

prison. It has demanded for its members the same immunity from arrest enjoyed by members of the Constituent Assembly; but the policy of the Congress is not yet determined. While it convenes, however, the masses are declaring strike after strike, machine guns are in action, the proletarian revolution is on; and if the Congress hesitates, it will be swept ruthlessly aside by the dynamic and implacable mass action of the revolutionary proletariat.

It is reported the Ebert-Scheidemann Government of bourgeois-"Socialist" assassins is prepared to appeal to the Allies for troops to crush the new revolution. Let them! If it comes to a test between the Peace Conference and the proletarian revolution, the revolution will conquer, is already conquering. While these events are occurring, the Peace Conference continues its miserable squabbles (not even secret diplomacy can hide these squabbles), plays with events, being impotent to check the onward sweep of the Revolution. The Peace Conference is rapidly becoming a political ghost. Paris or Moscow, yes; but it is Moscow that represents power,—the power of revolutionary Socialism, the power of the masses despised and oppressed by Capitalism, and organizing to destroy this Capitalism. The Allies can not prevent the collapse of the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government of counter-revolution in Germany; the Allies will soon have their own revolutionary problems to meet. And they cannot meet these problems. Life, liberty and peace—these are the human wants that only the international proletarian revolution can satisfy.

The "Centre" Again

THE Socialist movement has always had its divisions. These divisions are now starkly apparent, and possess an importance which until now was largely only potential. It is necessary to recognize and consider these divisions; in the measure that we solve the problems they present before the Revolution, will Socialism be able to act dynamically and consistently during the Revolution.

Usually, two divisions only are recognized — the right and the left. These two groups are engaged in an open and relentless struggle, in Germany and Russia the struggle having assumed the form of armed combat. The characteristics of the right, of moderate petty bourgeois Socialism, are clearly apparent; the moderate Socialism of the right is openly counter-revolutionary; it has betrayed Socialism and accepted the defense of Capitalism; it is a bourgeois expression, clearly and completely; it is opportunistic, social-patriotic, and bitterly opposed to the proletarian revolution and revolutionary Socialism.

But there is another group, much more important than, and as dangerous as, the moderate Socialism of the right, and that is the moderate Socialism of the "centre." In a pamphlet on *Problems of the Proletariat in the Revolution*, published in April, 1917, Lenin characterized the "centre" as follows:

The centre is hesitating between social-patriotism and actual internationalism. These people swear by all that is holy that they are Marxists and Internationalists, that they are for peace, for exerting pressure upon the government, for presenting all sorts of demands that show the desire of the nation for peace, they are peace propagandists and want a peace without annexations and they want a peace with the social-patriots. The centre is for union and against any sort of schism. The centre is the heaven of petty bourgeois phrases, of lip internationalism, of cowardly opportunism, of compromise with the social-patriots. The fact is that the centre is not convinced of the necessity of a revolution against the government of its own country; it does not preach that kind of revolution; it does not wage an incessant fight for the revolution, and it resorts to the lowest, super-Marxist dodges to get out of the difficulty. The members of the centre group are routine worshippers, eaten up by the gangrene of legality, corrupted by the parliamentary comedy, bureaucrats accustomed to nice sinecures. Historically and economically they simply represent the transition from the old-fashioned labor movement, such as it was from 1871 to 1914, (and which rendered inestimable services to the proletariat through its slow, continued, systematic work of organization in a large, very large field,) to the new movement which was objectively necessary at the time of the first world-wide war of Imperialism, and which has inaugurated the social-revolutionary era.

The dangerous character of the centre is attested in the refusal of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) to invite any centre groups to its proposed International Communist Congress; it did not even invite the elements in the French Socialist Party represented by Jean Longuet, who is mildly "in favor" of the Soviet Government and whom many comrades in our party consider a "good" Bolshevik. More, the call for a congress issued by the Communist Party of Russia in January 1919, emphasizes its opposition to the centre, in these words:

As far as the social-patriots are concerned, who stood up everywhere in arms, in the most critical moments, against the revolution, a merciless fight is the only alternative; in regard to the "Centre" the tactics consist in separating from it the revolutionary elements, in criticizing pitilessly its leaders and in dividing systematically among them the number of their followers; these tactics are absolutely necessary when we reach a certain degree of development.

