

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

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The Story of the First Days of the German Revolution Told in Proclamations

In its issue of November 5, four days before the revolution. The *Vorwaerts*, the official organ of the majority Socialists, printed the following proclamation from the government which was then made up of Prince Max von Baden, Von Payer, Dr. Solf, Philip Reidemann, etc.:

To the German People!

The trouble of the times lies heavy on the world and on the German people. We must overcome these hard days and their consequences. Already we must begin to work for happier times. The new government has undertaken steps to bring about this result. Important things have been accomplished.

1. Equal franchise in Prussia is established.
2. A new government has been formed from the majority parties in parliament.
3. The Chancellor and his co-workers in order to insure the success of their work need the confidence of parliament and of the people.
4. Fundamental rights have been taken over from the person of the Emperor and placed in the hands of the people's representatives.
5. The declaration of war and the concluding of peace are at the disposition of parliament (the Reichstag).
6. The subordination of the Military Act administration to the responsible Chancellor has been effected.
7. A far reaching amnesty has been issued.

The *"Volkstimme"* (The People's Voice) Chemnitz, Saxony, November 9, carries the following manifesto in a special edition issued at 2 a. m.

On with the struggle for Freedom, Bread and Peace!

Workers and Soldiers in the industrial district of Chemnitz!

The undersigned Council of the Workers and Soldiers of Chemnitz has this night taken in its hands the military and political power in the same manner as this has already been done in the important strategic districts of Germany.

The Council of Workers and Soldiers guarantees the upholding of order and public safety.

The stopping of work may only take place at the command of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

Therefore each one must go to his place of work until he receives further directions. The means of communication and all official business must be continued until orders to the contrary are received from the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

He who leaves his post without permission will immediately be called to account, as will each official who attempts sabotage or who, through carelessness in service, harms the public welfare.

The military commanding power lies in the hands of the Council of Workers and Soldiers. All commands from other sources are to be ignored. For the nourishment of the people the Council will take the necessary steps so that no stoppage in the distribution of food shall occur. Therefore each one be unafraid.

Today at 12, noon, in the Zentral Theater in the Kaufmannischen Vereinshaus and in the Neuen Stadt-Theater assemblages of workers and soldiers will meet at which an account of the situation will be given.

The Provisional Workers' and Soldiers' Council will be elected, and will be given the authority to direct all necessary action.

The taking over of all business will follow through a definite Workers' Council after its election. This election will take place in the course of the next week. All citizens of Chemnitz of both sexes who have

8. Freedom of the press and the right of assemblage have been guaranteed.

Yet much remains to be done. The conversion of Germany into a People's State, which in political freedom and social care shall be inferior to no state in the world, will be determinedly carried out.

The new administration can exercise its freeing and healing effect, when it finds in the civil and military authorities a spirit which recognizes and helps its purposes. We expect from our comrades, who in official positions are called to serve the commonwealth, that they will be willing co-workers.

We need in all portions of the state and kingdom the maintenance of public safety by the people themselves. We have confidence in the German people. They have through fearful years of war brilliantly made good, and they will not allow themselves through senseless and useless fantasies to be driven into new misery and ruin.

There is great need of discipline and order. Every act of license will endanger most surely the concluding of peace.

The government and with it the administration of the army and the fleet want peace. We want it honestly and we want it soon.

Until then we must protect our boundaries from invasion by the enemy.

reached their 18th year or have army service, are entitled to vote.

The aim of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of Germany is the erection of a Socialist German Republic.

Long live the Brotherly Commonwealth of Soldiers and Workers!

Long live the Revolutionary Discipline!

Long live the World Revolution!

Long live the people freeing Socialism!

Long live Peace!

The Council of Workers and Soldiers in the industrial district of Chemnitz.

Fritz Heckert,

Max Muller,

Corporal Max Stein

Executive Council in Power.

Proclamation of the Spartacus Group issued a few days before the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils made the following demands:

Disarmament of all police officers, non-proletarian soldiers and all members of the ruling class.

Confiscation by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils of arms, munitions and armament works.

Arming of all adult male proletarians and the formation of a Workers' Militia.

The formation of a proletarian Red Guard, abolition of the ranks of officers and non-commissioned officers, removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils.

Abolition of all parliaments, and municipal and other councils.

The election of a General Council which will elect and control the Executive Council of the Soldiers and Workers.

Repudiation of all state and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscriptions.

Expropriation of all landed estates, banks, coal mines and large industrial works.

Confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount.

Our troops who for weeks have been in hard fighting must be relieved and given rest. Only to this end and for no other reason has the recent requisitioning of fresh troops taken place.

To the troops of the land army and the fleet and also to their leaders are our especial thanks due. Through their death-defying courage and their discipline have they saved the Fatherland.

