvious mockery of real freedom of the press. Consider our own American press. The proprietors of our "big" newspapers are large capitalists and financiers, possessing excellently equipped printing plants, their own factories where paper is manufactured for them, and their own large capital. The whole of the "influential" press is in the hands of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, the big capitalists. Where does even the most elementary freedom of the press come in when the organs of information and publicity are under the vigilant eye and the rigid control of the large capitalists? As Lenin phrases it, "the so-called freedom of the press in bourgeois society is simply the freedom of the bourgeoisie to deceive the people."

Against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, defending the interests of all the toiling masses of the people, has the full right to introduce its own concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only is this its right, it is its duty. The hysterical cries of "indignation" on the part of representatives of bourgeois society against the ideas and the practice of proletarian dictatorship are merely the impertinent hypocrisy and fraud of deceivers and oppressors, who for centuries have plundered the people. There is no sense in arguing with them or "moralizing" with them. There is one answer to them—proletarian dictatorship itself.

Soviet Russia Answers the Allies

*Letter of Maxim Litvinoff and Worovski
(Soviet Ambassador in Sweden) to a Socialist*

Recognition or Invasion

*From a note of Maxim Litvinoff to President Wilson,
December 24, 1918.*

REFERRING to your letter of December 30th, we regret that we cannot share your opinion of what you consider to be the necessity of the Soviet Government's making an immediate declaration as to the conditions on the basis of which that Government would be ready to conclude peace with the Allies. We know that when the Allies, being the offending party, shall formulate their demands on the Soviet Government, the latter will not hesitate to declare openly and in the clearest terms to what extent it can meet those demands. Not only has the Soviet Government never been informed directly as to the conditions of peace which the Allies wish to put to Russia, but similar peace propositions emanating both from the Central Government, as well as from its representatives in the foreign countries have never been answered, notwithstanding the fact that the possibility of a change in internal and external policies was indicated clearly in a message to President Wilson, dated December 24th.

The Soviet Government therefore shares our opinion that there is no reason to repeat peace propositions or other declarations, in the name of Russia, since the Allies continue to give no indications for peace with Russia.

We are nevertheless ready to re-capitulate our views of possible peace conditions which were already expressed in our conversation of December 25th.

Lord Milner recently declared that one of the objects of Allied intervention in Russia was to protect the so-called "Russian friends of the Allies" against the oppressions threatening them when the regime of the Soviets should be established in those parts of Russia at present occupied by the Allies. However, this fear should in no way be an obstacle to an agreement between the Allies and the Soviets, since the latter are ready to give the so-called Russian friends of the Allies all the necessary guarantees assuring them their liberty and amnesty for their past crimes. Regardless of their politics and their past social standing, they will have a real opportunity to collaborate in the Soviet system in accordance with their ability, their education and their adaptability.

We are convinced that as soon as foreign intervention ends, the civil war in Russia under its present form will stop, and it will then be unnecessary to continue any restrictions of the liberty of the press.

We are likewise certain that as soon as Russia obtains the opportunity to work under normal conditions, and the population has adapted itself to the new social order, there will only remain a ridiculously limited portion of this population which will need to be rest-

The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For Allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defence of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dearly won power and liberties against invaders with all the means their vast country puts at their disposal.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of Allied Statesmen. I venture then to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country and in case of the interventionists' after a long struggle obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralysing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one sided accusations against Soviet Russia, to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses, to help Russia to regain her own sources of supply and to give her technical advice how to exploit her natural riches in the most effective way for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials.

stricted in the active exercise of the rights of citizens. But until these conditions have been realized, the Soviet Republic should have the time and the opportunity

to apply the principles dominating this government, and to show what it is able to do for the good of the Russian people.

As for the present and future policy of the Soviet Government with regard to Poland, Ukraine, and the other regions of the old Russian empire, this policy will consist in avoiding every infraction of the right of these regions to dispose freely of their own destinies.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government must simultaneously insist, that there be no intervention from any foreign power whatever in the struggle between the classes or between the parties in the above-mentioned regions. Until the relations between these regions and the Soviet Government have been finally fixed, a modus vivendi must be created which will guarantee the operation and movement of railroads, postal and telegraphic communications, exchange of commodities, transportation and traffic, free access to ports, etc.

In order to work out its economic system, Russia needs the technical, scientific, and material assistance that other countries can offer. For this reason, in case there is an agreement with the Allies, the Soviet Government would be ready to revise such decrees as concern the foreign obligations of Russia toward other countries, without however, in any way violating the fundamental principles of that government's economic and financial policy.

Among other things special attention may be given to the interests of small creditors in foreign countries. The Russian government, which is much interested in making known to the world the general principles on which it is based, and in fighting against the campaign of lies and calumnies which have been circulated against the Soviets and their work, would abstain from any propaganda in Allied countries, in order not to lay itself open to the accusation of interference in their foreign affairs. In this connection, we may declare in the most final manner, that the Soviets have never been responsible for any propaganda in any foreign country, except perhaps in Germany.

