

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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The International Revolutionary Epoch

IN July 1914 the world was jogging "peacefully" along. Poverty, misery, mass murder in the form of small or colonial wars, breadlines, police brutality, unemployment, pogroms and all the accompaniments of capitalist society were ever present it is true, but as they were isolated, seemingly disconnected and did not interfere with the general routine of society, the world was considered to be at peace. Here and there individuals and small groups reacted to the misery pregnant in Capitalism and set to work to reform the system through liberalism, laborism and parliamentary Socialism. Here and there revolutionary Socialists called for the abolition of the system and the establishment of a new order of society but for the most part they were looked upon as extremists, theorists and impossibilists. . . .

Then the storm clouds gathered and ere the masses had realized that the sky was darkening the clouds burst, deluging the earth in the blood of world war. Europe resounded with the battle call of trumpets, mobilization swept over the lands like a plague, leaving the wail of forsaken women and children in its wake. Parliamentary Socialism, caught in the trap of its own reform platforms, made a weak gesture of dissent and succumbed to the general hysteria almost over night. After the first shock of disaster the masses quietened their fears with the hope of sudden victories and the early cessation of hostilities. But the victories did not materialize and gradually the realization of a sustained and overwhelming disaster permeated the minds of the people.

Instead of the passing days bringing hope of a decisive battle the people saw new nations become involved and the conflict spread over Europe and over the world. The magnitude of the disaster stunned the peoples and through their age long training they instinctively turned to destroy each other and to preserve that with which they had previously been dissatisfied—the capitalist structure within their own countries. But as the fighting continued, as the misery accumulated, and as the hopelessness of relief through victory increased the masses turned from the misery of the front line trenches to the misery within their own countries and dissatisfaction with that which they continued fighting to preserve increased. . . .

Louder and louder grew the clamour for the end of the war—but as yet it was for an end through victory. Governments rose and fell in quick succession but the war continued and victory seemed as far off as ever. Gradually the masses began to ponder, to ask why. Why did not victory crown their efforts and then why was the war being fought and then why did the war begin?—The governments answered—victory could only come through renewed sacrifices, civilization was threatened, the enemy started the war. . . . And the masses fell back grumbling, convinced against their wills, only to again ask why. More and more the idea grew that the war was born out of the system of society and that when the war ceased other wars would begin.

And then Russia sickened of the war and of the Czar. The masses rose against the Czar and in a night he and all the power he represented crumbled into dust. The workers and peasants dazed at their own power were content to believe that they had accomplished their task, that now their misery would

end, that they were at last free. But nothing changed except in name, the war continued, the land was not theirs, the slavery in the factories was not ended. Liberals and parliamentary Socialists took control but the masses remained in bondage. Then revolutionary Socialism intervened and pointed the way to the new society.

Conscious of their power by their victory over Czarism and awakened to a realization of the fundamental causes of their misery by the intervening months of bourgeois government, the workers, the soldiers and peasants of Russia marched to the assault on Capitalism, conquered, and proclaimed their victory to their brothers throughout the world.

With the rise to power of the Russian proletariat Capitalism was shaken to its foundations. All over the world the class conscious workers pointed the way to their fellows and the war took on a new aspect. Russia proposed peace only to meet with summary rejection by her erstwhile allies and a lying acceptance by her military opponents. Then followed the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and the workers of all lands received an answer to their questions. But they were unable to understand and Capitalism continued the war.

Russia declared peace. But Germany continued to fight against her and gradually the Allies also advanced upon her. From within reaction created a new front and out of the confusion developed a new phase of the war—war between the Russian workers and the governments of the world, aided by the deposed government within Russia. Alone the workers, peasants and soldiers prepared to defend their victory. To the workers, peasants and soldiers of all lands they appealed, pointing to the reasons for the misery of war and the misery of peace. Against Germany in particular did the Russian masses oppose their ideas, and the German workers listened and grasping the purport of the masses in its immediate application they moved against their masters and the Kaiser was swept away on the wrath of the people's masses.

The war ended. The peoples of the world rejoiced but before the echo of their shouts had died away the sound of guns was heard in Russia. . . .

The war was over but fighting continued and the workers were amazed. Peace was to bring relief from all their burdens, but peace was here and the fighting continued, the burdens were still heavy on their shoulders. In Germany the war gave place to a new war; a war between the workers and the bourgeoisie. Throughout the other countries the workers began to feel the real weight of the burdens they carried—and strikes developed. From all the victorious countries the statesmen assembled to conclude the terms of peace. The peoples of Europe greeted the arrival of the peace delegates with joy—the war was to be definitely ended, peace was to be restored to a stricken world. But as the Peace Conference met and the days passed it became apparent that peace was still afar off. Instead of settling the war, plans were laid for combatting the rise of the masses, armies remained mobilized and Europe instead of being divided on a gigantic battle front between two contending armies became divided into a series of internal and external fronts with armies divided against themselves.

Out of the new situation it gradually developed that a new battle line was forming, not on national lines of nation against nation, but on class lines of class against class. And then the Hungarian workers, peasants and soldiers rose against the bourgeoisie and seized all power.

With the success of the proletarian revolution in Hungary the new lines of antagonism emerged in bolder relief. The great powers assumed a new offensive for the express purpose of crushing the revolution and restoring the bourgeoisie to power, and the Hungarian workers turned to Russia for aid.

The struggle against Russia, which had been waged under a hundred forms, became the struggle against Hungary and definitely emerged as a struggle against the insurgent masses everywhere. From out of the old war waged by nation against nation developed the new war waged by Imperialism against revolution.

* * *

The era of the Social Revolution is here. When Russia threw off her chains, only to find herself within a ring of steel, the revolutionary epoch was born. So long as the Russian workers maintained their victory so long they menaced Capitalism but while the fight was continued within the borders of Russia, Capitalism hoped to crush revolution and once more entrench itself in its old position. Revolutionary Russia recognized that while she alone defied Capitalism the revolution might prove to be still born.

But the revolution has spread and each day brings new developments. . . . Capitalism masses its forces to crush the workers but its forces are already opposed to the task that lies ahead and the cost of crushing the revolution in Russia and Hungary will be the outbreak of the revolution within the forces sent to crush it. Spurred on to new efforts by the developments in Hungary the proletariat of Germany are preparing to once more advance against the German bourgeoisie. Within Serbia the fight is on. . . . The period of the final struggle of the workers against Capitalism is here. . . .

Russia has waited sixteen months, defending the revolution with her life, and now the struggle begins to bring results. The revolution is on but it is not a matter of weeks or even months but of years. In this, the final struggle, there will be an ebb and flow—now sinking down to the dark depths of defeat, now rising up to the shining peaks of victory, but always in action.

The struggle is on and must be fought to a finish, the cleavage is clear; bourgeois reaction triumphant and the working masses crushed to earth for generations to come, or victory for the workers and the establishment of Socialism throughout the world. But the fact of the struggle shows the failure of Capitalism to satisfy the masses, no longer by cajolery and trickery can it be maintained, force is its only safeguard. But the people are weary of force and the waging of the war necessary to crush the revolution will itself inevitably bring revolution.

The struggle is on and in its very nature it must be a prolonged struggle but the result is certain. Out of the fight must emerge the triumph of the workers and the establishment of the Socialist federation of the world.

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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The Allies Speak

THE Allies, it is reported, have issued an ultimatum demanding the resignation of the Hungarian Soviet Government, and the election of a Constituent Assembly under the supervision of Allied troops. Threats of war against Hungary and Russia are coming from sinister sources. But, simultaneously, comes the report that two regiments of French troops at Odessa refused to fight against the Bolshevik troops. France and Italy and Great Britain cannot depend upon their conscript armies, consisting overwhelmingly of workers, in a war against the Bolsheviks. If the Allies war against the Bolsheviks, they invite revolution; if they do not, they invite the unhampered spread of Bolshevism. They speak and ultimate; but events and destiny are with the international revolutionary proletariat.

Political Amnesty

IN a few days, Eugene V. Debs will go to prison to start serving a ten-year sentence. Certain bourgeois liberals, such as Charles Edward Russell (who formerly, very mistakenly, considered themselves Socialists) recently cabled President Wilson in Paris asking "clemency" for Debs. No answer... The recent flourish concerning the release of some political prisoners and reduction of the sentences of others, was a bit of political camouflage and hypocrisy, for in every single case the men and women affected were absolutely innocent even from the standpoint of the government. The revolutionists are still in jail... In bourgeois circles, and in circles of petty bourgeois Socialists, the clamor is arising for political amnesty. This is a characteristic of the impotent policy of petty bourgeois radicals. They demand from the government amnesty for political prisoners while that identical government is preparing new measures against the revolutionary movement, new measures to arrest and deport agitators. Instead of demands upon the government, mass proletarian pressure upon the government—that is the policy of revolutionary Socialism, which alone will get amnesty for our comrades in prison.