The more important and immediate tasks are:

The building up again of our agriculture in order that the returning soldiers and sailors now at the front may find in regulated conditions the assurance of a safe existence for themselves and their families. All large associations have declared their readiness to re-engage their former workers.

The assistance of those out of work, care for housing conditions and other measures in this direction are partly in preparation, partly already carried out.

With the conclusion of peace, a betterment together with all around improvement of living conditions will soon take place.

German Men and Women!

Combat and peace are our common task.

State and kingdom are our common future.

Your confidence which is indispensable in the hour of danger is in truth nothing more than the confidence of the German people in themselves and their future.

The assured future of Germany is our guiding star.

"Die Internationale," formerly *"Die Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,"* Sunday, November 10, prints the following proclamation:

Workers! Soldiers! Comrades! Brothers!

The great, long expected day has appeared. Since November 9, the German people have the power in their hands.

Since November 9, Germany is a Republic: a Socialist Republic of the Workers and Soldiers.

Our hearts are full of pride.

But we have no time to give way to our joy. Now it is necessary to erect the organized foundation for the new Commonwealth. Enormous tasks lie ahead of us. Before all we must form a new government which will express our ideals and which will be equal to the vital problems before us.

The foundation upon which the new government rests is that the entire lawgiving, directing, managing and judicial power lies entirely in the hands of the representatives of the workers and soldiers.

To elect these representatives is your first practical task.

Therefore, Soldiers! Brothers! meet together today at 10 o'clock in the barracks and hospitals and choose your representatives on the basis of one delegate to each battalion, one to each smaller independent formation and one to each hospital.

Workmen! Workingwomen! Brothers! Sisters! meet together today at 10 o'clock in your workshops. Each 1,000 employed men or women will elect one delegate. Small trades are to join together and elect on the same basis.

Sunday at 5 o'clock the selected delegates will meet in the Zirkus Busch, [one of the largest halls in Berlin.]

Workers! Soldiers! care for the fulfillment of these orders. Keep order and quiet.

The Provisional Council of Workers and Soldiers of Berlin.

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 By Local Boston, Socialist Party
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 885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Saturday, December 28, 1918

They Are Still There!

REPORTS from Paris state that the Allies have decided against sending a large force to Russia but these accounts of the reported future policy of the Associated Powers with regard to Russia are so vague and contradictory that little confidence can be placed in them. The same papers that carry the reported decision of the Allies also carry the story that General Skoropadski, the deposed pro-German hetman of the Ukraine, is advancing from Odessa re-enforced by French troops while the French foreign minister is quoted as urging that support be given "to the governments which have sprung up at various points on Russian and Siberian territory."

Lengthy interviews are daily given prominence in the American press with such notables as Prince Lvoff and Paul N. Milukoff. Both of these gentlemen sing the same song: the necessity of intervention against the Soviets, with an appropriate accompaniment about "regeneration of Russia," "restoration of order," and "will of the Russian people." The latter of these worthies has been expelled from France, so notorious has been his dealings with the late German Imperialism, and is reported as having gone to England. Still the fact that the French government has expelled him does not deter our own press from giving his views on Russia great prominence, such great prominence indeed that the reader is given the impression that these papers are in complete accord with Mr. Milukoff.

Meanwhile a new front has been opened up against the Bolsheviks, British warships are reported as bombarding the Bolshevik positions in the Baltic and a further report adds that an American ship has been sent on the same mission. But none of the Allies have declared war on Russia although every newspaper carries accounts of severe fighting at widely scattered points in Russian territory. None of the Allied statesmen have made any statement regarding the policy being pursued in Russia. Although nominally we are committed to open diplomacy, the peoples of the Allied countries are completely in the dark as regards what is happening in Russia. All attempts by responsible members of the various governments of the Allies to obtain light on the situation have failed. Senator Johnson's questions regarding the American policy remain unanswered and the American people are left to irresponsible newspaper rumors for information as to what is being done in Russia in their name.

The English people are also completely in the dark about what they are doing in Russia. It is generally supposed that only a small force of foreign troops are in Russia but news is cropping out that would strengthen the belief that troops are still being transported there. A few days ago the news came from Canada that a number of Canadian troops have refused to sail for Russia, and are being held on the charge of insubordination. The report goes on to state that they attended a meeting addressed by J. H. Hawthornthwaite, Labor Party member of the British Columbia Legislature, and cheered expressions of sympathy with the Bolsheviks. If these troops had not taken action no one would have known that Canadians were being sent to Russia and the feeling expressed in the Dominion since the news has been made known points to the fact that the Canadian people do not want to intervene in Russia, but on the contrary want the Russian people to decide their own affairs.

