

of bourgeois liberalism. All through the war worked for reforms rather than revolution, and the outbreak of the revolution they showed an nation to support the Ebert government. Ledebur represents the most radical faction of the Independents and will in all probability stand with the as the revolution progresses, but Barth's position in the government would throw a doubt upon position, unless he was in the government for the purpose of Tuesday's actions.

The greatest bulwark to the Ebert government was undoubtedly the presence of the Allied troops on the line, and the fear of Allied intervention which it is continually holding over the heads of the people. At some time past the bourgeois press of the Allied countries has been circulating the rumor that the Ebert government has asked for the Allied occupation of Berlin, but the wish is probably father to the thought as any such invitation would remove the chief reason for the government's continuance—its guarantee of the "orderliness" of the revolution, preventing it by the Allies.

After Tuesday's demonstration it is evident that the German workers and soldiers see their way clear inasmuch as they are determined to establish Socialism. They recognize that Allied intervention is not a factor in the sum if they desire Socialism, because with the establishment of a Socialist state their bourgeoisie will appeal for Allied intervention, while the reactionaries of the Allied countries will call for the occupation of Germany as soon as it is clear that the idea of bourgeois democracy is not acceptable to the German people. It will not matter who heads the Socialist government, if it is Socialist intervention that will come, if the reactionaries of both Germany and the Allies have their way.

Apparently the German people see that they have only the choice of Socialism and probable intervention by the Associate Powers, or bourgeois democracy. The press of the Allied countries clearly points out the German wish for intervention if "disorder" ensues in Germany, and, while at the time this term was being first applied to Russia it left some doubt as to what constituted disorder, it is now clear that "disorder" means the establishment of a Socialist government by the workers and peasants. Such a government means the expropriation of the capitalists and landowners, and this is what constitutes "disorder" to the bourgeoisie.

Such a government also means the spreading of revolutionary propaganda in the adjacent countries, abolition of secret diplomacy, a definite revolutionary alliance with Russia, a strengthening of the power of the workers everywhere, a weakening of the international ring of Capitalism and these are "order" to bourgeois Imperialism. It also means a standing basis of comparison for the workers of all countries whereby they may judge their own position—and comparisons are odious. . . .

There is no middle way. A government cannot be half Capitalist and half Socialist. And there are no "extremes" either. There is only Capitalism or Socialism. The German people are faced with the choice. They must choose Capitalism and all that means to the workers, or they must choose Socialism and all its consequences. No amount of vacillation can change the situation.

Tuesday's results show that the tendency in Germany is to choose Socialism. The next few days will show whether or not the German workers can make their choice unflinchingly.

If they choose haltingly, going towards the left but throwing backward glances towards the past, the Independent Socialists will form the next government and the definite conquest of the revolution still lie in the future, but if they choose fearlessly as the Russians, then the rise to power of the Socialists with Liebknecht at their head is the only task lying ahead of the German people is that of consolidating and maintaining the revolution—a herculean task, but still fitted to be chosen fearlessly.

The Labor Situation

WITHIN the past few weeks the "labor question" has leaped into prominence. Not only are the "official representatives" of organized labor getting anxious but even the upper classes are beginning to be solicitous about the "welfare" of the workers—Schwab, Redfield, Caldwell and similar captains of industry and leaders of the reactionary Civic Federation. All round there is a feeling of uneasiness which arises not from any scruples of "conscience," but from fear.

The "civil peace" between capital and labor, proclaimed by Gompers at the time of this country's entrance into the war, is over. It is true that this "peace" was sometimes violated by one side or the other but in the main it tied that section of the workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, hand and foot. The War Labor Board, which was established by the government for the purpose of preventing strikes, announces that it will henceforth only intervene when called upon by both sides. It is true that a few strikes did eventuate in spite of its labors, that in some cases the employers refused to submit to its rulings but in the main it simply forced the workers to submit to compulsory arbitration and succeeded in keeping them quiet. Gompers and Co. saw to it that they did remain quiet, but the war was their great aid in this respect, preventing the bosses from squeezing the workers too tight while keeping the workers from asserting themselves from patriotic motives, besides supplying them with plenty of work and "fabulous" wages.

With the war's end, however, capital again began to insist upon "its rights." The noise of the peace celebration had hardly subsided when a prominent representative of capital forgot to be discreet and stated that the time was ripe for the abolition of the eight-hour working day and a return to pre-war wage standards. Gompers, of course, had to issue a public defy to this gentleman, but after a few paragraphs in the press the matter quietly dropped.