The Soviet Republic demands only that the Allies promise to cease every direct or indirect military action against Soviet Russia, every direct or indirect material assistance to Russian or other forces operating against the Soviet Government, to refrain from all acts of economic hostility or boycott under any form whatever against the Soviet Republic.

These are the principal questions which we took up in our conversation. The positions we have expressed precisely reflect those of our government. You are at liberty to use this letter in any way you think proper, in the interests of peace between the countries concerned.

This First of May—Promise and Achievement

By Ludwig Lore

THOSE of us who only know the well-dressed, respectably innocuous first of May of recent years have no conception of the power and the impetus that it evoked when it was first proclaimed as the holiday of the world proletariat by the International Congress at Paris in 1889. The motion as adopted by the Congress, it is true, simply provided for demonstrations in favor of the 8 hour day and social legislation, leaving the form the demonstrations were to take to the national units of the Social-Democracy.

The first May Day found Germany in the midst of a tremendous political rejuvenation, the period immediately following upon the fall of the notorious Socialist exception laws. Early in 1890 the party had gone through an exciting Reichstag election campaign with flying colors. The intense agitation of the Socialist forces which had emerged from this period of enforced seclusion more determined than ever, and the virulent attacks of the Bismarck government parties, which frequently culminated in actual physical assaults upon Socialist agitators and workers had aroused a fever of interest all over the country. As a result of the election Bismarck, the originator of the anti-Socialist laws, was shortly afterward overthrown; the Social-Democratic movement of Germany had won a glorious victory.

The proposed holiday of labor found the Socialist movement, therefore, in no mood to temporize. Its success in the election had cowed the bourgeoisie, and hopes ran high. Not only the organized movement in the party and in the labor unions, but even its bitterest opponents felt that the day of reckoning was at hand. Even the most conservative leaders of the labor movement foresaw the realization of their ideals within a few short years. And their very confidence woke an answering fear in the hearts of their opponents. Already they seemed to hear the thunder of the coming revolution, and great, enthusiastic masses of organized labor rejoiced in the coming.

Such was the temper of labor especially in the larger cities, that few manufacturers dared to oppose the general holiday. Red flags flaunted their message in the face of a badly frightened bourgeoisie. The spirit that enthused the demonstrators in these first years lifted the First of May above the intent of its originators. It was more than merely a demonstration for social legislation and an 8 hour day. In the eyes of the proletariat it heralded the coming of the world revolution.

* * *

But there came other May Days. Where first the refusal to work on May 1st had been the rule it became the exception. The leaders of the movement began to feel their "responsibilities," they warned here, they checked there, and shook their heads gravely over the younger element whose foolhardiness would get the party into trouble.

In Germany the labor unions particularly opposed the injection of such radical demonstrations into the amicable relations that had been established between the workers on the one hand and the manufacturers on the other. They feared for their treasuries and objected to the payment of black-list benefits to those comrades who were outlawed by the manufacturers because they celebrated the First of May. And the Party followed suit. It, too, began to put on the brakes. May First was "celebrated" in afternoon and evening demonstrations, and mostly in hall meetings.

* * *

This was the "evolutionary," the reformist period of the Socialist movement. We have left it behind us—a new era of revolution has begun. The years of marking time have given place to a stirring call to arms. The first of May, 1919, will be an epoch-making day for the European proletariat. Russia, whose government a year and a half ago was looked upon

as a mad adventure, has become the leader of a new world movement. In Germany the compromise government of social-patriots, trying vainly to adjust itself to the growing discontent at home and to the rapacious demands of its imperialistic conquerors, is cracking under the strain. Hungary, in spite of the pious hope of a lying press, is defending its proletarian revolution against the attacks of the neighboring nationalities. In Munich the rule of the revolutionary proletariat persists, in the face of frenzied opposition within and without. In France the bourgeoisie awaits the coming of the First of May with trembling despair, Italy is quivering on the abyss of a nation wide uprising. A First of May, full of promise, full of portent.

Nor can we here, in America, play the role of the passive onlooker. We too must give our First of May a significance in keeping with the times in which we are privileged to live.

The National office has called upon us to observe May Day in gigantic demonstrations as a protest against the imprisonment of thousands of men and women who dared to speak the truth. Aye, we will protest. But not in empty meaningless phrases. Our protest must be a solemn consecration of ourselves and our movement to the greatness of the task that lies before us. The liberation of our comrades must not come as a gift from our capitalist masters, at the price of endless restrictions and degrading promises. It must be won for them by an undaunted, determined working class, by a Socialist movement that can proudly take its stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder with its comrades in Europe. Let us be worthy of this First of May.

Comrades, refuse to work on the First of May! For one day be your own masters. We have been forced so often to celebrate the holidays of others. This one day in the year belongs to us, is our day of freedom and of happiness!