

the logical actions of internationalists, supporting the Bolsheviks and refusing to make their acts square with their words. While these men were adopting this vacillating policy their opponents were standing strongly on their program; they were insistent on the fact that Germany must be crushed; that she must be made to pay to the fullest extent of her capacity; that revenge is sweet. . . . And in the first flush of victory the country rallies to their policies.

And the Tories the world over are unable to understand the limitations of their victory. Already the British elections have borne fruit in France. Clemenceau comes out flatly for a victory of conquest and, not satisfied with the military defeat of Germany, he turns his eyes to the conquest of the workers of Russia. Lloyd-George's hand will also be forced and the peace conference will reflect the result. Out of the demands that the Tories will insist upon as a result of their victories, the intervention of the proletariat will develop.

This new government of England will not retain its present form for any length of time. After the Boer war election the reaction was swift; after this war it will be swifter and stronger in proportion as the sacrifices were heavier. British Socialism must recognize the fact that it has for the moment faced defeat. It is useless to count the vote all over the country and prove by figures that the election was really a victory because a few more labor men have been elected. The labor men in the new parliament will have no power. The division of the house is not such as to enable them to influence its acts; in fact, the British working class has no voice in the new government. Reaction holds sway and indications are not lacking that it is going to make the most of its advantage. A big navy is to be forced on the people, a large army will be retained and the offensive against the Bolsheviks will be continued on larger lines.

The retention of the German colonies is assured and such retention by Britain means the giving of concessions to Italy and France at the expense of some other peoples. As the revolutionary proletariat of Germany gains the ascendancy the cry will be raised in England for the suppression of "Bolshevism" and Lloyd-George will probably be forced to act against Germany. All these actions will add to the discontent that is gradually becoming apparent among the British masses. Unrest at home and dissatisfaction with the attitude of the government abroad, met by a policy of repression, which is the Tories' only answer to the discontent of the people, will tend to strengthen the revolutionary proletariat.

Western Europe is afire with revolution and when the British workers see their real condition it will be surprising if some of the sparks from the European fire do not burst into open flame. The Irish situation will also contribute to the general discontent. Tory governments are notorious for their inability to handle the Irish question, even in the slipshod manner of the Liberals, and Ireland is in no mood to be trifled with. Taking into consideration the recent actions of the workers in Australia and the present temper of the Canadian people it is evident that all the artifices of the best liberal statesmen will be necessary to stave off Bolshevism. But the liberal statesmen have just met defeat. Even if Asquith and Henderson succeed in obtaining seats at a By-election, they will have no power. Reaction rules, the Tories, booted and spurred, are in the saddle. . . . Liberalism no longer intervenes between the Tories and the workers. The revolution is brewing. . . .

## The International Socialist Congress

THE New York Call of December 31 carries a dispatch from its Paris correspondent to the effect that "a high American official" had intimated that passports would be granted to "American Labor Socialist delegates in order that they may attend the International Socialist Congress," scheduled to meet in Lausanne, Switzerland, on January 6.

What the makeup of this "International Socialist Congress" will be is at the moment shrouded in mystery. All that appears to be known about it on this side of the Atlantic is that Camille Huysmans, the

Belgian social-patriot and pre-war secretary of the Second International, has sent a cablegram asking the American Socialist Party to appoint three delegates.

To put it mildly, it is astonishing that the holding of this congress should be of such immediate importance as to render it necessary to fix such a date for its opening that prevents the members of the Socialist parties of the various countries from electing their delegates, or from instructing those delegates as to what stand they shall take on the various momentous questions now facing humanity. All the more is this haste astonishing when we remember that during the month of July, 1914, it was not thought necessary to call the International together. During that crisis the time was too short!

Since the last International Socialist Congress was held many changes have taken place, many men and women whom the Socialist movement, the world over, was wont to trust have long since betrayed that trust. Have these people, who kept silent during the bloody years since August, 1914, when the workers, misled and betrayed, writhed in the agony of international war, suddenly got a message of such import that they can't wait a month or so longer, until the membership of the International Socialist movement voices its desires? Are these men and women going to meet in the name of Socialism and again betray the revolutionary proletariat of the world?

Are they suddenly going to attend an International congress, who a short time ago refused to sit with the delegates from certain other countries, because, forsooth, their particular capitalist masters were at war with the capitalists of those countries; who, a few short weeks ago, were denying the existence of the International? Are these men and women, who betrayed the International and practically forced the workers into the holocaust of fratricidal slaughter, going to again be allowed to disgrace the name of Socialism?