Crushing Bolshevism

THE American plutocracy is in an acute state of fear. And it fears what Capitalism in all nations fears—Bolshevism. A general and intense campaign is going on against Bolshevism in the United States, which has two phases—repression and propaganda. The repression assumes the form of jailing and deporting agitators, and passing measures against "revolutionary literature" and "revolutionary ideas"—experience eloquently shows the futility of repression. Revolutions thrive on repression. Repression is itself an enormous force preparing revolutions. And the propaganda? Millions of dollars are being spent; thousands of full page advertisements against Bolshevism are appearing in the daily press; and we consider these advertisements excellent Bolshevik propaganda, since they are compelled to camouflage conditions that prevail. One advertisement had the picture of Russian workers starving and being shot, and in contrast an American workman in his own home with his wife, child, peace and plenty:—isn't this excellent Bolshevik propaganda for the unemployed, for the strikers in Lawrence, for the Seattle and Butte workers who were menaced with military force during their strikes? Bolshevism is the expression of the conditions and the needs of the workers, of their oppression and their struggle against oppression. Every worker is a potential Bolshevik; and the proletariat of all nations is the natural ally of

the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and of Hungary. Let them repress! Let them legislate! Let them carry on propaganda! The iron battalions of the proletariat are marshalling for the great struggle, for the conquest of power, and Socialism.

In Germany—Preparations

THE proclamation of a proletarian dictatorship in Hungary of a Soviet Republic, has aroused the enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in Germany, while it has increased the uneasiness of the Ebert-Scheidemann Government by Assassination. The Spartan-Communist propaganda is increasing with tremendous energy, being characterized as "twice as large" as before the recent "crushing" of the Spartan revolts. Spartan strikes in the Rhine territory occupied by Allied troops have been broken; and reports say that the Rhineland would have gone Spartan if not for the presence of Allied troops. A strike of 50,000 has been called in the Saar mines: the French troops are "maintaining order." Strikes in all parts of Germany demand six hours work, more pay and food, disarming the police and government guards, the withdrawal of government troops from all strike areas and the establishment of a Soviet Republic. Intense preparations are being made for a new revolution—the proletarian revolution. The royalist-bourgeois forces are preparing to come to grips, while the "Socialist" Government of the People's Butchery is being isolated, Weimar having become a political ghost. The threats of the Allies, also, are shaking this government, which secured a measure of popular confidence by its promises to secure food and "good treatment" from the Allies. But now the Allies threaten invasion. Soviet Russia controls the situation. The bourgeois-"Socialist" Government has sent Karl Kautsky to Moscow to discuss "arrangements." But Soviet Russia will cooperate only with a Soviet Germany. Not even Kautsky, that master of dialectical sophistry, can convince Lenin that the German Government is Socialist. Either an invasion by the Allies or the development of the situation will bring the collapse of the bourgeois-Socialist Government; then a Soviet Germany, an alliance with Soviet Russia, a League of revolutionary nations, Russia, Hungary and Germany (perhaps others), and then—the world revolution. All this is in preparation.

Brest-Litovsk

THE twinge of fear is, to the bourgeois, the beginning of wisdom. The acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk treaty by Soviet Russia was denounced by international Capitalism as a German victory, as an act of deliberate pro-Germanism by the Bolshevik Government, as the final inescapable proof that Lenin and Trotzky were German agents. But now, with Bolshevism rampant in Germany, with the threat of a Bolshevik world revolution, when facts and not fancies are supreme, the bourgeois begins to try to understand international events.

It was clear to the revolutionary Socialist, at the time, that the Brest-Litovsk treaty was imposed upon Soviet Russia; that the Bolshevik Government accepted it then because it was helpless and not prepared for a revolutionary war. It is clear now, that Brest-Litovsk marked the beginning of the end of Germany as a military power. In a cable from Paris to the New York Tribune, April 1, Frank H. Simonds accepts this conception of Brest-Litovsk:

Looking backward, one perceives that what the Hungarians did last week was to follow the precedent of Brest-Litovsk, where Lenin and Trotzky, unable to resist the German demands, refused to agree to them and left Germany to enforce upon the body of Russia what she could not acquire with the consent of the Russian will. We know now that Brest-Litovsk was the greatest blunder that Germany made. We know now that in the end Bolshevism came to Berlin, the Kaiser did not go to Petrograd.

That is conclusive, coming from a gentlemen who repeatedly denounced Brest-Litovsk as the final proof of the pro-German turpitude of the Bolsheviks.

Brest-Litovsk is a symbol. It is a symbol, on the one hand, of the barbarity and class turpitude of international Imperialism, equally of the Allies and the Central Powers; and, on the other, it is a symbol of the revolutionary realism of the Bolsheviks, of the accuracy of their contention that Capitalism is verging on collapse and that the day has come for the proletarian world revolution.

When the Soviets decreed a proletarian dictatorship, an offer was made to the belligerent governments and peoples for an armistice on all fronts as a preliminary to general peace negotiations. The Allies rejected the offer, as a means of acting against the proletarian revolution in Russia; the Central Powers accepted with the characteristically infamous and stupid intention of using the revolution to promote their own sinister purposes. The armistice was concluded on the

eastern front; but still the Bolsheviks insisted on general peace negotiations, and desperately invited the Allies to participate: but the Allies contemptuously refused. This gave imperial Germany an opportunity of forcing separate peace negotiations upon Soviet Russia. The Allies sabotaged peace, the Central Powers butchered it. But still the Soviet delegation tried to give the negotiation a general character, trying to stir up the masses against the governments. Then, repudiated by the Allies, threatened by the Central Powers, temporarily abandoned by the masses, the Soviet Government was helpless against the Austro-German demands for annexations. But still they refused to sign the robber peace; and then the German troops marched in, and Soviet Russia was compelled to accept the peace.

Lenin's arguments were cogent: Russia is not prepared to wage a revolutionary war; we must have a respite to reorganize our industrial system; our peace will not end the war, but the war will flare up more intense than ever, and with it the social and economic crisis; the revolutionary uprising of the masses will come, and then a strong, re-organized Soviet Russia will dominate the situation, and hasten the world revolution in co-operation, through its economic and military resources, with the revolutionary proletariat of other nations.

And so it has come to pass.

All governments were against Soviet Russia, still are, except the Socialist government of Hungary. They intrigued and acted against a country demoralized and starving as a result of the evil heritage of Capitalism and Czarism. They used Brest-Litovsk, that living wound inflicted upon suffering Russia, as a means of a vile slanderous attack upon Russia.

But Soviet Russia conquered!

Out of Brest-Litovsk came the ideologic impulse for the revolution in Germany. It convinced the masses of the imperialistic folly of their government. It was a peace that did not bring peace. After Brest-Litovsk, the Bolsheviks started a new war against German Imperialism—a war of revolutionary propaganda.

And Soviet Russia conquered!

One year ago, Soviet Russia was apparently prostrate. They thought they could despise and attack Russia. But now, Russia, symbol of the proletarian revolution, is the great decisive factor in the world situation. The revolutionary government in Hungary, the revolutionary masses in Germany—everywhere—look to Soviet Russia. Power is with the proletarian revolution, with the ideals of Bolshevik Russia. Starting with March, 1917, on through the period of Menshevik-Kerensky compromise, November 7, Brest-Litovsk and today, the Bolsheviks have adhered uncompromisingly to their policy: *on with the world revolution.* And it is on!

The I. W. W.

IN these days, when society and the proletarian movement are equally being revolutionized by events, by the proletarian revolution in action, it is absolutely necessary that the Socialist adjust himself to events. Unfortunately, the yellow Socialist learns nothing and forgets nothing. Always a reactionary and a petty bourgeois, the yellow Socialist persists in pursuing a counter-revolutionary policy at a moment when the Revolution is the problem of the day. But it is not the yellow Socialist alone who refuses to learn from the experiences of the proletarian revolution in action, from life itself. There is the "red" Socialist, most aptly characterized by the petrified dogmatists of the Socialist Labor Party. And then there is the I. W. W.

The theory and practice of the I. W. W. come nearest to the Bolshevik policy. But it does not go the whole way. It is, in fact, only a basis upon which to build. Bolshevism, the proletarian revolution in action, has contributed vitally to our revolutionary theory and practice: but there are elements in the I. W. W. who refuse to admit that Bolshevism has contributed anything new, that the I. W. W. is Bolshevism. And when you point out that the I. W. W. as it is is not all of revolutionary theory and practice, these elements become furious.

In its issue of April 1, *The Rebel Worker*, published by the New York Central Committee of the I. W. W., says:

Just as Louis Fraina says "The I. W. W. is becoming conservative," Solicitor Lamar of the P. O. Department rushes before a congressional committee in order to make the breathless declaration, "The I. W. W. is the centre of the Bolshevik conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. Government." Evidently neither Fraina nor Lamar know what he is talking about.

We shall not discuss here whether the I. W. W. is becoming conservative. But since when is Lamar a judge of revolutionary ideas? Kerensky was denounced as a Bolshevik by men of Lamar's type. Ac-

According to *The Rebel Worker's* logic, Victor L. Berger, who consistently denounces the I. W. W. and the Bolsheviks, and who was and still is a yellow of yellows, is the most formidable Bolshevik in the United States, since he has been considered dangerous enough by the Government to get a prison term of twenty years!

