

Bernstein, Independent Socialist member of the Ministry of Finance, who says:

"Socialization cannot come over-night. It can only be carried out gradually, but it is bound to come, for the people are now sovereign. Our important weapon is suffrage reform which is now a fact. It will completely reconstruct society and eventually lead to state control of important industries."

The issue is not whether the situation in Germany affords an opportunity of immediate Socialist measures of reconstruction. That is a false presentation of the problems. That Socialist measures of reconstruction cannot now be introduced in Germany is clear, since Capitalism still rules through the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government. The issue is whether the proletariat shall use the revolutionary situation for the conquest of power, or allow the revolutionary crisis to die away in a restoration of the "normal" conditions of bourgeois supremacy and petty bourgeois parliamentary "reconstruction."

Herr Bernstein ("majority" and "centre" Socialism generally) is right: "Socialism cannot come overnight." The introduction of Socialism is a process, truly; but not a process on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, but on the basis of a new proletarian state, which alone promotes Socialism. The Bolsheviki, in Germany and in Russia, never proposed the immediate introduction of Socialism, but the introduction of proletarian dictatorship, of the political expropriation of the bourgeoisie, after which Socialist reconstruction and the gradual introduction of Socialism may really begin.

The struggle for proletarian power, by means of revolutionary action,—that is the policy of Spartacus Socialism in Germany.

Herr Bernstein says:

"Our present situation is most critical—more so than most of us realize. We are lacking in raw products, foodstuffs and other commodities, to procure which we shall require immense amounts of money. We cannot seize the wealth of the rich people, for then the whole system of production would become paralyzed."

These black conditions are another argument in favor of the proletarian conquest of power, since Capitalism aggravates these conditions and would use them in its own interests, against the proletariat. "Immense amounts of money"—are these easier to secure while paying profit-tribute to capital, or without paying profit-tribute? It is not a question of "seizing the wealth of the rich people"—that is a characteristically petty bourgeois proposal; but of expropriating the capitalist politically, expropriating the banks and the larger organizations of capital, and imposing a proletarian Socialist control over production and distribution, measures of partial expropriation and control that, by means of the new proletarian state of the organized producers, would gradually emerge into complete communist Socialism. The conquest of power and a new proletarian state—that constitutes the first requirement.

The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government, the moderate Socialism equally of the "majority" and the Haase-Bernstein Independents, is hesitant, afraid to act sternly toward the bourgeoisie and Capitalism. This miserable attitude expresses itself in the policy toward the Allies. The Bergische "Arbeiter Stimme," an Independent Socialist organ, says:

"The same people who two months ago could not find anything more proper than to represent Germany's position, especially the food situation, in its rosier light, now paint it blacker day by day. The talk is directed with the mechanical reiteration of the professional beggar in a definite direction to America, concerning whose democracy and readiness for peace scorn was for years uttered, but which country is now begged and whimpered to in the most pitiful manner by the same people. The whole bourgeois gang, inclusive of the government Socialists, has reached the standpoint that Communism and Socialism must be prevented at all costs, if not otherwise, then by summoning the enemy into the country. Solf, Erzberger, Scheidemann, Ebert and others would not oppose foreigners coming here for the purpose of abolishing the red flag."

Miserable hesitation and compromise, the abandonment of the revolutionary task, nationally and internationally, and promoting counter-revolution—that is the tendency of moderate Socialism. The problems of reconstruction in Germany, and all other problems, are soluble only by means of revolutionary action. All problems are immediately reducible to one problem—the conquest of power by the revolutionary Socialist proletariat.

Words and Deeds

From "The New Mir"

ON Dec. 2, President Wilson delivered a speech before Congress which, according to the calculations of diplomats, political statesmen and press representatives, was to play the role of an historical speech. But the "historical" feature in that speech was perhaps that part of it, which, satisfying neither the adherents nor opponents of President Wilson, has become the "heritage of history." True, people still talk about the speech, but the comment is weak and flabby. Even the criticism of President Wilson's opponents lacks pugnacity, force and aggressiveness. They are smiling up their sleeves at its emptiness and hollowness. While his partisans, if they do praise his speech at all, praise it exclusively as a good example of Presidential rhetoric.

However, the critics of President Wilson's speech are not fair. The speech contains in it some valuable elements. And one "valuable element" is that it once more has shown the complete incapacity of the modern rulers even verbally to grapple with those great problems, which the conclusion of the war has brought forward before the peoples.

While the war was going on and the keeping up of the spirit of the belligerent peoples was the immediate concern, one could resort to high sounding phrases and beautiful words about the "high ideals of democracy and humanity," for which the struggle was alleged to be waged. These words and phrases aimed to hypnotize the masses, to divert their attention from the hard and sordid reality. And President Wilson used them in abundance in his speeches on war matters. He was generous in pouring water on the wheels of the imperialist Allied mill, and the imperialists from the Allied camp hysterically applauded him. Also he was applauded by the opportunists from the labor camp who supported the war and, consciously or unconsciously, played traitor to the cause of the international proletariat.

