

BUDAPEST CIVIC FEDERATION

(By W. Z. Foster).

The International Secretariat Conference at Budapest has officially placed its stamp of approval on the Civic Federation and stuck a knife into the agitation of American revolutionists against this nefarious combination. James Duncan, Civic Federation delegate—incidentally armed with A. F. of L. credentials—was accepted as a delegate, over a special protest by the I. W. W. And this allegedly revolutionary International Secretariat has thus betrayed the American revolutionary movement in order to win the friendship of the reactionary A. F. of L.—a friendship that will be exploited later by playing the A. F. of L. against the C. G. T. to balk the latter's attempt to break the existing international quarantine against the spread of revolutionary ideas in the labor unions by turning the International Secretariat into a genuine International organization.

Duncan's official recognition is indeed betrayal of the American movement. At the miners convention, at which Mitchell got fired, one of the great arguments used was that Kautsky, Rosa Luxembourg and other German radicals raised at the reception of Gompers in Europe. In the fight that in the near future will be waged in the labor movement over the participation of Duncan and other labor fakirs in the Civic Federation, this argument will be taken away from the rebels and used by the Civic Federation fakirs. They can now point to the Budapest Conference as an official Socialist endorsement of the Civic Federation and can quote Carl Legien, Hueber, Bergmans, Appleton and others of the most prominent Socialist labor leaders of Europe who went out of their way to defend the Civic Federation.

The story of the conference is illustrative of the slugging tactics by which the Socialists broke up the old International and by which THEY RULE THE MODERN EUROPEAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

The International Secretariat is a degenerate successor of the old International Workingmen's Association. It consists of not more than one labor organization from each country. It holds its conferences every two years at which the affiliated organizations each can send only two delegates. It is in full control of the Socialists who refuse, from political considerations, to let it develop into a serious International organization.

The I. W. W. had duly filed a protest against the seating of Duncan on grounds that he was a member of the Civic Federation, a protest against the admission of the A. F. of L. into the International Secretariat and an application of the I. W. W. for affiliation with International Secretariat. The attempt was made to dispose of all these unpleasant matters by absolutely ignoring them. The first order of business should have been to act on the I. W. W.'s filed protest of Duncan's credentials but the conference took no cognizance of it, but, immediately after the opening, passed on to the regular order of business, not even examining the credentials of the delegates present. As I. W. W. delegate, I took the floor and demanded that the I. W. W. protest against Duncan be heard. The conference refused to allow me to talk, claiming the I. W. W. was not affiliated with the International Secretariat and consequently its delegate was only a guest and had no voice or vote—the A. F. of L. was thus by common consent, and without official action, accepted as member of International Secretariat, although the I. W. W. had contested its admission. I persisted, however, in demanding the I. W. W. contest of Duncan's credentials be heard and for about an hour pandemonium reigned; the business of the conference was brought to a standstill in spite of vigorous efforts to carry it on regardless of my protests. I was cajoled and browbeaten—Sassenbach, secretary of the General Committee, and other Socialists threatened to throw me out if I didn't subside. I am reliably informed that a sergeant-at-arms was to eject me but refused.

Finally, I took my seat, believing that I had, however, irregularly, brought the Civic Federation matter before the conference. Jouhaux, secretary of the C. G. T. of France, immediately took the floor, flayed Duncan and the Civic Federation fakirs and made a motion that Duncan be forced to explain his connection with the Civic Federation. Thus in spite of the gagging of the I. W. W. delegate, the matter was officially brought before the conference. Yvetot, the other C. G. T. delegate, ably seconded Jouhaux's motion. Then it was that the above mentioned prominent Socialist laborers opposed the French motion and put themselves on record in favor of the Civic Federation—around which the discussion turned.

DUNCAN TOOK NO PART IN THE DEBATE, LEAVING THE DEFENSE OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION ENTIRELY TO HIS SOCIALIST ALLIES. Jouhaux's motion was lost—every delegate present (all Socialists except Duncan) voted against it except the two French delegates.