Has Huysmans the insolence to address the movement to which Debs, Lenin, Liebknecht, Trotsky, Jaures, Merrheim, Connolly, Luxemburg, Roland Host, Fritz Adler, Larkin, Hardie, MacLean, Lazari and the thousands of martyred, jailed, exiled men and women have given their lives and their energies? Are the social-patriots of the various governments, who have taken office and by their presence in those governments, sanctioned the invasion of Russia, going to meet in an International Socialist Congress with the representatives of Russia, are they going to stretch out their blood-stained hands to the Russian delegates and call them "comrade"? Or are they, like the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, going to foist Kerensky or some other Russian reactionary such as Mastov or Axelrod on the congress? Perhaps this hastily called "International Socialist Congress" is going to "frame-up" Russia and Germany after the manner of the English and French "Socialist" delegations who tried to push Russia back in the war, or as Schiedemann tried to force Italy in on the side of Germany.

The Socialist movement has had enough of international congresses dominated by such as these. No wonder Huysmans, Vandervelde & Co. call an "International Socialist Congress" in such a hurry that the rank and file of the Socialist movement will have no voice in the selection of the delegates.

Are these valiant apostles of democracy going to confer with Scheidemann or are they going to repudiate him? He was partly responsible for the war, according to their own statements; he is at this very moment threatening to bring fresh war upon those workers of Germany who will not forget that they are Socialists; he acquiesced in the Brest-Litovsk "peace of violence." . . . If they confer with Scheidemann how are they going to condone his actions in supporting Imperial Germany, if they are going to repudiate him how are they going to explain their own actions in supporting their respective imperialisms?

Does the International know these people who, a few months ago, knew not the International? Does the International Socialist movement desire a congress

picked on the old slate? Does the American Socialist movement desire to participate in a congress convened by Huysmans, and of which it knows nothing? The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party has been unable to meet since the armistice was signed. Although several branches and locals have urged the convocation of an emergency convention nothing has been done regarding it, no preparation has been made for the election of delegates to attend an International Socialist Conference, nor has the membership been given an opportunity of saying under what conditions it would agree to participate in such a conference. It is true that we are committed to the Zimmerwald International and have thus, in a limited measure, declared ourselves, and certainly the St. Louis Majority Report, which is the last considered expression of the membership, would not give any grounds for the supposition that we favor a yellow International.

The Second International is dead, killed by these very people who would now resurrect it, and the Zimmerwald International stands as the only expression of the movement. Upon the framework of the Zimmerwald Conference the new international must be built if the Socialist movement of the world is to remain true to itself. The only International that can ride the crest of the wave sweeping over Russia, Germany and on westward is the Red Third International and Camille Huysmans is not the man to call it.

## Bolshevikjabs

ALL this discussion regarding the future of the German colonies seems very strange when we have heard so much about self-determination. But perhaps the determination depends on who the particular "self" refers to.

Still judging by the recent action of the Irish there appears to be something in this self-determination after all, although we are sure that Lloyd-George will feel very much annoyed at the translation of his words into action.

We would like very much to extend our congratulations to Mr. Asquith on his defeat. Although the newspapers have not yet awakened to the fact, Henry Herbert is in a very strong position. What with the Bolsheviks, the Irish, the Tories, the coming unemployment in England and the consequent awakening of the workers to the realization of the truth of the old proverb, "All is not gold that glitters," Lloyd-George is in for a very awkward time, to say the very least. And Henry Herbert can always write a letter to the papers explaining exactly where David made the mistake and adding a postscript to the effect that, of course, one could hardly expect anything better from the present government.

It is reported that General von Ludendorff has gone to Russia and has been in conference there with Lenin. Although it has not yet been officially reported, we have the best reasons for believing that Admiral Kolchack has gone to Germany for the purpose of conferring with Liebknecht. The purposes of such conferences are not yet very clear, but it is assumed in responsible quarters that Ludendorff is an applicant for the position of doorman at the Bolshevik headquarters and that in view of the fact that he is the possessor of a fine collection of uniforms and decorations he will in all probability get the job.

Samuel Gompers is going to represent American Labor at the Labor Conference, which is merely another instance of self-determination.

M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, is reported as saying that the Czar and his family were put in a small room and jabbed with bayonets all night long and then shot in the morning. Which merely goes to show that royalties are like cats—they have many lives. M. Pichon's informant is Prince Lvoff, which, doubtless, accounts for the fact that the late Czar's family is still alive, and although in reduced circumstances, from a financial and social standpoint, yet in good health.