But the war is ended and the deep wounds mankind has received are not yet healed. There is no possibility of healing them by the old means. A radical and merciless operation is needed which would do away with all the diseases of contemporary society and would once for all destroy the causes that bring them about.

But, are the present day statesmen capable of such a step? Are the hirelings of the decaying order of things capable of solving the contradictions that are tearing society apart?

No, and no! Their personal interests and the interests of their class dictate to them either the policy of patching up the worn out clothes of modern society, or the policy of repression of those forces under whose pressure these clothes are now falling apart.

But the former as well as the latter is a policy of impotence and weakness.

Precisely this weakness has been demonstrated in Wilson's "historical" speech. In it reappears every phrase uttered by the President and still more brings into relief the emptiness and hollowness of the speech. Even the usual "lyrical" outbursts of the President fail to correct the impression.

President Wilson's critics reprimand him because he has not given his motives for going to Europe. But could the President speak about them openly? Could he tell the country that the "united front" of the Allies has fallen apart, that yesterday's "friends" are ready now to throw themselves upon each other since they cannot divide among themselves the spoils, that the interests of the American bourgeoisie is being threatened with serious danger from her "dear" allies?

Critics of Wilson are "dissatisfied" that the President failed to give a plan of "reconstruction" to the country, the adaptation of the entire economic system to peace conditions. But shall we look for such a plan from a representative of a system of society based on relentless competition, on anarchy in production, on oppression and exploitation of one class by another?

The President has said everything that he could have said; he promised everything that he could promise. And in this regard the American imperialists should feel no anxiety; he will carry out his promises. Their interests at the Peace Conference, he will protect. And within the land, he will protect them. The railroads will be returned to the owners, the milliards of taxes

will be collected accurately, the navy and armaments building program will be put through.

Therefore the anxiety of the American imperialists is unfounded.

Bolshevikjabs

AN English worker we know has figured out that his share of the \$40,000,000,000 England is going to collect from Germany is about \$800, but he adds that as he is very hard up just now he is willing to realize for about two-bits.

We cull the following from an editorial in the bourgeois press:

"Mr. Gary, Mr. Schwab, Mr. Rockefeller, and men like them who have vision, are the ones who create confidence in the hearts of men and women in all walks of life. They can speak for capital and labor and be listened to with attention by both sides. Fairness to both capital and labor will result in conditions satisfactory to all, and will prevent the breaking out of disorders such as make some of the European countries hells on earth."

"Will you walk into my parlor?" said the spider to the fly,

"It's the prettiest little parlor that ever you did spy."

And then we run right into this:

"They have some forward looking people out in Flint, Michigan. The business men out there have resolved to keep their employes at work at their old jobs at their old wages. Not content with this, they are working to effect a substantial price reduction in the necessities of life. They have already reduced the price of milk by one cent a quart, the price of shoes by ten per cent., the price of coal by some three to five per cent. reduction of rental for ninety days."

Oh, yes, they've heard of the Bolsheviki in Flint.

The English delegates to the Peace Conference have been appointed: Lloyd-George, representing the petty bourgeoisie; Bonar Law, representing big business; Balfour, representing the aristocracy.

Faith, hope and charity.

Finding that The League to Enforce Peace has become somewhat of a fizzle, Mr. Taft becomes very bloodthirsty. Speaking to a group of bankers in Atlantic City, the other day, he is reported as saying: "The only thing to do in dealing with the Bolsheviki is to kill them." It's a good job for the umpires that he didn't get that baseball job.

Philip Scheidemann is quoted as advocating the establishment of a State tribunal to try all persons responsible for the war. Which seems to us to be treading on rather dangerous grounds if the records of the Reichstag are looked up.

The whole tendency in the press at the present time seems to be towards a rapprochement between Capital and Labor, a sort of lying down of the lion and the lamb. The only difference being that apparently the lamb is to do all the lying down and trust entirely to luck as to what the lion may decide to do.

Grand Duke Nicholas, former commander of the Russian Imperial army, has been reported dead quite a number of times, but it now appears that he is the commander of a troop of Cossacks in southern Russia. It is assumed in responsible quarters that the Grand Duke had often wished he was dead in the last few months and that some enterprising correspondent overhearing the wish translated it into fact.

Russian ex-nobility seem to have put the cats quite in the shade.

A new Russian "government" has been formed—at Stockholm. It is reported that at least two Russians have acknowledged allegiance to the new government by wireless and that General Semenov has repudiated it by postal card.

Some enterprising person is insisting on the establishment of a chair of international affairs at one of the universities. The chair will need to be well provided with telephonic connections if it aspires to be within at least two governments of the actual government functioning, every time it makes a pronouncement.