

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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Disciplining the Youth

THE Boy Scout movement has always been a movement to discipline our youth into good servants of Capitalism—a characteristic of the movement everywhere. It is that military discipline which digs out the brains and makes loyal workers. Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the chief spokesman of the Boy Scout movement, has always made it clear that the Boy Scouts should be encouraged by the employers, for business reasons. In an address in Boston the other day, Sir Robert said: "After a boy has been a scout and has taken active part in the administration of his troop he is infinitely less liable to be led astray by violent soap-box orators. The Boy Scout has a training that will, for one thing, offset ill-advised strikes." Precisely! The most disgusting thing about Capitalism is that it uses human instincts for inhuman purposes. The boy likes the country, drill, music, games, excitement; natural instincts; Capitalism takes these and perverts them for its own purpose. Socialism means the liberation of the human spirit.

They Speak Socialism!

THE terms of peace imposed upon Germany are accomplishing a miracle: the Ebert-Scheidemann Government of the Betrayal of Socialism is actually using Socialist language. President Ebert declares that Germany is to be exploited by foreign Capitalism; the class struggle is spoken of again, and they appeal to the Socialists of the world. But it won't work. The German peace delegation—under the direction of that revolutionary Socialist, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau—is unable to arouse the least Socialist sympathy. All of them—the Count, Scheidemann and the trades-unionist Karl Legien—were uncompromising adherents of German Imperialism, its faithful slaves. The whole Ebert-Scheidemann Government consists of persons who were thick with German Imperialism before its collapse. They cut the throat of Socialism in Germany, during the war and the Revolution; and now they speak of Socialism!... The German majority "Socialists" deliberately made their choice: they chose Wilson instead of Lenin, Capitalism instead of Socialism. An oppressive peace is their punishment. The proletariat of Germany must repudiate these men and their counter-revolutionary policy: in that alone lies salvation.

Calculated Defiance

CHANCELLOR PHILIP SCHEIDEMANN is indignant about the peace terms that are being imposed upon Germany—stigmatizing the peace as "murderous" and "unacceptable" to the German people.

The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government of Assassins of the Revolution is playing a contemptible game. It is arousing the nationalism of the German people and trying to preserve its prestige. But Scheidemann and his gangsters know that their Germany cannot resist the Allies; only a revolutionary proletarian Germany, a Bolshevik Republic, could defy the Allies and secure the sympathy and co-operation of the Socialist proletariat.

Accordingly, defiance is nothing but politics. These gestures are necessary, however. Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. all along insisted that if a Bolshevik Republic were established, the Allies would completely annihilate Germany—"it would ruin our economic life." Only a non-Bolshevik Government, they said, can secure a just peace from the Allies. And now this Government offers the people the very peace they

said would be imposed upon a Bolshevik Germany. So the bourgeois-"Socialist" Government tries to "save its face" with words of defiance.

The petty bourgeois Socialist policy is condemned. Empty words of defiance will not retrieve it, but may make the disaster worse. The German proletariat must now realize that only revolutionary Socialism is acceptable as a policy.

Split the Party!

THE struggle between moderate "Socialism" and revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party is coming to a head. It is coming to a head, characteristically, by the moderates adopting the tactics of gangsters against the Left Wing.

These moderates have insisted that the Left Wing was breaking the unity of the Party, that the Party's forces were being broken up by these disputes, that it was the purpose of the Left to either split the Party or secede. Our answer was: No; it is our task to secure control of the Party, to conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism and impose upon it a consistent proletarian-Bolshevik policy.

The final answer to this controversy has been made by the moderates in New York, who are preparing to split the Party by expelling the Left Wing locals and branches. Guardians of the unity of the Party!

The first indication of this move was the resolution adopted by the State Committee of New York to expel all locals and branches affiliated with the Left Wing. But the Left forced the moderates to put this resolution to a referendum vote.

Now, before the referendum, before the membership has spoken, the Right Wing in New York City is preparing to expel the Left Wing branches. They are resorting to tactics of brigandage because every day that passes sees new accessions of strength to our revolutionary comrades in New York City, who are in this crisis waging the struggle of the whole revolutionary movement in the party.

The bureaucracy of Local New York, which is under the domination of the moderates, is using all means to break the revolt against its supremacy. On the Central Committee the Left was securing new strength, threatening to become a majority. The moderate majority, accordingly, authorized the Executive Committee to suspend all meetings of the Central Committee until the local is reorganized. The Executive Committee, in a declaration, says that no member's opinions will be considered, but that a branch must either break its affiliation with the Left Wing organization, or be "re-organized"—which means expelled from the Party.

The argument used by the moderates in this gangster maneuver is that a "separate organization in the party" cannot be tolerated, that the regular means of expression in the party should be used. But this "separate organization" consists simply of the revolutionary comrades getting together for purposes of action and counsel—a course absolutely necessary because the whole bureaucracy and party press in New York City is against the Left Wing. It is precisely this "separate organization" accused of refusing to use the regular party channels that has made an issue of the emergency national Convention of the Party.