The distinguished and affable gentleman who edits *The Rebel Worker*, not satisfied with his adventure in (il) logic, tries sarcasm, with this result:

As you read the statement by the youthful politician who heads the Left Wing movement in the American Socialist Party in his article in the current issue of *The Class Struggle*, that "the I. W. W. is becoming conservative," you wonder whether he takes you for a fool, or is he tunc himself. . . . Or both.

As our "Bolshevikjab" confere points out, this issue of *The Rebel Worker* is dated April 1—so fools *must* rush in. It is the spirit of the day, and of the jocular gentleman who edits *The Rebel Worker*. . . . But still not satisfied, this authority on revolution sarcastically characterizes as "intelligent" the following statement from a recent issue of *The Revolutionary Age*: "The emphasis on economic action is not in accord with the new conceptions of the Revolution." (!) And then he quotes Karl Liebknecht's last interview: "It is an idyllic but naive plan to try to accomplish a social revolution by voting. It is absurd. Parliaments are finished with and useless." If the editor of *The Rebel Worker* read *The Revolutionary Age* seriously and not as a means of securing material for sarcasm, he would realize that we are thoroughly in accord with Liebknecht. *But Liebknecht believed in political action*, was even a parliamentarian! The revolutionary Socialist conception of parliamentary political action is that it is a means simply of preparing for the Revolution; but that when the Revolution is actually in action, parliamentarism and parliaments are no longer instruments of Socialism, but all the energy of the proletariat must be directed toward revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship. Even during the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks participated in politics, actually elected members of municipal governments (not Soviets.) And did Liebknecht advocate the I. W. W. policy as expressed by *The Rebel Worker*? Was the revolution in Russia accomplished by means of industrial union action, or by means of revolutionary mass action, starting in the industrial plants, it is true, but going beyond the doctrinaire I. W. W. conception of the revolution?

Is there, in the accepted literature of the I. W. W., any conception of revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship? Its theory that the proletariat must organize to seize the industries is not in accord with the proletarian revolution in theory and practice; the revolutionary proletariat *must first seize the power of the state*, must organize the new proletarian state of Soviets and proletarian dictatorship, after which it proceeds to seize industry and organize the new Communist regime and industrial administration, which the I. W. W. fatuously believes can be constructed "within the shell of the old" society. In its theory of the necessity for overthrowing the parliamentary state and organizing the new proletarian state of the organized producers, the I. W. W. is revolutionary and Bolshevik; but in its tactics to accomplish that, it starts with the wrong end, it refuses to accept the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia and in Germany—that you must first conquer the power of the state by means of revolutionary mass action, and *then* put the I. W. W.-Communist plan of industrial and social reorganization into practice.

Let us make our position still clearer. *The Revolutionary Age* accepts and propagates industrial unionism. But we recognize its limitations. Our policy on the problems of industrial unionism, political action and the state is expressed in the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City:

Political action, revolutionary and emphasizing the implacable character of the class struggle, is a valuable means of propaganda. It must at all times struggle to arouse the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat—its use is both agitational and obstructive. It must on all issues wage war upon Capitalism and the state. Revolutionary Socialism uses the forum of parliament for agitation; but it does not intend to and cannot use the bourgeois state as a means of introducing Socialism: this bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet state is the immediate objective of the class struggle.

Marx declared that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." This machinery must be destroyed. But "moderate Socialism" makes the state the centre of its action.

The attitude towards the state divides the Anarchist (Anarcho-Syndicalist), the "moderate Socialist" and

the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary Socialism, the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Socialist) fails to realize that a state is necessary in the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism; the "moderate Socialist" proposes to use the bourgeois state with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses; the revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state—the state of the organized producers—of the Federated Soviets—on the basis of which alone can Socialism be introduced.

Industrial Unionism, the organization of the proletariat in accordance with the integration of industry and for the overthrow of Capitalism, is a necessary phase of revolutionary Socialist agitation. Potentially, industrial unionism constructs the basis and develops the ideology of the industrial state of Socialism; but industrial unionism alone cannot perform the revolutionary act of seizure of the power of the state, since under the conditions of Capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class, or an overwhelming majority into industrial unionism.

There are Anarcho-Syndicalist elements in the I. W. W., and these are responsible for repudiating the policy of the Bolsheviks, the experience of the proletarian revolution in action. And this experience shows that Anarcho-Syndicalism is incompatible with the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship—as Lenin emphasizes.

We must get together, in accord with the new facts and conception of the Revolution. Old prejudices and dogmas must be discarded; the Revolution must be final in our judgment. To speak the old language after the revolutionary experiences of two momentous years, is to set one's self down either as a moss-back or as a reactionary. The I. W. W. is a vital factor in the American revolutionary movement; it can and should become even more of a factor by recognizing that the proletarian revolution in Russia has improved upon the I. W. W. conception of the Revolution. Life itself calls upon the revolutionists to make this adjustment to new conditions and the theory and practice arising out of these conditions.

To the Left

The following extract from the Hungarian paper Nepszava, for December 25, 1918, gives some indication of the forces at play in Hungary. The article was headed "To the Right or to the Left."

"There are two tendencies at strife with each other inside the Karolyi party. The one is conservative and the other radical. The leader of the Left is Karolyi. The Right, in spite of all its seeming revolutionism, is trying to save the old Hungary, to conserve the old class domination. (Strong objection to land policy, "Socialist agitation in Army," etc.) The Left realizes that the old order must be replaced by a new, not only seemingly, but in fact; that the rule of Capitalism can no longer be the bedrock foundation of society. In practice, the struggle between them takes the form whether the Karolyi party should or should not stay in the same government with the Social Democrats. Karolyi himself has pointed out very clearly the unbridgeable gulf between the two.

"It seems to me," says Karolyi, "there are here two conceptions of the world opposed to each other. The one is that of the working bourgeoisie and the working proletariat and the other of those who wish to uphold the old order, the capitalist system, in its own barrenness and injustice. . . . The latter are waiting the opportunity once more to snatch the power into their own hands. . . . I who accept the idea of private property only do so subject to the requirements of the present age. In the future this process will in any case develop. The change cannot be stopped, but I wish to prevent the use of explosives."

Nepszava concludes by denying that "the foreign situation demands that the Government of Hungary should gravitate to the Right. However strong the Imperialism of the Entente Powers may still be today, it is indisputable that Wilson . . . will definitely and logically hold to his principles and that the British Labor Party and the French Socialists, working in conjunction with him, desire the society of nations and respect the self-determination of the people and the rights of small nations."

Bolshevikjabs

In its last issue *The Rebel Worker* takes occasion to deal *The Revolutionary Age* a few body blows. In one place it quotes Solicitor Lamar to prove that the I. W. W. are the real R-r-r-revolutionary guys and in another place it becomes so angry at us that "The Wasp" is provoked to sting and so risk its life to appease its anger. But then we looked at the date line at the head of the issue and we saw it was April 1. We hit.

* * * * *

But seriously—does *The Rebel Worker* know what political action is?

* * * * *

Lots of people seem to be very much surprised that Hungary went Bolshevik, but after the way the bourgeois press did overdo that stuff about hunger bringing Bolshevism even the poor ignorant Hungarians couldn't help seeing that it was up to them to live up to their name.

* * * * *

We don't mind admitting that we are humanitarian enough to hope that they never find the guy who called it the Peace conference—there has been quite enough bloodshed in the world of late.

* * * * *

Comparing the verdicts in the cases of Villain, who shot and killed Jaures, and Cottin, who shot and did not kill Clemenceau, we have come to the conclusion that the greatest crime in France is failure.

* * * * *

Hotel Manager, Switzerland:—
Reserve one royal suite. Am on my way.
Peter of Serbia.

* * * * *

In our school days we were taught that x was an unknown quantity, but nowadays it appears the x signifies that the quantity is known and nobody likes it.

* * * * *

In view of the way in which our big corporations are endeavoring to establish business relations with Russia just now, we wonder will the munitions makers attempt to sell munitions to the Bolsheviks so that they may be able to institute the "Red" war on a larger and more efficient scale.

* * * * *

Jack Reed suggests that all the foreigners in this country had better join the Left Wing of the Socialist Party otherwise when they come to be deported they will not be allowed to land by the Soviet Governments of the various European countries.

* * * * *

We cull the following from *La Vague*, a French Socialist weekly: "The Bourgeoisie want more children?"

"Alright, let them have them—in their own homes."

* * * * *

The New York *World* has at last discovered that the ex-Czar of Russia is really dead and under the headline: "How Ex-Czar Died Is Finally Shown in Official Report" announces the fact to the public at large. Now that the matter is *finally* shown we hope that as a matter of common decency some other paper will not exhume the body.

* * * * *

"Japan Warns China Against Disclosing Secret Documents" says a headline. In other words no "open covenants of peace openly arrived at."

* * * * *

"Nations can quit the League" a headline announces. But why bother about that until they join it.

