

# The Day of Social-Democracy

By ISRAEL AMTER.

This is the heyday of Social-Democracy. Six years in Germany, several months in Great Britain, a prospective labor government in Denmark, fill the heart of the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties with joy. In France, the Socialists; in Hungary, the Social-Democrats; in Italy, the right Socialists, are ready to co-operate with the bourgeois governments. This is the "age of reconstruction," and "the workers must assist."

The six years of Social-Democracy in Germany should have been a warning to the Socialists the world over. These have been six years of defeat and destruction of working class forces. The so-called "workers' revolution" in Germany on November 8, 1918, demonstrated that a "revolution" under the leadership of the Social-Democrats is the modern form of capitalist reconstruction. The Social-Democrats demanded and obtained the eight-hour day as compensation for their work. For six years the capitalists tolerated this measure, and then flung it on the scrapheap.

## Kill 8-Hour Day

The Social-Democrats protested and then gave in. To be sure, they did it gracefully; only in specific cases and when conditions demand it for a limited time, will the eight-hour day be sacrificed. But the reparations commission stepped in and now the eight-hour day is a forlorn hope. Germany must produce and reduce expenses: these demands will be placed at the door of the workers.

The bosses stated in unmistakable tone that they can accept the Dawes report only if the eight-hour day is revoked. With the destruction of the eight-hour day will begin the capitalist offensive against the trade unions. The trade union bureaucracy is determined to maintain the policy of collaboration; but this collaboration is completely at the expense of the workers. The revolutionary workers are determined not to give up the eight-hour day. This means struggle: hence the unions are faced with the alternative of fight or complete submission.

## Red and Yellow

The capitalists will not interfere in the fight; they have their henchmen in the officialdom of the unions—Leipart and Dittman, who are conducting the struggle against the revolutionary workers: the "trouble-makers" in the unions are being expelled. Gompersism has penetrated the Amsterdam International and the intention is to exclude all Communists and their sympathizers from the trade union movement. At the recent congress of the German textile Workers, Gompers' and Lewis' methods were in full swing. Credentials of opposition delegates were not recognized; local officials of the machine were substituted in their place and seated in the convention. Appeals were unavailing; the machine ruled, screeched, yelled and denounced the Communists and Moscow, and defiantly declared that no Communist or opposition would be tolerated within the union.

The fight in the German Metal Workers' union is in full swing. All over the country the challenge of The Red International is being met with expulsion. The splitting of the movement is of no moment to the trade union officialdom, whose motto is collaboration with the capitalists.

## Co-operate With Nationalists.

Despite howls of protest against the destructive deeds of the Nationalists, the Social-Democrats of Germany are prepared to co-operate with them in running the government. The price will be the further suppression of the workers. In their national elections Communists were arrested on all sides. Parliamentary immunity counted for nothing: the danger of a large Communist opposition in the Reichstag filled Ebert with apprehension. Communist papers were suppressed, meetings forbidden, May Day demonstrations prohibited. "Unity of the people" was to be achieved at the cost of the working class. France, England and Belgium demanded it: America demanded it. The loan that Germany expects depends on it: Germany's workers are to pay the price, if the social-democrats succeed.

MacDonald, the "leader" of the British Labor party, sells out one demand of the workers after the other. He, the arch-pacifist, builds cruisers; he, the friend of India, threatens the Indian revolutionary nationalists with force; he, the friend of the British working class, surrenders the housing problem for a proposal of the liberals. He is determined to hold to his post, in order to convince the bourgeoisie of Great Britain that the British Labor party is capable of assisting in capitalist reconstruction, despite what they had thought to the contrary. He is tolerated in office because the British capitalist is suffering no injury at his hands. He was the tool to put across the recognition of Soviet Russia; he is the flunkey to state that Soviet Russia must come to terms with the labor government if she ever hopes to arrange the existing differences. He talks in the same impudent tone as Curzon would have spoken, only to be reproached as a Tory. The British bourgeoisie needs MacDonald for a while longer; when he no longer serves their purpose, he will be overthrown.

