

In Germany

HERE is a new struggle preparing itself in Germany. This struggle will decide the immediate destiny of the international revolution, of Socialism. If the revolutionary proletariat conquers power, it means the world revolution; if not, it means new struggles, a series of class wars which must inevitably culminate in the Social Revolution.

Let us summarize the character and the course of the German Revolution: it is of the utmost importance that the Socialist proletariat should clearly understand the implacable class war that is being waged in Germany.

The agony of the war, the starvation of the people, the futility of the prolonged slaughter and defeat, provided the opportunity for the masses to act. That moment for which revolutionary Socialism, a small but militant minority, had been waiting and preparing for, came. Like a river that has burst its banks, the waters of the Revolution spread through Germany.

The Revolution that slowly developed during October 1918, broke forth irresistibly in November. The revolutionary mass action of the proletariat toppled over the Imperial German regime; the Kaiser fled to Holland; everywhere the masses organized Councils of Soldiers and Workmen; a new Government was organized.

But this was just the preliminary phase of the Revolution. The new government was controlled by the majority "Socialists" represented by Ebert, Scheidemann & Co., who had supported the imperialistic war, who had opposed the coming of the Revolution, and around whom the bourgeoisie now rallied against Socialism.

The new bourgeois-"Socialist" Government maintained all the old government institutions,—the army, the police and the bureaucracy. Behind it skulked the forces of the bourgeoisie, and even of the Junkers. Hindenburg was still in control of the army; Germany's foreign policy was manipulated by Dr. Solf and Dr. Erzberger—all consistent and malevolent representatives of the old regime of Imperialism, of war and plunder.

Against this bourgeois-"Socialist" Government there developed a new revolution, captained by the Spartacans, whose program was identical with the program of the Bolsheviks. This new revolution aimed to overthrow the Ebert-Scheidemann Government, to destroy the power of the old army and its reactionary military chiefs, to destroy the old parliamentary institutions which deceive and shackle the proletarian masses, to crush the power of the bourgeoisie, decree all power to the Councils (Soviets) and establish a new proletarian state of the federal Soviets, upon the basis of which the definite introduction of communist Socialism could be initiated. This program was to link the German Revolution with the Russian Revolution, and assure the coming of the world revolution and international Socialism.

But the majority "Socialists," doing the dirty work of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, opposed this revolutionary program. They did not want to crush the power of the bourgeoisie; they wanted, not a Socialist but a bourgeois democratic republic; they used the army and the old government forces to crush the proletarian revolution. Revolt after revolt of the masses was crushed by this combination of the old regime and the traitorous Socialists of the bourgeoisie.

The revolution in Germany, as long as it remained within its parliamentary limits, had accomplished little. True, it had introduced parliamentary democracy, but it is not by means of parliamentary democracy that Socialism will come, but by means of revolutionary action and proletarian dictatorship. Capitalism was still in power. The forms of Kaiserism had been overthrown, but not the substance, since Kaiserism did not simply represent the rule of a monarch, but the unity of autocracy with imperialistic Capitalism; and the power of this Capitalism had not been crushed.

Threatened by the oncoming proletarian revolution, the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government not only concluded an alliance with the old regime, but asked unity with the imperialistic governments of the Allies to—crush Bolshevism!

But the masses, tortured by hunger, oppressed by the new reaction, menaced by the imperialistic designs of the Allies, acquired new vigor and new purposes. Out of each defeat they secured new strength for new struggles.

Then came the proletarian dictatorship in Bavaria, the proclamation of a Soviet Republic. This gave impetus to the proletarian struggle throughout Germany. The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government massed

its troops against the Bavarian Soviet Republic; but Munich is still proletarian and Bolshevik, while all over Germany the struggle is again flaring into action.

The struggle is a struggle to complete the Revolution by making it definitely proletarian. Capitalism must be overthrown; the new regime must not be a regime of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which

is the form of expression of bourgeois supremacy, but a regime of communist Socialism, which is the form of expression of the proletariat. There must be a new state organized—the state of the organized producers, of the federated Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, which alone can break the power of capital. Workers' control of industry, communist organization of production, the abolition of parliamentary political forms,—that alone can assure the life and happiness of the workers, that alone can assure Socialism.

The experience of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany emphasizes the lessons of the Russian revolution: parliamentary, petty bourgeois moderate Socialism is the worst enemy of the militant proletariat. Only through revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship can the masses conquer power and realize Socialism.

Which International?

THE most important problem of international Socialism, at this moment, is the acceptance or rejection of the Bolshevik call for a Communist Congress. It is important, since its purpose is to rally and integrate the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and Socialism for action and the conquest of power; and it is equally important as a test of the revolutionary character of the different Socialist Parties.

The minority, the Left Wing Socialist groups everywhere have enthusiastically accepted the call for an international Communist Congress. The Left Wing of the American Socialist Party has; and there is now a motion for a referendum to instruct the party's international delegates to participate only in an International Congress in which participate the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans. But the old majority representatives of the party are silent, mostly, on this momentous issue; they are evading, perhaps waiting to see which way the cat will jump.

The Socialist Party of France, at its Congress the other day, voted down, 894 to 270, a motion to affiliate with the Bolshevik-Spartacan Third International. The motion adopted was to affiliate with the Second International (of moderate, petty bourgeois "Socialism," which broke down miserably during the war and the proletarian revolution) providing that all those who are Socialists in name only shall be excluded. What a petty, miserable evasion, characteristic of Jean Longuet, who introduced the motion! The value of this proposed "exclusion" is tested by the fact that the Longuet majority *does not exclude* from its own party "those who are Socialists in name only."