* * * * *

Japan, for instance, doesn't seem to be overwhelmingly in favor of joining unless she gets her own way. And while it was triumphantly announced a few months ago that Russia and Germany would only be admitted if they would promise to be good, it now seems to be that they don't want to have anything to do with it.

* * * * *

"Half a League, half a League. . . .
"Into the Valley of Death. . . ."

* * * * *

The real query just now seems to be whether to fight or feed the Bolsheviks, or both, or none, or—well figure it out yourself?

* * * * *

If they fight the Bolsheviks people become annoyed and go Bolshevik for spite, if they feed the Bolsheviks the breadlines will go Bolshevik in order to get fed.

* * * * *

"Givus a loafa bread"
"I ain't got no bread"
"Take that!"

I Am With You, O Workers!

By J. O. Bentall

(In County Jail, Brainerd, Minnesota)

TODAY I am looking out through the bars of my prison. It is a glorious day. The birds are already singing the life-song of Spring. The sun is smiling upon the slumbering earth that is just waking from its sleep, unfolding its bosom of enchantment.

They have caged me in a cage of iron; they have locked the gates of steel against me. They tell me I must stay here.

But I am not here. They cannot shut in my mind and spirit. They cannot lock up my heart. I am not here.

I am with you—you the working class—the struggling masses of toil and bitterness and hardship.

I am walking with you through the chilly mist of early morning to your field and shop. I stand by your side the long workday and look upon your worn and tired body. And I am tired with you.

There are millions of you—worn and tired.

* * *

I am walking with you to the shaft, and I slip in with you on the cage that shoots down to the bottom of the mine. I go with you through the long "entries." You look—with that foreboding look—at those hanging slate beds in the roof. You suspect that timbering. I also. We go to your "room"—that, too, houses the demon of unexpected death. You take off your rags and stand there naked to the skin. You tie that heavy leather apron to your body. It is cold and slimy and sharp with slivers and coal dust since you threw it off when you quit yesterday. For the sweat of your body flowed like a stream of water as you heaved that heavy coal into the car. It's the same today. You drink gallons of water and cold coffee—gallons of it—pails of it. Yes, I see how you can do it—that terrible flow of sweat. And millions of you sweat like that.

* * *

And I go with you into the steel mills where you pull the pig iron from the melting furnace—where you guide it from roller to roller, where you catch those serpents of white-hot steel and feed them again to the rollers—and catch them again and again and sling them around your naked body—circling them around in that awful heat at that awful pace—hurling them like rings of fire into the last roller and onto the carrier that takes them away.

I work with you those twelve long hours that you labor.

And then we go "home"—man, what a "home!"—after that horrible day of slavery. I will eat with you to-night. Oh, there are the children. Tell them to come in—I want to see them. Playing out there? In that dirt, that mud and sand in the grassless tenement alley? Poor things!

Yes, your hand is rough, but I love to see you take the little baby in your arms and pat it on its tender cheek. It'll try not to cry. It loves you and your rough caresses. So do all your little ones. Oh—you have six,—eight, you say? No, I cannot look at them—they are too thin and starved—their little legs are bare and bony and scratched—their eyes are bulging out too longingly for that food on the table. And poor mother—pitiable—pitiable mother.

Yes, I'll eat with you—I'll try. Thank you—I thought I'd try—thank you—but please pardon me—I am not hungry. Give this to the children—I want to go out a while. There is the old post in the tenement alley. (I want to rest against it while I sob. Nobody will see me.)

There are millions of you just home to eat—and I wanted to eat with you, but I am not hungry—not while all these children are hungry—and their mothers.

* * *

And you at the harbor and on the sea. I can't stay away from you. That dirt—that rain—those cold winter winds—your clothes wet and stiff—your feet, clods of ice. I suffer with you. I never knew the human body could stand such strain and such pace—such strain and pace of labor.

No, I won't go home with you. Your haunts of poverty and suffering are too sacred for outsiders to step into. And there are so many of you—millions.

* * *

Poor little things—you were so sleepy this morning. It was so hard for you to be dragged out of bed and

be shaken to your senses. Yes, the first whistle just blew and you have to hurry. That crust and black coffee will keep your body and soul together till noon. That sandwich—only some hard bread—and the banana isn't bad—only started to spoil—you can eat most of it—your brother must have the other one.

Does he work too? You say he is older than you—fourteen? And so slender and pale. That he has slaved in that child labor hell two years already? Coughs like that every morning? And you, too, my little girl—you can't go to work today with that cough. Stay home and play with your doll—haven't you? Never mind—don't cry. You'll have one some day—by God you will—if I live. Millions of you will.

Grown people will work in those cotton mills and in those factories. And we shall not have lint and dust to strangle and clog your lungs. This child slavery shall cease and these cough breeders shall be fixed.

* * *

So that hanging slate fell—I knew it would—so did

The American Left Wing in Action

By N. I. Hourwich

THE hitherto scattered efforts and manifestations of personal dissatisfaction and discontent with the opportunistic policy of the Socialist Party, are now assuming a definite and organized expression. The development of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, the adoption of its Manifesto and Program by local after local of the Socialist Party,—all this is unifying the opposition and the revolutionary elements, developing a common struggle to turn the party into its proper revolutionary course. And this course is the course outlined by the creators of the proletarian International, Marx and Engels.

In common with the majority of the modern Socialist Parties, created and developing in a milieu of bourgeois parliamentarism, the American Socialist Party in its present official form and policy, is the product of an "adaptation" of the revolutionary ideals and policy of a Socialist Party to the capitalist state, the product of "growing into" Capitalism of the Socialist movement, becoming a "lawful" and integral part of Capitalism. The "parliamentary state" must have political parties. And one of these parliamentary (but in no sense revolutionary) parties is the present Socialist Party. It represents, in itself, nothing but a form of opposition to "His Majesty"—bourgeois society.

Precisely as all other social-opportunist Socialist parties, the American party is, in the words of the Manifesto of the Left Wing, the product of mixing real Socialism with bourgeois reforms; it is "sausage Socialism," in the apt words of Rosa Luxemburg.

As the Left Wing Manifesto again phrases it, the American Socialist Party, in common with its European affiliations, hopes to "legislate Capitalism out of office." It hopes to "win the class struggle in capitalist legislative institutions."

The complexity of the mass struggle of the proletariat, which, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, is at the same time a political struggle; the political struggle of the proletariat the meaning and object of which should be the seizure of power, the abolition of the bourgeois class state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat,—all these vital phases of Socialism the party has officially cramped into the narrow and stultifying limits of the parliamentary struggle, of the Socialist "parliamentarians." The lesson of the Paris Commune, summarized by Marx in the words, "The working class cannot lay hold of the ready-made machinery of the bourgeois state and use it for its purposes," has been lost completely to the official leaders of the Socialist Party, to moderate Socialism in general. Neither did they learn from the collapse of the second International, from the four and a half years of the world war. Truly it can be said of them that they have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. As a protest against this degradation and profanation of Socialism, there has developed the mass movement of the Left Wing within the party. To this mass movement belongs the future, and it imposes an obligation on all revolutionary Socialists, on all Bolsheviki in the party, to rally to its cause—to conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism.

he. But the company would not allow better timbering. That would cut dividends.

Yes he is badly hurt, but don't cry. They are bringing him "home." The boys are all gentle and handle him so carefully and tenderly. And anyhow he may not feel anything. No the little baby won't understand—that's good. And the other children are growing fast and will soon be helping to earn. No, I don't think your boy will be allowed to take his place—only twelve? You say lots of boys that age are now in the mines? Thousands of them? (So Congress repealed the child labor law—did it?)

Try to be strong—there come the neighbors—they'll help you. We'll pull out those chairs so they can lay the board right on them—they carry him on a wide board. I know it is hard for you. He was so good and kind—and always worked hard.

Don't — not yet — no, wait. They are coming to wash him and gather him together and maybe you can see him. No, leave the covers over him.

Yes, he tried so hard to get away—how he pulled to get that crushed leg away—and how eagerly he looked at us when we came running to help him—but another block of rock fell—on his head.

No, not much insurance—only enough to cover funeral cost—and the preacher. Just \$9 coming from the company, and you owe the grocer \$13? And no bread in the house when you come back from the....

And there are thousands like that—millions.

* * *

Yes I heard them in their secret chambers—I heard them plot the big butcher program. It was Capitalism in league with Satan. Sometime I shall tell you the whole story.

Now the boys are coming home. We greet you and cheer you. Your heart was right and you placed your life on the altar of Democracy. You were on the square—but Capitalism didn't play square with you. Capitalism aimed at your heart when you went out and Capitalism is stabbing you in the back as you return.

I was with you in the camps where you endured the humiliation of slaves under the uppish idiocy of snobs, and in the trenches where you tried to dodge death among the corpses of your comrades.

And I am with you now when you are hunting jobs among your masters and where you are sitting full of sores at the rich man's feet, picking crumbs that perchance may fall from his table, while the profiteering dogs are licking a few more drops of blood from your bleeding bodies.

And there are millions of you—nearly four million of you.