Lenin includes among the centre the Independent Socialists of Germany, Jean Longuet of France, the Independent Labor Party of England, and the elements in the American Socialist Party represented by Morris Hillquit.

This is important. Morris Hillquit has always been a typical opportunist, always in arms against the left wing in our party. Not to delve into old disputes, consider his attitude during the war: Hillquit pursued a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism, affiliating himself with and adopting the policy of the counter-revolutionary People's Council. Under pressure, and in pursuance of his opportunistic policy of "adapting" himself to circumstances, Hillquit accepted the St. Louis declaration of the party on the war (the most revolutionary provisions of which he had bitterly opposed at membership meetings of Local New York), and then proceeded to violate and pervert the party's policy on the war. The climax of his opportunist policy was Hillquit's answer to the question put to him by William Hard, whether, if he had been a member of Congress at the time he would have voted in favor of the declaration of war; Hillquit's answer was (*New Republic*, December 1, 1917, reprinted in the *New York Call* of December 5): "If I had believed that our participation would shorten the world war and force a better, more democratic and durable peace, I should have favored the measure, regardless of the cost and sacrifices of America. My opposition to our entry into the war was based upon the conviction that it would prolong the disastrous war without compensating gains to humanity." In other words, the divergence between Morris Hillquit and Woodrow Wilson was not a matter of principle and class policy, but one of judgement.—The declaration clearly places Hillquit as an opportunist and centre Socialist, pursuing a policy of bourgeois pacifism during the war.

When the Bolshevik Revolution broke loose and the Russian proletariat conquered power, Hillquit was silent; he was at that session of the National Executive Committee which ignored the Soviet proposal for an armistice on all fronts as a preliminary to general peace negotiations; his attitude on the problems of the Russian Revolution as they affect Socialist policy and practice has been one of opportunistic "watchful waiting." Only the other day, Hillquit acquiesced in sending delegates to Berne Congress of the Great Betrayal, of the traitors to Socialism. But now, the left wing is in action, and threatens the supremacy of the old representatives of the party. The upsurge of revolutionary Socialism in our party has made the question of an emergency national convention pressing, the membership insists upon it; and so Hillquit comes out in favor of the emergency convention! Adaption to circumstances. . . . But, more important, is Hillquit's statement concerning changes in policy:

As to the danger of heading the party into "ultra-impossibilism," I do not fear it. The centre of gravity in the international Socialist movement has of late been shifted considerably to the left, and our party cannot and should not remain behind. There are among us as always, some ill-balanced enthusiasts who are apt to shoot beyond the mark, but past experiences has shown that the party can be relied on to do the right thing in critical times.

This is a beautifully "balanced" statement, characteristic of the opportunists of the centre. You have a sop to the left wing, then a cajolery of the right by stigmatizing some comrades as "ill-balanced enthusiasts" (and this will be taken to mean the active comrades in the conscious, definitely organized left wing of the party).

There are some who are jubilating about Hillquit's "acceptance of the left wing policy." But this is premature—and preposterous. That was precisely his course at the St. Louis Convention, and then he sabotaged the revolutionary sentiments of the convention. Accepting the left wing means much more than a mild flirtation with it, it means resolute action and consistent policy. The left wing will not be lured to the centre, to an abandonment of revolutionary Socialism, by such devices. Let us ask comrade Hillquit two questions:

1.—Does comrade Hillquit accept the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, which has been accepted by local after local of the party, and by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Mass.?

2.—Does comrade Hillquit accept the principles and policy in the call of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) for an International Communist Congress?

Let him answer!

The left wing in the American Socialist Party must and will be a left wing. It will not and must not gravitate to the centre, that insidious enemy of revolutionary Socialism. There must be consistent policy and resolute action. The opportunists of yesterday are discredited; they may try camouflage, but it won't work. Let the dead bury their dead. Revolutionary Socialism is resolute, open, consistent; it will conquer.

