

## WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

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pire. No political form has been too absurd for it to fill with its loyalty. No discordance of race, colour or language has been universally effective against it.

What, then, is patriotism in essence of today? It is usually defined as being devotion to the land of our fathers. But which is the land of our fathers? Our fathers came from many different parts of the world. The political division of the world in which we live is an artificial entity. The land has been wrested from other races. The nation they call "ours" is the result of a conquest over original inhabitants, and over ourselves, by successive ruling classes. Unlike the free tribesmen we are hirelings, we possess no country.

Nationality, of which patriotism is the superstition, covers no real entity other than that of a common oppression, a unified government. It does not compromise any unity of race, for in no nation is there one pure race, or anything like it. It does not cover a unity of language, for scarcely a nation exists in which several distinct languages are not indigenous. Nor is it any fixity of territory, for this changes from decade to decade, while the inhabitants of the transferred their allegiance, their patriotism, to the new nation.

**The Product of Analysis**

The only universal bond of nationality or patriotism that exists for us today is, then, that of subjection to a single government. Patriotism in the worker is pride in the common yoke imposed by a politically united ruling class. Yet it is this artificial entity that we are called upon to honor above lift itself. This badge of political servitude is called an object worthy of supreme sacrifice. The workers are expected to abandon all vital interests and sacrifice all they hold dear for the preservation of an artificial nationality, that is little more than a manufactured unit of discord; a mere focus of economic and political strife.

Thus one of the noblest fruits of man's social evolution—the impulse of sacrifice for the social existence—is being prostituted by the capitalist class to maintain a system of exploitation, to obtain a commercial supremacy, and preserve or extend the boundaries of a superfluous political entity. The workers are duped by the ruling class into sacrificing themselves for the preservation of a politico-economic yoke of a particular form and color. Many so-called Socialists have fallen headlong into this obvious trap.

Had social solidarity developed in equal measure with the broadening of men's real interests, it would now be universal in character instead of national. The wholesale mixture of races, and the economic interdependence of the whole world, show that nationalism is now a barrier, and patriotism, as we know it, a curse. Only the whole world can now be rightly called the land of our fathers. Only in the service of the people of the whole world, and not against those of any part of it, can the instinct of social service find its highest and complete expression. The great Socialist has pointed the way. He did not call upon the workers of Germany alone to unite. He appealed to the toilers of the whole world to join hands; to a whole world of labor whose only loss could be its parti-colored chains. And in this alone lies the consummation of that tribal instinct of social solidarity of which patriotism is the perverted descendant.

**Something Better Than Patriotism**

Capitalism, therefore, stands as the barrier the destruction of which will not only set free the productive forces of society for the good of all, but will also liberate human solidarity and brotherhood from the narrow confines of nationality and patriotism. Only victorious labor can make true the simple but pregnant statement: "mankind are my brethren, the world is my country." Patriotism and nationalism as we know them will then be remembered only as artificial restrictions

**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 "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; threatened by Kolehak and the Allies, they decided to accept 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.

of men's sympathy and mutual help; as obstacles to the expansion of the human mind; as impediments to the needful and helpful development of human unity and co-operation; as bonds that bound men to slavery; as incentives that set brothers at each others' throats.

Despite its shameless perversion by a robber class the great impulse to human solidarity is by no means dead. Economic factors give it an even firmer basis, and in the Socialist movement it develops apace. Even the hellish system of individualism, with its doctrine of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, has been unable to kill it. And in the great class struggle of the workers against the drones, of the socially useful against the socially pernicious, in this last great struggle for the liberation of humanity from wage slavery, the great principle of human solidarity, based upon the necessities of today and impelled by the deep-seated instincts of the race, will come to full fruition and win its supreme historical battle.

That is our hope and inspiration. For the present, however, we are surrounded by the horrors of war added to the horrors of exploitation, and subjected to the operation of open repression as well as to the arts of hypocrisy and fraud. With the weakening power of religion to keep the workers obedient, the false cult of nationality and patriotism is being exploited to the full. Like religion, patriotism has its vestments, its ceremonies, its sacred hymns and inspired music; all of which are called in aid of the class interests of our masters, and utilized desperately to lure millions to the shambles to their benefit. Thus in an heroic and glorious social impulse perverted and debased to the support of a regime of wage-slavery, and to the furtherance of the damnable policy of the slave-holding class: to divide and rule.

F. C. W.

They have arrested several members of the Constituent Assembly, as well as Comrade Sourgouzhich and other militants of the Socialists-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 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 Kolehak and Denikine.

"Under the pretext of fighting against Bolshevism 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 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 bourgeois dictatorship or foreign bourgeois intervention; but on the contrary, it must support the most resolute struggle against both national and international re-action in order that the Russian revolution and the world revolution may be victorious. This is not the time for 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!"