I am not going to the homes that Capitalism has wrecked—the hearts it has broken that can never heal. I can't.

I am not discouraged. For the fetters of this dungeon are wonderfully elastic—and generous. They let me out upon the mountains of vision and let me roam over the plains of reality. I go to the Bethlehem stable—to the inn at Petrograd and Moscow—to the hillsides of Riga and Archangel where the Russian shepherds have seen the star and where the hosts of the proletariat are shouting their great hosannas to the new-born Comrade of Peace—the new-born spirit of good will to men—the new-born passion of a new love.

I shout with you in the ecstasy of joy. I clasp you in my arms and cry and shout. I sing and dance and weep and laugh and behave as you do. For we have been bound and oppressed and hounded so long, and now we have torn down the throne of the Czar and his tyranny, and hurled Capitalism from its citadel into outer darkness where there is gnashing of teeth. We have reared up the monument of Liberty and established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

And with you I go into all the world and preach this gospel to every worker—beginning with Germany—then to Italy and France—England and America—to every race and kindered and tongue.

And, behold, the all-conquering power of the new affection shall sweep like a mighty wind over the earth, and the masses shall be stirred to action against every onslaught of the master class.

Unflinching, determined, inspired, victor-proud,—resolved to snap our chains—we rush headlong against all the hell and all the demons of tyranny and oppression.

We have won.

We come rejoicing—we have gained the world—we lay it at the feet of a free humanity.

The Voice of Impotence and Desperation

By A. Stoklicky

BEFORE us we have the last word of the National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of America, A. Germer, in his letter to the National Executive Committee, read it carefully. There is desperation in every word, the ire of the opportunist in every phrase.

In order that the fright and desperation of the opportunistic wing of the party before the oncoming "red peril" can be better understood, I quote the "theoretic" epistle of Germer, that clear representative of our Scheidemanns, dated March 18:

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:—

A situation has developed in the Party, that in my judgment, demands the most serious thought of the National Executive Committee. I have reference to the proposed Special National Convention.

Ordinarily, I would not comment on the subject but for several very important reasons, I feel that the pending referendum is ill-advised and calls for a statement from you. The reasons are as follows:

First—In view of the hysteria created by the war fans, I doubt whether we, at the present possess the proper judicial balance to weigh the world situation in the light of calm deliberation and formulate a practical policy and program of action. I am not so sure that we are sufficiently devoid of the passions and prejudices requisite to thoughtfully consider the world problems. There is a tendency in the Party that, if unchecked, will head us toward the same costly experiences of ultra-impossibilism and anarchism from which the Socialist movement has several times suffered in years gone by.

Second—A convention will cost anywhere between \$15,000 and \$20,000. Is it wise that we go to that tremendous expense this year when we must have another convention during April or May of next year, for the purpose of nominating our presidential candidates and formulating our platform and program. It is my judgment that we can well afford to postpone action until the proper time for the regular National Convention, because whatever program we may adopt this year, may be entirely out of date for our campaign next year, and the only result accomplished by holding a convention this year will be that we are out \$15,000 or \$20,000.

Third—We are just launching a nation-wide campaign for release of all war-time prisoners. This cannot be done without funds and to anyone, who has had experience in the collection of money, it is per-

fectly clear that to make a multiplicity of appeals, simply injures the success of all of them.

Fourth—We have undertaken a campaign for the collection of a headquarters' fund. Of course, I concede this is of minor consequence as compared with the other points that I have raised, but yet, it is a factor that should be taken into consideration when the members vote on holding or not holding a convention this year.

This "theoretic" document would not be considered seriously if it was not from the Secretary of our party.

The first reason which, according to his own words, has made Germer speak is especially interesting. Germer doubts the ability of the American class-conscious proletariat, organized in the American Socialist Party to "thoughtfully consider the world problems." Next year, in the opinion of the author of the letter we may be fit for an elaboration of our program and methods of action.

Moreover, our National Secretary speaks, in his letter of desperation, that it is impossible this year to draw the program for the next one. It will be necessary to change it anyhow. One cannot help here from proving the truthfulness of this "deep" statement of our "theoretician," that a man must buy his suit of clothes every year and it is very wasteful to buy them for the outgrowth! Does A. Germer measure the entire movement by his own measure? Does he think that if he, himself, is not big enough to judge about the events of the world that the entire party is like him also? Oh no, he does not think this; he has a much better opinion of himself than of the party, which continues to endure at the head of the movement, opportunists of his kind. But A. Germer is big enough for one thing. He has noticed a growing movement, injurious from his point of view, of so-called "impossibilism," and notwithstanding the appearance of such a dangerous phenomenon he is still opposed to the convention. Why he must put an end to these "terrible" impossibilities, if he is consistent in his actions, is because "the Socialist movement has several times

suffered (from them) in the past." And this is where the absurdity of the efforts of A. Germer and other like him is evident, in delaying the convention.

When events of such impotence are going on in the party which awake even the National Secretary from his lethargy then, indeed, the members of the party must speak on it, somewhere, in an organized way. The convention of the entire party is the place where these questions can be discussed thoughtfully. But the convention is a waste of funds. The convention will cost \$20,000. That is true and it is a big sum, but if we divide it among the members it will be less than 20 cents for each member. A. Germer can keep this argument to himself. The existence of the party is more important than 20 cents to every member.

They fear this convention because they feel no ground under their feet. Wringing his hands in despair, Germer, in his letter shouts about "injury and probable disaster" which this convention will bring. He would be completely right if he added that it is the opportunism that is perishing in our party and movement. Once for all the atmosphere must be cleaned from the stinking, rotten corpse. We must sweep out the originally opportunistic element. We must speak frankly and clearly as A. Germer has done in his letter. And through the despair and ire of his words he is right when he says that it is the Left Wing, which he in his Scheidemannistic manner, calls Anarchism. He is afraid of Revolutionary Socialism, he looks angrily at the rays of the rising sun, which disturbs his slumber—the slumber of a dead man.

We, the revolutionary followers of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin can only greet the beginning of the new era of the Socialist Party. Our muddy creatures, the Scheidemannists, will not deny that the time has come to speak frankly and clearly on these questions. Is it compatible for these two elements to be in the Socialist Party? The members of the party must demand the immediate call of the extra party convention. Everyone who is opposing this is a traitor to the interests of our party.

The Victory of the Hungarian Proletariat

"OUR forces have been augmented"—all conscious proletarians can say in regard to the fact transmitted by wire, concerning the establishment of a Soviet republic on the banks of Danube—in Hungary. Bolshevism has been marching on with gigantic strides breaking down all obstacles on its way, and completely confirming the opinion of those revolutionary Socialists who have said that the modern society has entered the stage of a social revolution. It is beyond the power of all these dwarfs of the petty bourgeoisie—Kerenskys, Scheidemanns and Karolyis—to stave off the triumphant march, and it is beyond their power to confine the world's storm into one small section. The ideal of a dictatorship of the proletariat born out of the depths of the working class is becoming the slogan of large masses. The events in Hungary are a bright and significant illustration of this.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the phrasemakers of petty bourgeois Socialism have been annoying us lately by their assertions to the effect that only in economically backward Russia could the form of Soviet government be adopted. They have been trying to prove that "enlightened" and economically advanced Europe will reject the ideal of a dictatorship of the proletariat, which, according to the fathers of revolutionary Socialism, should triumph in a period between the abolition of class dominance of the bourgeoisie and the complete realization of the Socialistic ideal. The formidable developments on the European continent which lead directly towards the strengthening of the idea of a Soviet form of government, have proved with sufficient clearness that precisely this form of state construction, proclaimed by our teachers and for the first time realized in Russia, is the type for the proletarians of all other countries. That which towards the end of the past week took place in Hungary must, sooner or later, take place also in other countries.

Observe: the gigantic growth of the Spartacan movement in Germany, a growth which is taking place despite all titanic efforts of the bourgeoisie to stop it and drown it in rivers of blood; the tremendous growth of the class struggle in Great Britain; the fast increasing revolutionary activity of the Italian and French proletariat—are not all these occurrences precursors of a new gigantic movement in the direction of the social revolution, the road towards which has been lighted by the flaming torch lit in Russia?

In all the dispatches from Paris, London and Washington can be detected notes of great apprehension for the skin of the bourgeois society. Apparently, the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Hungary has created a confusion at the so-called Peace Conference in Paris.

What shall the defenders of the modern capitalist society do now? To attempt, with the aid of the forces of the bourgeois Czecho-Slovak government, to crush the Hungarian proletariat? But, indeed, Czechia itself stands on a Bolshevik volcano as the all-bourgeois press is forced to confess.

Turn to Rumania? But, indeed, even the Rumanian bourgeois State is going to pieces, and the sending of "loyal" troops to Hungary can serve as a signal for a revolution in Rumania herself.

To expect help from the government of Padarewsky? But even at the Polish Shipka everything is not well. The Polish government of the bourgeoisie resembles itself a hastily built hut which at any moment may blow up to pieces.