The Left Wing in New York City is to be expelled: that seems determined upon. The unity of the Party there is to be broken, not by the Left Wing, but by the moderates who want to make the Socialist Party a regular, consistent party of moderate, counter-revolutionary "Socialism."

And this expulsion is being carried out to a chorus of cheap, disgusting affirmations of "loyalty to Socialism" and mean, contemptible attacks upon our comrades of the Left Wing. The moderates in New York City are issuing a weekly paper, *The Socialist*, in which a repulsive Scheidemann ideology unites with the gutter tactics of Tammany. The Left Wing comrades are virtually denounced to the police and the Government; we are accused of wanting to start riots and an insurrection; we are accused of wanting to start riots and an insurrection. The Left Wing are attacked in a low, vile manner, worthy of the most unprincipled politicians.

The whole situation in Local New York, Socialist Party, is a scandal that affects the integrity of the whole Party. If the brigand tactics of the Right Wing there are to conquer, then the whole Party becomes transformed into a yellow caricature of Socialism.

The Socialist Party must speak out about this scandal. The national Party must intervene in order to protect the integrity of the Party. There should be an investigation. In any event, the whole matter will come up before the National Convention, at which, probably, two sets of delegates will appear claiming to represent Local New York. That will be the test.

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the Party! Our slogan is: Conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism!

Germania Delenda Est!

IN its typical brutal Prussian fashion, the New York *Tribune* characterizes the terms of peace that are being imposed upon Germany: "Not since Rome punished Carthage for Punic faith has such a treaty been written." And: "They [the Germans] have been sentenced to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a couple of generations."

Rome's answer to Carthage was completely to destroy Carthage. This ruthless destruction was consigned to the chorus of Cato's idealism, in whom, perhaps, there may appear a resemblance to Woodrow Wilson. Rome's great rival was forever crushed. The modern destruction of Germany—of Germany as an imperialistic world power—is not as complete as that of Carthage, since you cannot raze more than 1 hundred square miles of territory nor exile or massacre 65,000,000 people; but in terms of competitive power this great rival of the other imperialistic nations effectively disposed of. The comparison with Carthage might be pursued further, in its commercial and trade aspects; but this would be carrying coal to Newcastle.

That the destruction of Germany as an imperialistic world power was the purpose of the Allies, has now been made amply clear in the terms of peace. This destruction is complete. Germany is deprived of all its colonies—which are aggrandized by the Allies, each of whom is a "mandatory" over some of these colonial possessions—and its military and naval power completely broken. We shall shed no tears over this. But the ruthless policy of the Allies goes beyond military matters, to the economics which are the real factor in the situation: Germany's economic power is broken. And this, again, has another aspect: it is not bourgeois Germany, but proletarian Germany which is being punished. This is implied in that disgusting swank of the *Tribune*: "The Germans have been sentenced to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a couple of generations."

The condition which the terms of peace impose upon the German proletariat is one where it not alone remains the vassals of its own capitalist class, but becomes also the vassals of the Allies. ...

Old General Bernhardt declared that the issue for Germany in the next war would be: "World power or downfall." It has ended in downfall, as complete a collapse as any that history can show. The imperialists of Germany are getting what they would have given. And they whine—that cringing whine of the bourgeois who, while strong is ruthless, but when weak becomes a shameless beggar.

It is an oppressive peace—"a peace of annihilation," in the words of the contemptible majority "Socialist" organ, the Berlin *Vorwärts*. Let us say it: the Allies are completing the annihilation of Germany's imperialistic power, which the petty bourgeois "Socialists" of Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. did not wish to complete. It is "a peace of annihilation," but they will sign it: not because they are weak, but because their most important task is to crush the proletarian revolution, to save out of the wreck what they can of bourgeois supremacy. Rather become vassals of the Allies that to be expropriated by the revolutionary proletariat!

The German bourgeoisie will try to re-gain its power, to pass on the burden to the workers. If the workers submit, then their future is black and hopeless.

Germany is crushed. And the proletariat will pay the bulk of the penalty. Every imperialistic war is a class war—in one sense, of capitalist class against capitalist class; in a more fundamental sense, of Capitalism against the proletariat, since world power means power over the proletariat. World power is with the Allies; and even before the German bourgeoisie felt the sting of this power, the revolutionary proletariat felt it. Imperialism is the oppressor of the proletariat.

Under these conditions, the German proletariat is condemned to an aggravated slavery unless it acts for the Communist Revolution. There is no way out except through Communism. And this is equally true of the proletariat of the Allies, who will yet perceive that the crushing of Germany will not measurably ease their own problems of reconstruction, will profit the capitalists alone.

The New York *Tribune* admits that the Germans might have escaped this treaty "if they had Bolshevized themselves three months ago and entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Red Russia." It is now hopeless, it says. Who knows? Perhaps immediately, but not ultimately. The crisis cannot be ended by a treaty of peace; it may simply give it a new form. The revolt of the proletariat is bound to come: it is the only way out of slavery and oppression.