## Lloyd George Again?

Lloyd George is ashamed of the policies that MacDonald represents. Swashbuckler that he is, Lloyd George was at least frank. The liberal toleration of the labor govern-

ment was based on a mutual recognition of similar aims—aims that were publicly acknowledged as similar by the British labor leaders. But MacDonald, the head of the labor government, is faithless even to these aims—consequently Lloyd George is considering the necessity of sending MacDonald home.

Meanwhile, the revolt is brewing and consolidating in the ranks of the Labor party. The Clyde members of the party, representatives of revolutionary workers, are forced to bear the shame and disgrace that the Labor government is heaping on the working class of Great Britain. Not yet Communist, not yet imbued with the full spirit of fight, these leaders are not yet filled with the will to start an open fight—to split if necessary. They have to tolerate the spectacle of the head of the labor government making a travesty of the party and of the labor government at the convention of the Independent Labor party—and yet they are not prepared to split.

And yet all is not wine and honey for the bourgeois labor party leader, MacDonald. Millions of workers are making demands on the capitalist employers. When MacDonald entered office he faced a strike—and these strikes have continued. The workers have not won—against them stood the secret sabotage of the labor government, which is determined to install class collaboration and attempt nothing that will jeopardize the existence of the labor government. For MacDonald and his colleagues of the labor party wish to prove to the bourgeoisie that socialism (in the form of the second international) is not such a dreadful thing; and that the workers organization in that international are ready to assist in "reconstruction"—even though such co-operation cost the workers bread.

## More Strikes in England

More strikes are looming—the workers are encouraged to take the step because of the existence of the labor government. No wonder that many a worker has said that when he voted for the Labor party he had no idea that it would act as it has. The workers regarded the Labor party as the organized political expression of the working class of Great Britain. Today he picks up the Daily Herald to read that MacDonald makes compromise of Labor party principles—in order simply to hold on to office. He wants two years of it: the workers of Great Britain may imagine what will remain of so-called Labor party principles at the end of that time.

Shortly after taking office MacDonald was asked what the connection of the Labor party is to the Hamburg International. His reply was most significant: that when the principles of a British labor government do not coincide with those of the Hamburg International, the party is free to withdraw from the international. The British Labor party is the backbone of the Hamburg International—which remains the Second International despite the change of its name. Its absence of principle, its cowardice, its treachery are being compounded year by year. The German social-democracy and the British Labor party, are showing up the international to which they belong: an international of collaboration with the bourgeoisie for the further enslavement of the working class.

## Danish Go "Labor"

The world is to witness the spectacle of another so-called labor government. The recent elections in Denmark resulted in an increase of social-democratic votes. A cabinet is to be constructed by Stauning—a genuine social-democratic ministry, which will teach the Danish workers that the social-democrats will use the same capitalist methods that the bourgeois employ: persuasion, compromise and then force. It is the historical process that the workers into whose minds has been poured bourgeois philosophy cannot turn to the left at once. They must pass thru the illusion of a government of "their own," a government made up of petty-bourgeois leaders (even if once they were genuine workers and presumably revolutionary leaders). The workers must learn the lessons from their social-democratic leaders, treason and finally turn to the left—to the Communists.

The French socialists are not to be outdone in this sport. Altho the French workers have seen thru the hollowness of the French socialist party, the leaders of that party—especially Blum—have been loud in their assertions that Germany was guilty of fomenting the world war and that Germany must pay the full toll of the reparations. They know, as well as the Berlin "Vorwaerts," the organ of the Social-Democratic party knows, that the reparations will be taken out of the hide of the German workers and that the German bourgeoisie will not pay a single farthing of the billions which alone will "restore Germany to the comity of nations." They know that the handing over of the railways to a private concern and the establishment of a private bank, with international capital participating in both—and above all the cutting down of expenses and of the state budget, will be at the expense of the workers.