The French soldiers also are becoming untrustworthy. We have already seen the statement made by two French regiments on the Odessa front, which refused to fight the Russian Soviet troops. It is significant in this connection to note that the Clemenceau government refrains from sending considerable French forces to Russia, and is trying to send Italians and Serbs in their places, as they did on the Archangel front.

It is hardly possible that the troops of other nations will agree to play the role of executioners of the proletarian revolution.

We send our fraternal greetings to the Hungarian proletariat. Its activity is to be interpreted not only as directed against its own national bourgeoisie, but as a bold resistance to the impudent plans of the Allied imperialists, whose appetites have grown wild.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the best road towards the final triumph of the Russian, Hungarian and the world revolution.

The Communist Congress

THE Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) recently issued a call for an international Communist Congress of Socialist parties, or left wing groups in the Socialist movement which accept the principles and tactics of revolutionary Socialism, to organize our forces for the world revolution that is coming. This call excluded the American Socialist Party, but invited the left wing groups of the party. This exclusion was justified, since the official policy of the party is not at all revolutionary.

But our party is being revolutionized by events and by the intensive agitation of the left wing in the party.

Local Boston of the Socialist Party, accordingly, through the Central Branch, recently adopted a motion for a referendum on the international Congress, as follows:

That the Socialist Party international delegates now being elected stand instructed to participate only in an International Congress or Conference called or participated in by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacans).

This motion has already been seconded by a number of branches of the party, among them being Local Warren, Ohio; Local Moline, Ill.; Finnish Branch,

Allston, Mass.; 13th and 17th Ward Branch, Reading, Pa.; Lettish Branch, No. 2, Roxbury, Mass.; West End Jewish Branch, Boston, Mass., and the Estonian Branch of Boston.

The proposed referendum will put squarely up to the membership of the Socialist Party the issue of the party's international policy. Our N. E. C., through its unconstitutional selection of three delegates to "represent" the party at the Berne Congress of the Great Betrayal, of the pro-war Socialists and social-patriots who are sabotaging the proletarian revolution, has made it urgent that the membership repudiate this betrayal of Socialism by deciding that our party shall participate *only* in a revolutionary Socialist Congress and International, affiliate *only* with the Bolsheviki, the Spartacans, and those parties or groups who pursue a similar revolutionary policy.

But this is not all. The adoption of this proposal should, to make it effective, proceed together with the revolutionizing of the party, with the repudiation of the officials and the policy which in the test have been demonstrated as reactionary and potentially counter-revolutionary. The party members must rally to the left wing, they must make the left wing the party, they must conquer the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

The Constituent Assembly Accepts the Soviets

THE civil war waged against the Bolsheviki and the Soviet Government was organized and directed by the Constituent Assembly, which was dissolved by the Soviet Government in January 1918, and the majority of which consisted of delegates representing the Social-Revolutionary Party of the "right." These counter-revolutionary "democrats" co-operated with Allied intervention, until they realized that this intervention was directed against them as much as against the Bolsheviki. But still they persisted, until conquered in the civil war, abandoned by the masses, and threatened by Kolchak and the Allies, they decided to accept the authority of the Soviet Government. This decision is made public in a Manifesto "issued in the name of the Social-Revolutionary Party and in the name of the President of the Congress of the Constituent Assembly," and is as follows:

"To the soldiers of the Popular Army, to the Siberian Cossacks, to the Czecho-Slovak Troops:

"Soldiers—mobilized and volunteers—you entered the army to defend the sovereignty of the people and to save democratic Russia from German imperialism, which reduced it to slavery by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the name of the Pan Russian Constituent Assembly, in the name of free Russia, independent and united, you have fought against Soviet authority.

"And during this time, behind our backs, in the rear, they executed a coup d'etat and set up the Kolchak dictatorship, the representative of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors.

"The bourgeois dictatorship signifies the complete crushing of the proletariat and of the working peasants, and the complete triumph of those enemies of the workers, the proprietors and the capitalists. It signifies the suppression of all the conquests of the great Russian revolution and the overthrow of the democratic regime and the re-establishment of the old monarchical regime.

"The Siberian reactionaries have directed their attacks against democratic parties and institutions. They have arrested several members of the Constituent Assembly, as well as Comrade Sourgouzhchev and other militants of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.

"But the most important changes have taken place recently in Western Europe. Germany has met with military defeat, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, annulled by the Soviet Government, has lost its authority.

"German Imperialism no longer exists and the Austro-Hungarian Empire is a thing of the past. Under the pressure of the working class of Germany and Austria the thrones of the monarchs of these countries have been overthrown. The authority has passed into the hands of the workers, who, under the red flag of the labor social revolution, enter, like their brothers in Russia, into the era of the world social revolution. That is what has recently happened.

"Through fear of labor revolution at home the former allies of Russia—England, France, Japan, and the United States—naturally took the part of the bourgeois dictatorship in Russia. The bourgeoisie of Western Europe and of the United States declared war against the Russian and German revolutions. The Allies would not recognize either the authority of the Soviet Government or that of the Constitutional Assembly. But they did recognize Kolchak and Denikine.

"Under the pretext of fighting against Bolshevism our former allies revealed their intention, on the one hand, of exploiting the situation of Russia, and, on the other, of crushing democracy entirely and consolidating the power of the bourgeois reaction.

"All of those fundamental changes which have taken place in the world situation and in Russia have compelled the members of the Social-Revolutionary Party to revise their program. Under no circumstances can the Social-Revolutionary Party support either bour-

geois dictatorship or foreign bourgeois intervention; but, on the contrary, it must support the most resolute struggle against both national and international reaction in order that the Russian revolution and the world revolution may be victorious. This is not the time for a fratricidal war among the workers.

"This is why the Executive Committee of the Congress of the members of the Constituent Assembly asks all the soldiers of the popular army to stop the civil war against the Soviet Government, which, at the present historic time, is the only revolutionary power of the exploited classes, and turn their arms against Kolchak, in order to crush the exploiters.

"On its part, the Revolutionary Committee guarantees to detachments of the popular army, as well as to isolated individuals and groups who voluntarily end the civil war against the power of the Soviets and who voluntarily join with the Soviet troops, that they will be subject to no prosecution on the part of the Soviet Government. The same agreement applies to the detachments which fight Kolchak.

"The members of the Social-Revolutionary Party, who accept this agreement will not be molested because of their membership in the party.

"Soldiers of the Popular Army, Siberian Cossacks and Czecho-Slovaks! In acquainting you with this agreement, the delegation of the Social-Revolutionary Party invites all sincere democrats, all the peasants and all the workers to cease playing the role of blind instruments in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who, behind your backs, beat down your own brothers. We ask you to turn your arms against the bourgeois dictatorship of Kolchak and to act in agreement with the Soviet army.

"Long live the labor democracy of every country!

"Long live the world social revolution!"

The Young People's Socialist League and Revolution

By Oliver C. Carlson

THE average American Socialist who is not well versed in the International Socialist movement knows little or nothing about the Young People's Socialist organizations in other countries, and what an important part they have played in the development of Socialist thought and action. In this country we have considered the League only as a gathering place for the young; we have been satisfied when they managed to exist with the "social" in "Socialist" playing the all-important part; and when by chance a Circle or a small part of a Circle showed interest in the actual study of Socialism, we were elated—for we knew that these were indeed valuable exceptions. On the whole, most of the older heads in the party considered the Y. P. S. L. as an organization that was necessary, but which was not likely to accomplish anything worthwhile for the coming of the day when the emancipation of the proletariat world become a reality.

Something has been radically wrong with the Young People's Socialist organizations in this country. The attitude of the older Party members toward them has, to a certain extent, been the correct one. But let us not condemn the movement; let us not say that there can be no change—for even now a great change is taking place. Let us not hold preconceived ideas that the young people's organizations of Europe are similar to that which we have had in this country.

Karl Liebknecht was one of the founders of the Young People's Socialist League; in fact, this was his first real undertaking after graduating from the law school. The spread of the League throughout Europe was by no means phenomenal, but was a steady growth.

Austria, Switzerland, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and Russia soon fell into line, and the Y. P. S. L. assumed an international character. The young and enthusiastic Socialists joined hands, not in any attempt to gain concessions, not to ask for a little bit more from the rulers and exploiters, but to seize control of all, to "expropriate the expropriators." They were not chained to the past; they were ready to fling to the winds traditions and customs; to view the present as only the present generation can, and above all things, they were eager to study, to agitate, to educate, in other words, to act. And they did.

The greatest stumbling block for the reactionary elements of the Social Democratic parties of all Europe was the Y. P. S. L. Within it were the Left Wingers who wasted no time in dilly-dallying with the trivialities that so concerned the old line leaders. They refused to compromise. And so it was that the Young People's Socialist Leagues of some countries were practically outlawed by their respective (and respectable!) Socialist parties.

In Russia, it was the young who formed the most active group of the Bolsheviki. In fact, the struggle there would, no doubt, have been much more difficult one had it not been for them. Lenin, an ardent advocate of the Y. P. S. L., was and still is a contributor to the *Young International*, the official organ of the international Y. P. S. L.