Bolshevikjabs

"PEACE Crisis" screams the headlines. Another Spring Drive!

As our confrere remarks: The problem at the Peace Conference used to be: "What are we going to do with Russia?" but now it appears that the question of the hour is "What is Russia going to do with us?"

"Wilson threatens to leave Paris," say the papers. And the British workers threaten to call Lloyd-George home. And Japan won't join unless she gets equality. And Orlando says he'll go home unless he gets Piume. An Clemenceau is not so popular in France as he might be, according to press dispatches. Maybe we'll get peace after all.

"Paderewski voices grief over Danzig," says the *New York Times*—it might be more effective if he would play it.

In addition to the various occupations Trotzky followed during his four months sojourn in America it now appears that he was also in the moving picture business. He very appropriately played the villain in a play that was photographed in Chicago and according to the leading lady, who gives the information to the public via the newspapers, he did excellently well in the role.

Perhaps this accounts for his subsequent actions. Many a good man has been spoiled by the movies simply by watching them.

Anyhow whatever else his faults may be Trotzky cannot be accused of being lazy. With the exception of entering Congress he seems to have done nearly everything else while he was here.

A Call for a General Textile Strike

THE General Strike Committee of the 30,000 textile strikers in Lawrence, Mass., who have been out ten weeks and are more than ever determined to wage the fight to the end, has issued the following call to action:

Brother and Sister Workers of the Weaving and Yarn Mills:— Since February 3, 1919 at Lawrence, Mass., 30,000 men, women and children have been on strike for a 48 hour working week and 54 hours pay. Prior to that they were on a 54-hour week, and the average wage was \$13.50 a week for two-thirds of the mill help, the unskilled workers. The greedy mill barons had the audacity to call this an excessive "war time wage."

And when the agitation for an 8-hour day swept down upon the Textile industry of the New England States and reached Lawrence, the mill masters granted it and placed their hands into the meagre envelopes of their slaves and extracted therefrom six hours pay, and—the strike was on!

Fellow Workers! Throughout the industrial world, in every country, the workingmen and women are aroused; they are organizing and striking for human conditions. In Great Britain, for instance, many millions of miners and textile workers are in the field for a six hour day, a five day week with 30% increase over the so-called "war time wages." Their battle cry is: Down with drudgery! Down with slavery!

These struggles of our European brothers are kept in mind by the 30,000 striking men, women and children of Lawrence. They are determined to carry on their unrelenting fight until the master class are brought to terms, until the efforts of the strikers are crowned with victory.

But we make this appeal to you, brother and sister workers, to come to our aid in order to hasten the day of victory not alone for the Lawrence workers but for all the men and women in the great weaving and spinning industry. The master class have centered their guns against the Lawrence strikers to crush them for the next ten years.

In this hour of great trial we urge you, all members of our class, to be prepared for a general walk out of all the shops and mills. Talk over the general strike in your homes, and with your friends and fellow workers everywhere. Organize a Strike Committee as soon as possible. Put on the Committee representatives of the various nationalities in your city. Communicate at once with us in Lawrence. Let us know just what you have one and plan to do. Let us know what we can do for you. Take definite action at once!

We call your attention to the following:

The great Woolen Trust has started to operate its plants outside of Lawrence night and day in order to defeat your brother workers of Lawrence; for instance, in the woolen mills in the state of Maine, at Fulton, N. Y. and other places.

Are you willing to have the Lawrence strikers fight for you while the hirelings of the Police Department stain the pavements of Lawrence with the blood of your brothers?

Arouse then, ye men and women of the mills, of the looms and spinning frames. Be ready to stop work! Strike in great numbers, all and everyone of you.

Organize one big walkout and line up in battle array with the strikers of Lawrence for a shorter work day and more pay, in order to live and enjoy the good things of life.

Drudge no longer. Band together.

The master class are now receiving great orders and now is the time to act. Lend a hand to the Lawrence strikers. Send in funds for the needy and for the inevitable one big strike in the Textile Industry. Get ready for the time is ripe.

One big strike!
One big union!
One big victory!