Already 800,000 government workers have been discharged: more are to follow in their wake. And yet Blum prides himself on his assertion at Hamburg at the congress of the Second International that he took the same stand as the Dawes commission. But this is the day of social-democracy—and all of the treacherous par-

ties belonging to the Second International wish to be on the bandwagon.

## Hungary's Horthy

The Hungarian social-democrats are of like nature. They are willing to make a pact with the savage government of Horthy, provided he allows the Hungarian social-democrats, who are in the emigration, to return to the country. No Communists are included in their request; they must be treated as traitors. The Italian socialists have long entered into collaboration with Mussolini. The Italian proletariat gave them the answer at the polls this month. Their vote was cut in half, the revolutionary workers in central Italy turning to the Communists despite the most barbarous terrorism on the part of the Black Shirts—and even giving Mussolini a minority.

To make the program complete, the American socialists line up with the Conference for Progressive Political Action against the formation of a Farmer-Labor party and against the more class-conscious section of the workers and militant farmers of America. They, too, affiliated to the Hamburg International, wish to be perfectly respectable and participate in capitalist reconstruction—and in the class collaboration sponsored by Johnston in the railroad industry.

The day of mere social-democratic ministers in capitalist governments is past. The day of social-democratic and labor government is here. The bourgeoisie is broadening and extending the democratic illusions of the working and peasant classes. Labor leaders are being given an opportunity to elaborate capitalist programs, which the workers will not take from the hands of the bourgeoisie itself. It is no definite sign that the bourgeoisie does not trust its own power: the ruling class is wont to employ any decoy to lead the subject class from the path to power. Kerensky in Russia, Ebert in Germany, MacDonald in Great Britain, Stauning in Denmark—all politicians of the stripe, with the same policy—all belonging to the same international.

## Capitalism Crumbling

And yet in the year 1924 it is a sign of the gradual breakdown of capitalism. Capitalism has to resort to subterfuge in order to put its program across. The British labor government, the German social-democrats and the French socialists are enthusiastic supporters of the Dawes report. If the "representatives of the workers" favor the report, who could be against it? India is seething with revolt against British tyranny: who could recommend to them temperance in method better than the "representatives of British labor?"

The elections in Italy, the provincial elections in Germany, the national elections in Germany and the elections in France have demonstrated what the workers think of social-democratic governments and parties. In all the countries of Europe, and also in the United States, the turn to the left is definite and pronounced. Capitalism cannot solve its own problems: drawing the social-democrats into the settlement means clarifying the problems. Social-democracy was never representative of the working class: social-democracy was and is only a petty-bourgeois expression of dissatisfaction with existing conditions. Social-democracy merely demands a greater participation of the working class in the affairs of state and industry. Social-democracy does not seek the rule of the working class.

## Communists' Power Rising

Despite the White dictatorships that rule many countries, the Communist parties have increased in power. The illusions of capitalist democracy and social-democracy cannot persist; they are opening the eyes of the workers and bringing them under the influence of the Communist International with the application of Bolshevik policies and methods. The truths that Lenin preached are being demonstrated and vindicated day by day. This is the day of social-democracy; the day of Communism is dawning.

## Throw Injunction at Picket.

NEW YORK, June 19.—Picketing is prohibited by an injunction against the striking Cleaner's and Dyers' union granted to the Manhattan Steam Dyeing company, Brooklyn, by Judge Benedict.

## Amalgamated at St. Paul.

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 19.—Sidney Rissman and Sam Levin are here as the delegates of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, another general executive board member, D. Mariem Petri is also here with credentials of the Amalgamated Joint Board of Chicago.



## The Working Man and the Boss.

The working man is the creator of all things. He makes the clothing, the food, the fuel and even the unnecessary things such as jewels. These he makes for the capitalist. Altho he is the creator of all things, he does not own them. He does not run the government. He should.

The boss does nothing and is nothing but an idle shirker and still he owns the factories and runs the government. The only thing he does is