The Ebert-Scheidemann group of Germany feared the young to such an extent that they made every attempt to break up their organizations. In the Spartacan revolts, these same young Socialists are acquitting

themselves as creditably as did their comrades in Russia. They form the backbone of the revolutionary movement which is seeking to overthrow the reactionary "Socialists" who hold the reins of government in the interest of the capitalist class.

The activities of the young in all of the European countries gives us an idea of how important the Y. P. S. L. really is. We are facing a critical period—the revolt of the working class is spreading from east to west, from north to south, and threatens to encompass the entire world. What are we going to do? We must devote more time to the Young People's Socialist movement than ever before; we must see to it that our young people become the leaders in thought and action here, just as did the young in Germany, Russia and the other countries.

Within the Y. P. S. L. a radical change must take place. We who are members must bring this change about, for the freedom of the movement from its present lethargy must be the act of the League itself, just as "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

When we show our willingness to become an integral factor in the struggle we may rest assured that the revolutionary Socialists will give us their hearty support. Let us change our slogan from "Organization and Education" to "Education and Organization." Then our solidarity will become a fact, and we, too, may step forward to grasp the hands of our comrades in all parts of the world, ready to carry on the work they have so well begun.

Imperialism — the Final Stage of Capitalism

(Continuation)

By N. Lenin

Translated from the Russian by Andre Tridon

IN other words, the Capitalism of yesterday with its unrestrained competition and its necessary regulator, the stock exchange, is a thing of the past. In its stead, there appears the new Capitalism, which still preserves some characteristics of the old, a sort of medley of competition and monopoly. The question arises: what does this new Capitalism lead to? And this question is disturbing the bourgeois professors of political economy.

"Thirty years ago, businessmen competing freely with one another performed $\frac{9}{10}$ of the economic labor which does not belong to the category of physical labor. At present clerks perform $\frac{9}{10}$ of that mental labor. It is principally in the banking business that this change is noticeable." (34)

Among the few banks which the process of concentration has placed at the head of the capitalist world, there is a stronger and stronger tendency toward monopolistic combination, toward the formation of a banking trust. In the United States two large banks, belonging to the billionaires, Rockefeller and Morgan, control a capital of almost \$3,000,000,000. In Germany the absorption of the Schaffhausen Union Bank by the Disconto Gesellschaft called for the following comment on the part of a financial review, the *Frankfurter Gazette*:

"The gradual concentration of the banking business decreased the number of establishments to which a businessman may turn to obtain credit, and makes large business more and more dependent upon a small number of powerful banks. The close relations which unite industry and the financial world put restraints upon the freedom of action of the various industrial concerns which are in need of a banks' capital. For this reason industry looks upon the growing trustification of banks with mixed feelings; furthermore we have on several occasions observed the opening of negotiations between separate groups of banks with a view to the elimination of competition." (36)

As I said before, the evolution of the banking business leads unavoidably to monopoly. As far as the close relations existing between industry and the banks are concerned, the new role played by the banks is perhaps not quite so strikingly evident in that field. If a bank discounts the paper of a certain concern, carries its account, and so on, those various operations, considered separately, do not affect in the slightest way the independence of that concern, and the bank itself does not play more than an intermediary's part. But if those operations become more and more frequent and important, if the bank gathers in enormous sums, if the carrying of the account enables the bank to collect more and more detailed information concerning the economic condition of its customers, business becomes more and more dependent upon that bank.

Besides, certain banks contract alliances with certain large industrial and commercial concerns, "participate" in their operations, by holding some of their stock, by the fact that some directors of the bank may become members of the board of directors of certain industrial concerns and vice versa. The German economist, Jeidels, has collected detailed information on this aspect of capital and business concentration. Six large Berlin banks were represented by their directors on the boards of 344 industrial concerns, and by members of their various committees on the boards of 207 more concerns, or 751 in all. In 280 companies, they were represented by two men on the board of control, some times by the chairman of that board. Among those various concerns we find all possible branches of business activity: insurance companies, transportation concerns, restaurants, theatres, art stores, etc.

On the other hand, we found on the administrative board of those banks in 1910, fifty-one industrial magnates, among them a director of the Krupp firm, a director of the large steamship company, the Hamburg-American Line, etc. From 1895 to 1910 every one of these six large banks took part in the emission of the stock and bonds of many industrial concerns, 281 in 1895, 419 in 1910. (37)

Private alliances between banks and industrial concerns are supplemented by alliances between those groups and the government.

"Directors' positions," Jeidels writes, "are willingly offered to people with big names, and to former government officials who may facilitate considerably (!!!) all relations with the authorities. . . . We usually find on the board of directors of a large bank members of the Reichstag or members of the Berlin municipal council."

In the management and exploitation of the large capitalistic monopolies resort is made, of course, to

all "natural" and "supernatural" means. A division of labor effects itself among a few hundred financial kings of the modern capitalist world:

"Owing to the growing influence of the various industrial magnates," (that is their appointment to the directorship of banks, etc) "and to the fact that one exclusive industrial group is allowed to direct the boards of directors of provincial banks, a certain specialization develops in the operations of large banks. That specialization is necessary considering the enormous size of banking operations and especially the relations between banks and industrial concerns. The division of labor is effected in two ways: on one hand, the relations with industrial concerns are placed entirely in the hands of one of the directors, and, on the other, every one of the directors takes it upon himself to watch various concerns or groups of concerns, which are related among themselves by reason of their special line or special interests" (Capitalism has reached the point at which it spies systematically upon private concerns.) "One of them may specialize in German industry, another only in Western-German business." (Western Germany is the most industrialized part of the country) "Others may be in charge of the relations with the various governments, of the foreign trade, of the information relative to individual businessmen, stock exchange deals, etc. Besides, every one of the directors may be assigned to one locality or one special branch of industry; one may attend especially the meetings of boards of directors of electrical concerns, or of chemical companies, of beet sugar refineries, another may have to supervise isolated concerns, and at the same time, sit on the directing board of insurance companies, etc. . . . In other words, the larger the business of the big banks becomes, the more varied the operation are in which they engage, and the more complete must be the division of labor among their directors. The result is that it raises those men, so to speak, above the level of mere banking routine, it develops their judgment, it gives them a broader knowledge of industrial problems and of the special problems affecting the various branches of industry and it prepares them for efficient activity within the sphere of industrial action of the bank. This system is supplemented by the practice of placing on the board of directors men well acquainted with industry, heads of enterprises, former officials, especially those that have been active in railroad or mine management." (38)

We observe the same methods, although in a slightly different form, in French financial establishments. One of the three leading banks, the Credit Lyonnais, has organized a special department for financial study, which employs constantly some 50 engineers, statisticians, economists, jurists, etc., every one of them drawing a good salary. That department is divided up into eight sections, one of which collects data relative to commercial enterprises, another gathers statistics, another studies railroad and steamship companies, another stocks and bonds, another financial accounts, etc. . . . (39)

Thus finance and industry come into closer contact, or, as N. I. Bucharin puts it, become grafted onto each other, and on the other hand banks transform themselves into institutions of "universal character." I am using here the very words used by Jeidels, who has studied the question more closely than any one else.

"When we examine the multiple connections existing in the industrial world, we realize the universal character of financial institutions interested in financial enterprises. In spite of all that has been said to the effect that banks, in order not to wander on uncertain ground, should specialize in one line of business or one branch of industry, the leading banks are endeavoring to connect themselves with the most diversified industrial concerns, producing the most different sorts of goods in various parts of the world, they try to do away with the uneven distribution of capital among the various localities or the various branches of industry, which we notice in the history of every particular enterprise. . . . One tendency is to establish connections with industry generally; another tendency is to make those connections durable and intensive; those two aims have been realized if not fully, at least in a large measure, by six leading banks."

We hear frequently, in commercial and industrial circles, remarks about the "terrorism" of the banks. No wonder that such complaints are made when we know how far the domination of the leading banks extends. On November 19, 1901, one of the so-called

D banks of Berlin, (the names of the four leading banks begin with D) sent to the board of directors of the North-Western Middle German Cement Syndicate the following letter:

"From announcements you published in the papers of the 18th of last month we see that at a general meeting of your syndicate to be held on the 30th instant, resolutions will be adopted, likely to introduce into your enterprise changes which are not acceptable to us. We therefore feel compelled, to our deep regret, to refuse you any further credit. If, however, the resolutions to which we object are not introduced at that general meeting, and absolute guarantees are given us for the future, we shall be willing to discuss with you the opening of a new credit." (40)

Such are the woes of small capital oppressed by large capital, although, by the way, a whole syndicate seems in this instance to have taken rank with "small capital." The old struggle between small and large capital is resumed anew, but how the implements of warfare have been perfected! Technical progress can be fostered by billionaire groups of large banks in ways which were once unheard of. Banks support, for instance, laboratories for technical research whose discoveries are only placed at the disposal of "friendly" enterprises. Such are the "Society for Study of Electric Railroads" or the "Central Bureau for Scientific and Technical Research," and other similar organizations.

The heads of the leading banks themselves cannot help seeing that new conditions are prevailing in national economy, but they are helpless.