The admission of the I. W. W. into the International Secretariat was next order of business—proposed by C. G. T. at Paris Conference, 1909—the official application of the I. W. W. for affiliation being ignored. I was, as a "courtesy," given the floor under pain of being instantly silenced if I talked out of order, i. e., on the Civic Federation. I was as brief as possible. Duncan responded to me, calling the I. W. W. an organization of strike breakers, bums, etc., and then defended the Civic Federation for half an hour, a defense entirely out of order as the Civic Federation matter

had been disposed of. In accordance to European parliamentary rules, I was entitled to the last word in the discussion and I was going to refute Duncan's explanation of the Civic Federation. The floor was refused me, first on the grounds that the discussion had already consumed several hours time and finally as I still demanded my right as Sassenbach told me because "Comrade Legien says you can't have the floor." In spite of Legien's dictator of European labor movement, imperial ukase, I insisted on my right to reply to Duncan and Legien himself moved the closure of the debate, which was carried. Thus the conference after allowing Duncan to explain the Civic Federation, refused me the right to "explain" it also, which I was prepared to do with writings of nearly every prominent revolutionist in the United States. Duncan's Socialist partners saved him and themselves from some extremely awkward explanations.

At the close of the session in a little knot of delegates, Jouhaux took Legien to task for defending the Civic Federation when the whole American revolutionary movement was up in arms against it. Without any explanations or trimmings, Legien flatly denied that there was any quarrel between the Civic Federation and the Socialist movement.

At first glance, Legien's statement seems to be a deliberate falsehood, but in reality, it is true. The present "unpleasantness" between the Civic Federation and the Socialist political movement is not due to vitally opposing interests of the two organizations but to R. Easeley's misunderstanding of the true aims of the Socialist party. The Civic Federation wants "industrial peace" and so does the S. P. The Civic Federation wants "industrial peace" because economic wars are expensive. The S. P. wants "industrial peace" so the workers will never learn their true economic power but will continue to squander their energies in building up the political movement. The Civic Federation secures its end by paralyzing the action of the labor unions and the S. P. all over the world adopts practically the same tactics for exactly the same end. In France, the Socialist Minister of Labor, Millerand, a governmental organization to "adjust" industrial disputes. Its form and tactics were almost identical with those of the Civic Federation. The scheme was endorsed by the leading Socialist politicians of France and was only killed by the C. G. T. after a long struggle. The German unions, forbidden to fight by their Socialist dictators and driven into a corner by their employers who are making Germany the land of the mass lock-out, would welcome a German Civic Federation with open arms that would give them the longed for "industrial peace." If Ralph Easeley cuts out his "rough stuff" anti-Socialist agitation, and scratches the backs of the Socialist politicians, they will return the compliment even more than they have to date. Legien's statement is true.

If it is not, and the American Socialists are trying to destroy the Civic Federation, why didn't that raise a vigorous protest against Duncan's recognition either directly to the International Secretariat or by waging a campaign in the Socialist papers of Europe? The International Secretariat which is completely dominated by Socialists, wouldn't have dared to accept Duncan in the face of such a protest. His rejection would have gone a long way towards killing the Civic Federation. Why have the American Socialists allowed this great opportunity to pass by unexploited and by their silence, permitted their European comrades to defend the Civic Federation and to say there is no quarrel between it and the Socialist movement? It is a pertinent question.

U. S. ARMY ON THE BUM.

Nobody wants to be a soldier. There is no need to strike up the band, for no soldiers come. The U. S. A. is bunk!

Vacancies at West Point cannot be filled. Just 116 second lieutenants exist only on paper. It's a cinch job at what seems good pay, but it goes begging.

But perhaps some insight into army affairs might bring light. Read this dispatch:

"Washington, Aug. 24.—To improve the horsemanship of the United States army, Secretary of War Stimson will soon issue an order that riding schools shall form part of the garrison training of all mounted commands in the service."

Why shouldn't all officers be fine horsemen? What else is there to do, except keep up athletic training? Yet few can endure strain of any sort, if Mr. Roosevelt is to be believed.

If the man under shoulder-straps regard the army as a place to loaf, it is not strange that the job does not appeal to boys worth while. But even in peace, the army should be busy. In the first place, it ought to be guarding the forests.

Not that any amount of persuasion will relieve the army just now. Only another war can fill the ranks, and whether they will be full, even then, will depend on what sort of war it is. For the antipathy to soldiering, inculcated by the labor people, grows very strong. In the end only the cadets of the wealthy may go to West Point.

Which will be a very sad thing.—Butte Inter-Mountain.

SURE, IT'S FUNNY.

Hear the socialist, with his everlasting plan of "capturing the government,"—so like the ape trying to capture his own reflection in a mirror. Aye, even funnier, for he knows that government is but a reflection. It is not government of men that the Industrialist seeks, but government of his own product.

DAVID KENNEDY.