

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe.

LOUIS C. FRAINA Editor
EADMONN MACALPINE Associate Editor
Contributing Editors

SCOTT NEARING LUDWIG LORE
JOHN REED SEN KATAYAMA
N. I. HOURWICH G. WEINSTEIN

ISSUED EVERY WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY

By Local Boston, Socialist Party

H. G. Steiner, Business Manager

885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Three months, \$1.00; bundles, 2c a copy

Saturday, December 14, 1918

Annexations and Indemnities

It was said, during the war, that the Allies accepted President Wilson's "14 points" and that these repudiated annexations and indemnities. This was never a fact. Responsible ministers of the Allies accepted, in words, the "14 points" and the formula "no annexations and no indemnities." But precisely as Germany accepted this formula, and then at Brest-Litovsk interpreted it in the sense of annexations and indemnities, so now representatives of the Allies are urging annexations and indemnities. Disguised as these demands may be they are yet brutally apparent. Moreover, President Wilson's "14 points" were interpreted as a repudiation of the secret treaty agreements concluded among the Allies. But the governments of the Allies have never repudiated these secret agreements, exposed by the Bolsheviki as infamously imperialistic; in fact, some months ago, British Minister of Foreign Affairs Balfour declared publicly that "Great Britain was in honor bound to abide by the treaty agreements with her Allies." These monstrous secret agreements, accordingly, in spite of all the idealistic camouflage, are still considered as in force. Does this make for a democratic and lasting peace, for making the world safe for democracy? . . . The intervention of the Socialist proletariat is necessary.

Soviets and Allies

THE bourgeois-"Socialist" Government of Scheidemann, Ebert, Haase & Co. has sent a message to the Russian Government asking it not to send a delegation to the German National Congress of Soviets, on December 16, because of "the present situation in Germany." The invitation to the Russian Soviets was issued by the Executive Committee of the German Soviets of Workmen and Soldiers.

Simultaneously, the press prints a Copenhagen report, which says: "According to reports from Berlin, the Entente Governments intend to refuse to send foodstuffs to Germany until a demand they have made for the dissolution of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils is carried out. The Allies, the reports add, will reserve the right to march into Germany."

Is this actually the decision of the Allies, or is it propaganda of the counter-revolution in Germany to frighten the masses? The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government is encouraging this sort of thing, by retaining Dr. Solf and Dr. Erzberger in the government, and using Erzberger as an armistice plenipotentiary. Scheidemann actually tells the masses: "behave, or the Americans will make you!" It is either the Soviets or the Allies, revolutionary co-operation with the one or mercy from the other, either a bourgeois peace or peace with Revolution. The revolutionary policy Liebknecht is the only proletarian policy.

They Are Still There!

SENATOR Hiram Johnson has introduced a resolution seeking information from the State Department as to the activity of American soldiers in Russia: "Are we fighting Russia? If we are not, why are we keeping American soldiers in Siberia and in Vladivostok? What is America's intention as to Russia?"

In the meanwhile, Senator Hitchcock, of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, is in communication with Prince Lvov and Colonel Lebedeff, representing the counter-revolution, who urge that more American troops shall be sent to Russia—to crush Socialism.

The German Barons and the bourgeoisie of Livonia, Esthonia and Courland, formerly the Bal-

tic Provinces of Russia, who represent a very small minority of the people and who united with German autocracy during the war against the masses, are urging allied intervention against the Bolsheviki—which means against the majority of the people, the workers and peasants. The British fleet is reported at Libau, upon invitation of the reactionary government.

The Ukrainian landowners and bourgeoisie, who united with the Austro-German autocracy against the workers and poorest peasants, are now that German bayonets are withdrawn, helpless against the wrath and might of the workers and peasants that they oppressed, and are calling for the bayonets of the Allies.

At Stockholm, a new "Russian Government" is being organized, to be headed by the former Czarist Premier, A. F. Trepoff, one of the bloodiest and most implacable of the instruments of autocracy. It is declared that the Entente will support this "new government" while it temporarily rules Russia—in Stockholm, Sweden!

Is this the answer to Senator Johnson? Are American troops to restore autocracy in Russia?

The press teems with reports of starvation in Russia. But the Allies are starving Russia, by blockading her ports, by preventing Russia buying food and agricultural machinery in the markets of the world. Instead of shedding hypocritical tears over Russia's starvation and blaming the Soviets, end the blockade of Russia, let the Russian people determine their destiny in their own way.

Alien troops are still at Archangel and Vladivostok! Are more alien troops to go into Russia, provoke war, produce starvation on a larger scale, intensify the sufferings of the Russian people?

How Much Longer, O Karl!