On the other hand, the Socialist Party of Italy has proclaimed its uncompromising acceptance of the Bolshevik-Spartacan International, and the revolutionary tactics this acceptance imposes. The Executive Committee of the Italian party has resolved to sever all connections with the old International Socialist Bureau and the old International. Its resolution is aggressive and incisive, a challenge to militant Socialism:

Whereas, the International Socialist Bureau is an instrument of the war policy of the pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie tending to mislead the proletariat, and is a real barrier to the reorganization of the Socialist Revolutionary International; and

Whereas, all the efforts of the International Socialist Bureau, now a hostage of the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the Entente, to restore the life and energy of the Socialist proletariat have been in vain; and

Whereas, the alliance concluded at Berné between the social-patriotic tendencies of Entente Imperialism and the social-patriotic tendencies of the Imperialism of the Central Empires brings into the open the reactionary character of all the factions who were false to the pledges made by the International in opposition to the bourgeoisie who threw the peoples into the war; and

Whereas, in consequence it is impossible to conceive the co-existence in a single organization of those who were loyal to the principles of the International and those who betrayed those principles and are still opposed to the realization of Socialism; and

Whereas, the International Bureau, instead of, as soon as the war ended, bringing about the immediate convention of the parties and organizations affiliated with the Bureau, loaned itself to the work of making a success of the Berné conference, which was nothing less than a caricature of an International Socialist conference; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Socialist party of Italy withdraw from the International Socialist Bureau and affiliates with and works for the establishment of the Socialist Revolutionary International upon the basis and principles laid down by the Russian Communist Comrades at Moscow in the month of January for the convening of an International Socialist conference; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Committee shall carry active work to secure for the aforesaid purpose the adhesion of those Socialists of all countries who have remained faithful to the International, either by convening a preliminary meeting or by any other action deemed proper to attain the result sought.

This is an inescapable challenge to militant Socialism. A division is necessary in the International, and in our own movement. Which Socialism and which International. Comrades of the Socialist Party?

Bolshevikjabs

STATISTICIANS compute that if the words "Belgium," "Belgians," "Belgian," printed during the past five years were cut out and pasted together into a strip five inches wide it would go around the earth ten times, and that if the adjectives "poor little" were added the strip would go around the world fifteen times. The Belgians, however, say that on the other hand if the same words were printed every time they were uttered at the Peace Conference and then cut out and pasted together the strip resulting would be merely sufficient to blot out the first five headline letters of the term Peace Conference.

* * * *

Japan being an Oriental nation and not versed in the ways of Western diplomacy is most indiscreet. In a statement regarding the Korean situation recently issued the whole trouble is summed up as follows:—"The present trouble in Korea originated with a group of religious associations, some of which are Christian, and with certain students, who, unfortunately, bewildered by political ambition, misunderstand the term 'League of Nations' and misconstrue it as meaning 'self-determination.'" No wonder there is some doubt about allowing Japan the innermost—or should we say the least open covenants least openly arrived at—of the Peace Conference.

* * * *

Count Dentia Frazzo, member of the Italian Parliament, is quoted as denouncing "the Bolshevik rule for Russia." If all reports are true the worthy count will soon have the opportunity of denouncing "Bolshevik rule" much nearer home.

* * * *

It is reported that Premier Clemenceau is still wearing his old coat in order to "economize." It is reported that the French workers are economizing not only by wearing their old coats, but by tightening their belts.

* * * *

'Tis a pity that the workers can't take part in those diplomatic banquets at Paris. A worker of twenty could enjoy the food much more than 77-year old Clemenceau.

* * * *

The British White Book describing the "horrors" of Bolshevism in Russia, says that in Central Russia the linen industry is 50 per cent of normal, the woolen trade 60 per cent, coal production 60 per cent, the cotton mills 70 per cent. . . . The National Manufacturers' Association, after completing a survey of business in the United States, reports it as being 25 to 50 per cent normal. . . . Well?

* * * *

Is the United States worse off than Russia?

* * * *

Or are the figures a lying move to frighten the workers and get them to accept lower wages?

* * * *

"Rioting Continues in Indian Cities" says a headline. Poor England seems fated to be continually misunderstood, even in her spectacular sacrifices for small and subject peoples.

* * * *

The bourgeois liberal magazines are astonished at the Chinese puzzle of the Peace Conference's "policy" on Russia. Listen to this wail of *The New Republic*:

Another official Russian plan has just appeared, this time in the form of news given out by the State Department. The report is that Mr. Lansing has a policy. It is said to consist in the recognition of Admiral Kolchak and assistance to him for the prosecution of civil war. The bids in the Russian question, therefore, stand as follows:

1. Mr. Wilson and Mr. George in a signed letter to Dr. Nansen: "Cessation of hostilities and complete suspension of the transfer of troops and military material of all sorts to and within Russia's territory."

2. Mr. George to the House of Commons: "We are supplying munitions to Kolchak, Denikin and Kharkoff."

3. Mr. Lansing, supported by Mr. Wilson, according to the State Department: "Recognition of the Omsk government and military support to and within Russia's territory."

This can hardly be described as the clear and untroubled voice of reason speaking to a distracted world. Russian policy is still as difficult to follow as a Russian novel. The characters change their names so often, and their souls are so torn with conflicting emotions that their minds are stalled. It is time that somebody issued a guide book in which the relative value of letters, speeches and inspired dispatches was indicated by one, two and three asterisks.