"Whoever has observed in the past few years," Jeidels writes, "the changes in the personnel of the boards of directors of the leading banks, cannot fail to notice that the financial power is gradually passing into hands of men who consider that the essential duty of the banks is to participate actively in the general development of industry; this new type of directors and the older men disagree more and more for commercial reasons and sometimes for personal reasons. In fact, do not the banks suffer, as institutions of credit, from that immersion in the industrial process of production? Are they not compelled to sacrifice solid principles and real advantages to a form of activity which has nothing to do with a bank's function, which is to extend credit, an activity which leads the banks upon a ground where they are more affected by industrial fluctuations than they ever were?"

Thus speak many old bankers, but the majority of younger men consider an active participation in industrial deals as an unavoidable development, due to the same causes which have brought into being the large industrial organizations of today, the large banking concerns and the latest industrial-financial enterprises. The only thing upon which both sides agree is that the new form of activity displayed by the leading banks is not based upon any strong principles and no concrete aims." (41)

The Capitalism of yesterday is dead. The new Capitalism seems to be in a transitional stage. To seek "strong principles and concrete aims" that will reconcile monopoly and unrestricted competitions, is a forlorn hope.

The real facts of the case sound quite different from the official odes to "organized capital" sung by its apologists, Schultze-Gaevernitz, Liefmann and other theoreticians.

When did the leading banks begin to engage in their "new activities?" Jeidels gives us a very definite answer:

"It was some time in the nineties that alliances between industrial concerns, with their new component parts, their new forms, their new organs, the large banks organized for both centralized and decentralized action, became a characteristic of national economy; in a sense, we might consider the year 1897 as the beginning of that era, for in that year many large enterprises combined and assumed a new form of decentralized organization owing to the new industrial policy of the banks. We might say that the new period began somewhat later, for it was the crisis of 1900 which hastened considerably the process of concentration both in industry and in finance, made it an established fact, transformed the relations between industry and the banks into a monopoly on the part of the large banks, and made those relations infinitely closer." (42)

Thus the dawn of the 20th century appears to have marked the passing of the old Capitalism and the coming of the new, the passing of the domination of capital proper and the beginning of the domination of finance capital.

(To be continued)

The Future of China

By Sen Katayama

FOUR hundred years ago the Manchus invaded and conquered China and ever since the country has been ruled by the Manchu Dynasty. The conquerors imposed repressive measures upon the people and even dictated the style of their clothes and the way in which they should dress their hair. All official positions were the booty of the conquerors but in the course of time many Chinese were picked to serve the interests of the Manchu rulers. In this way a powerful bureaucracy was established.

The Chinese fatalistically accepted the Manchus as born rulers and tamely submitted to oppression and exploitation at their hands. They never questioned the right of the rulers, though they hated the Manchus as foreign conquerors, and year after year, generation after generation they continued to serve as slaves. In time they became almost indifferent to the government. They, of course, did not like to pay taxes to the Manchus but the government devised many ways of getting money and continued to live luxuriously in Peking.

Local or provincial governors to the number of 18 were given great powers and each governed after his own autocratic fashion, each imposing the taxes he saw fit within his own territory. Thus the Chinese people and the rulers were separated entirely, there existed no sympathy between them, but in the lesser official positions the occupants were recruited from the people by competitive examinations and formed a link between the governing and the governed. In this manner the Manchus secured the more intelligent elements of the people and used them for their own ends. Any ambitious youth was provided with a government position and thus prevented from stirring up discontent among the people. And the masses, deprived of those who would otherwise have been their leaders, gave up hope of ever ridding themselves of the Manchu yoke and submitted to it as the preordained fate of life.

The spell of this fatalism was broken by the war of 1894 with Japan. The all-powerful, divine Emperor and his army were miserably defeated by the despised Japs in battle after battle. Finally China begged for peace, paying a huge indemnity to Japan and only recovering the conquered territory with the aid of Russia and Germany. Pretty soon, however, these two powers established a sphere of influence in China.

The complete defeat in the war with Japan and the subsequent foreign domination of Russia and Germany awakened the long slumbering Chinese and at the same time crumbled the Manchu rulers to pieces.

The Chinese, hitherto, held an almost religious faith in the power of the government, but it was beaten and their faith was shaken. They began to question its power and to study the real situation and finally to plan a revolution to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. Soon the revolutionary movement split in two parties: the Defenders of the Nation and the Young China Association. Both parties were heartily supported in Southern China. The first were Constitutional Monarchists while the latter partook of a more revolutionary character.

The Peking government, seeing the awakening of the masses, attempted to forestall the new movements by taking some of the liberal leaders into the cabinet and by inaugurating various reforms. The old civil service examination system was abolished, a university was established at Peking, hundreds of students were sent to Western countries and a national parliament was promised to the people. The reactionaries, however, captured the movement and attempted to crush the reforms. Yuan Shi Kai became the leader of the reactionaries and the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 was fomented to incite the people against the foreigners.

The number of foreigners in China is small and consists of two classes—missionaries and businessmen, including experts of various kinds. The missionaries are the "advance agents of Capitalism" and are hated by the Chinese. The Boxer Rebellion was a great misfortune for China inasmuch as it enabled foreign powers to invade the country and squeeze big sums in indemnities out of the people.

After peace was established the Constitutionalist Party rose to power and with it many radical parties developed throughout the country until finally in 1911 the first revolution broke and overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. But the revolution did not succeed in its main object. Revolutionary leaders formed a republican government at Nang King and at its first parliament Sun Yat Sen was elected President. But the revolutionists were unable to conquer Peking and finally they compromised on a peace with the Peking government. In a short time they lost everything they had gained in Southern China through the intriguing of Yuan Shi Kai, the reactionary leader, who was enabled to suppress every liberal movement through the foreign loans he negotiated.

Southern China is very different from the Northern part of the country. Northern China is aristocratic and has an ideal seat of government in Peking. Southern China is a much more democratic country. The Southern Chinese are industrious and progressive, their sons emigrate to wherever they are allowed to enter and to a certain extent they bring back money and ideas from all over the world. The merchants of Southern China have world wide business connections and know something of the character of the Western governments, while those who had experience as immigrants in foreign countries, where they were despised and persecuted, have become more nationalistic than the Northern Chinese in the sense that they desire to free the country from the domination of foreign money. It was the merchants of Southern China and the Chinese living abroad who were the most enthusiastic supporters of the revolution, financing and even returning to partake in the movement. Thus the first and second revolutions were started in the South and the third, or present revolution has established a separate government in Southern China.

The Southern Chinese are Socialistic in policy, or, at least, the majority of the revolutionary leaders are Socialistically inclined insofar as they want the mines, the railways and big industries owned by the government rather than by foreign concerns. This being the case Southern China gets little sympathy from foreign capitalists or their governments, while the Peking government, which for many decades has sustained the influence of the foreign capitalists by borrowing money, is supported and financed by foreign governments in its attempts to quell the southern rebels. Thus the present situation in China lies in the conflicting interests of the North and the South.

Northern China has a commanding position in many ways: long usage and time honored establishment as the ruling power, but the country is poor in natural

resources so that without the South, Northern China has difficulty in sustaining a government and satisfying the foreign creditors. Southern China, on the other hand, has a vast population and rich natural deposits as yet unexploited. The Southern Chinese want a separate government of their own if they cannot subjugate the Peking government, but the foreign powers will not easily consent to this, they have loaned much money to Peking and without Southern China they cannot collect the debts and moreover they lose the rich fields of investment in the future, Southern China being opposed to the domination of foreign money power.

The Chinese revolution will not be easily completed for it needs not a nationalist but an international solution. Japan wants political, as well as financial, domination over China. The Japanese masses are, however, in sympathy with Southern China and the small businessmen of Japan have many connections there, but the Japanese government and imperialists are in sympathy with the Peking government as it brings Manchuria within their influence, and Manchuria is next to Korea. For this reason the Japanese government will support Peking for some time to come. But in the end Southern China will triumph and Japan will have to recognize and make treaties with her otherwise Japan will be crushed in the future by awakened China.

Japan has a tremendous problem to face in Korea and Formosa. The peoples of these countries naturally look towards China to save them from Japanese domination and unless Japan changes her rule radically, and changes it soon, they will revolt. Especially is this true in the case of Korea. Koreans now recognize that they cannot gain their independence by the grace of Japan or by manipulation in foreign countries and even today conditions in Korea are ripe for Bolshevism. The Korea of the immediate future will look toward the Siberian Soviets for sympathy and aid and before long will advance towards its goal of independence by the aid of the fast awakening Chinese who are also under influence of the Russian revolution.

The future of China will be a most interesting field in many ways. All the undertakings and plans between the Peking government and foreign capitalists that are already under way or are contemplated in the near future will be swept away by the incoming tide of the Russian Socialist Revolution. The entire Far East will become Socialists in spite of the giant schemes of the Great Powers. This is an inevitable development of present conditions and of the mighty movement of the proletariat of all nations that will establish a great Federated Socialist Republic of the entire world.

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