IN the Berlin "Tageblatt," addressing Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacides, Theodor Wolff exclaims: "How much longer, O Karl, will you abuse our patience?" Until you and your class can no longer abuse the patience of the proletariat, O Theodor! Until the counter revolution is crushed, and the proletariat conquers all power. Until the Capitalist class can no longer have its "patience" abused, since it will have been completely annihilated by Socialism. Patience? The proletariat has long been patient, too long, in fact; and now that it is in action, it will consider not at all the patience of you and your class, O Theodor, and deprive you of all the privileges and power comprised in ruling over the proletariat. For four and a half years the proletariat's patience has been abused by the most bloody war in all history; and now its day has come, it is ready for the reckoning, which is the overthrow of Capitalism. Karl will abuse your patience, O Theodor, until you and your class are turned into relics of an infamous age. . . . And Philip Scheidemann, who intrigued against the Russian Revolution, and then piously washed his hands of all responsibility for the Brest-Litovsk infamy, this Pontius Pilate Scheidemann exclaims: "I will not put up with these conditions another week. I will get out." And describes Liebknecht as a "person" who lacks "every sense of responsibility." Get out, Philip; that's exactly what the German proletariat wants! Responsibility? Did you have a sense of responsibility when you supported an infamous imperialistic war, betrayed Socialism and the proletariat? . . . Keep the revolutionary fires burning, Karl! They will yet set the world afire.

Waging the Class Struggle

THE other day, a delegation of the French Socialist representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, of social-patriots and including the "centre" compromiser Jean Longuet, had an interview with Premier Clemenceau. They protested against the campaign for an imperialistic peace—Clemenceau declared he had nothing to do with it; they asked him if he cherished imperialistic aims—Clemenceau made a vigorous denial; they asked him if he would consent to an interpellation in the Chamber on peace terms—Clemenceau answered he would not allow any such thing. Then the delegation, having gloriously and successfully waged the class struggle, departed—to prepare new questions and arrange new conferences. And this is Socialism! It is the legitimate policy of the social-patriots and betrayers of Socialism; but Jean Longuet? Or is it a fact, after all, that "centre" Socialism in substance is identical with the social-patriotic policy of petty bourgeois Socialism?

Reconstruction in Germany.

THE problem of power in Germany, which is the decisive problem of the Revolution, is equally a problem of reconstruction: shall reconstruction proceed on a capitalist basis, shall it proceed on the basis of Socialism?

Germany, much more than any other nation except Russia, has suffered from the war. The "marvellous organization" of the government while averting disaster temporarily, multiplied the factors of disintegration. The financial system is verging on collapse; industry is in process of disorganization; foreign trade destroyed, markets now in the control of rivals, Imperialism no longer an instrument; the old Capitalism twisted awry and compelled to adapt itself to new and disastrous conditions. The wounds inflicted by the war upon the German people, and all belligerent peoples, are terrific; and reconstruction is a process of healing these wounds. But the determining issue is whether the process shall be Capitalist or Socialist.

There is, moreover, the question of indemnities. As it is, and at its best, Germany's problem of reconstruction is enormous; and if indemnities are exacted, if the Allies are to demand the huge payments proposed by some of its representatives, then reconstruction becomes hopeless and complicated. Without indemnities, reconstruction in Germany will mean that the proletariat will pay tribute to the German capitalist class! With indemnities, reconstruction will mean that the proletariat will have to pay tribute to the German capitalist class and the capitalist class of the Allies.

It is not a question of which is the better prospect, but of which is the more hopeless.

The problem of reconstruction which the German proletariat must tackle is the same as the problem of the proletariat of France, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy, enormously complicated by military disaster and the collapse of the power of German Capitalism for successful imperialistic competition.

Revolutionary Socialism in Germany insists that real reconstruction is possible only through Socialism, by means of conquest of power by the proletariat. The whole system of Capitalism and Imperialism comprised in the old German system must be destroyed; reconstruction must proceed without paying the tribute of profit to the capitalist class, without reconstruction being limited and stultified by the profit system. The reconstruction of a new society, the real healing of the wounds of the war, the protection of the proletariat against oppression and new wars, is not possible while Capitalism and Imperialism persist in Germany.

Revolutionary Socialism in Germany, moreover, realizes that indemnities would complicate the problem of reconstruction in Germany, and would not measurably ease the burdens and facilitate the process of real reconstruction for the proletariat of Belgium, Great Britain, France and Italy. Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, struggles for the proletarian revolution in Germany as the climax of the proletarian revolution in Russia and equally struggles for the proletarian revolution in the rest of Europe, since only by the general overthrow of Capitalism and the general dictatorship of the proletariat can reconstruction proceed on a basis of Socialism, of healing the wounds of labor, and not of capital. Revolutionary Socialism strives for an alliance with Soviet Russia and with revolutionary Socialism in all European countries.

This is not an attempt to shift the burden—that is the policy of Capitalism in Germany, no of revolutionary Socialism—since the overthrow of Capitalism will facilitate real reconstruction and benefit equally the proletariat everywhere.

Moderate Socialism in Germany, in policy and as represented in the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government, refuses to accept the overthrow of Capitalist supremacy as the necessary preliminary to real reconstruction. "The Berlin Bourse," says a press report, "and banking and industrial circles do not expect the immediate enactment of radical measures. The impression prevails that the Ebert-Haase Government is convinced that the present political and economic situation is inauspicious."

This is confirmed by Majority Socialist Paul Hirsch, Prussian Minister of the Interior, who opposes a dictatorship of the proletariat, and warns of a tremendous deficit in the state finances; by Emil von Strauss, one of the leading directors of the Deutsche Bank, who declares his opinion that "the Ebert-Haase Government would make haste slowly in carrying out its program for economic radicalization;" and by Eduard