But breakers are ahead. unemployment is approaching, wages are dropping. The suspension of war contracts has already thrown thousands on the market, and the haphazard demobilization of the troops at present being carried out is still further swelling the ranks of the unemployed. The vice-Chairman of the unemployed Bureau of the Labor Department in commenting on the situation refers to the fact that the War Department, for some reasons unknown, has found it necessary to begin demobilization of the army without considering whether or not the soldiers are needed in industry. He points to the fact that among these discharged soldiers thousands of agricultural workers are to be found, who at this season of the year will be unable to find work on the farms and will necessarily have to turn to the industrial centers for work. If they are successful in obtaining employment it will be hard to withdraw them in the spring when they will be needed on the farms.

The soldiers are being demobilized, after a few days notice with only enough money in their pockets to enable them to reach their destinations and keep them for, at most, a few weeks. In many cities discharged soldiers are already found without a cent and it is becoming increasingly clear that unless urgent measures are taken in the immediate future, the bread line, the vast throngs of shelterless, moneyless men and women, the results of unemployment, will become general throughout the country, as they were in 1914. Only this time the unemployed will not be the supine, beaten unthinking mob of 1914. In this army of unemployed will be men, and women too, who have become accustomed to the idea that they are of some value to the country, that in its time of need it was to them the country turned. . . .

These facts are not lost sight of by the industrial barons of this country, but it will be a race between greed and foresight and the indications are that greed will win. Anxiety as to the outcome of these conditions are manifest in the speeches of the more advanced of the captains of industry, when they hypocritically pretend to defend the workers' interests.

They appeal to the "commonsense" of the capitalists, to their patriotism, to their humanity. In reality they are endeavoring to sound a warning without letting the workers know the potentialities of coming events, they know that wages will take a decided drop as soon as the labor market becomes flooded, that some employers will challenge a strike secure in the knowledge that an overflowing labor market furnishes a plentitude of strike-breakers, but they also know that, with the spread of Socialism in Europe and the general awakening of thought among the masses, big industrial struggles can only result in disaster for the capitalists.

Schwab furnishes an example of the far-seeing type of capitalist. In a recent speech devoted to the wide possibilities before American capital, he draws the attention of the capitalists to the necessity of their joining the labor "cause." "We must exert all our efforts in order that the workers should work and be content. Things must be done in such a way that they will regard the situation with our eyes and aid us in our work. We must affect a closer contact with the workers. We must patiently listen to their side and must act so that they will patiently listen to ours." Mr. Schwab proposes to reject the old methods, for, in his opinion, they might bring about a catastrophe which would prove extremely dangerous to American industry.

But the proletariat of the United States is beginning to see the light. Unrest is beginning to develop which indicates an awakening from the heavy and unhealthy sleep into which they have been lulled both by their foes and by their false friends.

Bolshevikjabs

ONLY a short time ago most people spent their spare time writing to the newspapers denying their pacifist proclivities, now even the Kaiser is emphatic in affirming his pronounced pacifism.

Truly, truth is eternal.

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Lloyd-George became very much annoyed because the British Labor Party contains men who do not labor with their hands. He urged the workers of England to refuse to vote for these non-manual workers and modestly offered himself as an alternative. In other words: of two evils choose the worst.

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It is now fairly clear that the Bolsheviks were not German agents, but that not a few Germans were Bolshevik agents—very much to the discomfiture of the German Junkers.

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Says Arthur Brisbane, the well-known prohibitionist:

"The mob (of Russians) that enjoyed murdering helpless Jews under the Czar discovers that it needs something more than the vague word 'freedom' and the leadership of an East Side New York sweat-shop worker to solve its problems."

Of course if Russia was under the leadership of a sweat-shop owner everything would be alright, it wouldn't even matter whether he came from New York or not. Though the men now executing the orders of the Russian people never worked in a New York sweat-shop, they seem to have a vague idea that sweat-shops do flourish in democracies.

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Anyway it is easily seen that Arthur is determined to be displeased with Russia's methods. He didn't like it when the Jews were being slaughtered, although he kept his feelings well under control when the Czar was functioning, and he doesn't like it when they are not being slaughtered.

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Mayor Hylan of New York wants all alien agitators deported. We suppose that what has happened to the other members of the trinity, Hearst, Hylan and Hohenzollern, is making the worthy mayor nervous.

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The republicans have become converted to the idea of a League of Nations, as have Lord Robert Cecil, it looks as if the whole affair was going to end in an international Trust company.