A large and growing section of the people of the Allied countries are opposed to interference in Russia but intervention is a grim fact. The reported decision against sending further troops is an indication that the feeling of the people is having an effect, but the size of the Allied forces operating in Russia is a detail and is decided by circumstances. Intervention in Russia is a fact. Alien troops are still at Archangel and Vladivostok, and an alien fleet is operating in the Baltic....

"And Who are the Judges?"

AT the present time the newspapers are devoting much space to the question of fixing responsibility upon the ex-Kaiser, the former German Crown Prince and the entire German court for the war just ended. And the statesmen are keeping in step with the newspapers.

Newspaper columns and political speeches are outdoing each other in blazing out the question of an "international tribunal" to try "the guilty of this war with all its sufferings and violence." And of course it goes without saying that in all these discussions the only ones who are invariably found guilty for the war are Wilhelm and his hirelings.

Besides the general aspect of the questions the details are not lacking. The degree of guilt fastened upon each of the "responsible persons" is being carefully weighed and discussed; a great deal of attention is being devoted to the discussion of the question of whether the Allies can, in the light of "precedents," and tracts of international law demand Wilhelm's surrender; not forgotten either is the question bearing on the "exemplary punishment" which the former Kaiser should be subjected to: some share the view that he as in the case of Napoleon, should be sent to some lonely island (here follows a detailed "comparative geographical" analysis of all islands suitable for this purpose); others insist on the necessity of imposing upon him a sentence of life imprisonment,—while recently newspapers printed a report to the effect that the British Minister of Ammunition, Geddes, resolutely and unambiguously stated that the only exemplary form of punishment for the guilty monarch is a death sentence....

All these high-sounding discussions, all these declamations from people whose hands are far from being clean, all these recitations about the "real criminals of this war" and about the "necessity of an exemplary punishment" for them, are in themselves very significant....

We are passing through a great epoch, a threatening of a People's judgment on all their centuries-long oppressors, on all guilty of causing the people's misery, sufferings and tears, over all those who had plunged them into the present world war. Country after country, people after people, rise now, and demand an account of the deeds of their former masters.

And the revolution which we are witnessing does not merely concern itself with crowned masters. No! The rising proletarian masses introduce sweeping measures, they attempt to deal a blow at the very heart of every form of exploitation and every form of oppression. Getting rid of the crown heads they go still farther; deposing the rulers "blessed by divine power" they reach out for the rulers of the "Golden Calf" (annointed by the Golden Calf)—for capitalists, manufacturers, merchants and estate owners. They wage war against the entire capitalist system!

In vain are the assurances and prayers of various charlatans of the Menshevist "science," magicians and jugglers who are capable of combining every Czarism with "fighting for democracy"; in vain are their tearful assurances that such "careless hastiness" of the working masses violates all their calculations and expectations cunningly devised in the silence of the study rooms, expectations which prove with mathematical certainty the "prematureness of the Socialist revolution" at the present moment.

The proletarian masses contemptuously pass by all this Menshevist pseudo-scientific nonsense, continuing to perform their revolutionary task, their severe

revolutionary judgment of the past, in the name of the right future....

And this formidable and unshaken resolution of the peoples' masses brings fear into the hearts of the exploiters and oppressors not yet brought to account. In desperation they try to stave off from themselves the people's wrath, to direct it into another channel.

Into the stormy waters of the people's wrath they throw down Wilhelm in an attempt to appease, with this offering, the "god of the revolution" and to save their sinking capitalist ship....

With the cunning of a petty-thief who is being overtaken by his pursuers they cry out, louder than everybody else: "Stop thief!" pointing with trembling fingers in the direction of Wilhelm.

They are attempting to turn the great Socialist revolution into the "proper channels" and cram it into the procrustean bed of bourgeois capitalist revolution—of the sweeping away the "remnants of feudalism," to introduce "enlightened capitalism" in place of feudal monarchy.....

But they shall not succeed in that! The revolutionary proletariat will strike a well-deserved blow at bloody Wilhelm, as it has already struck bloody Nicholas. And to the oracles of capitalist society who are trying to put on themselves the judicial robes, the proletariat will contemptuously cry out: "We are the judges!"

And tearing from them the judicial robes will put these self-appointed "judges" in the prisoner's dock.

Bolshevikjabs

THE "New York World" says: "Russia does not need to send out instructors. She is herself an object-lesson for the world." Wherein The World proves the truth of the old proverb that "many a true word is spoken in jest."

The appointment of a washerwoman as Minister of Education in the former Duchy of Brunswick is being treated as quite a joke by the bourgeois press but one thing is certain—she can't make a worse job of it than have many of the "old women" who have functioned in this capacity in the governments of the world.

Young 1919 is in for a tougher job than many people imagine.

And his hardest job is going to be to choose the correct color for the year's wear.

Spain wants Gibraltar. This is taking the Allied idea of returning territory, previously annexed altogether too seriously.

We suppose that Spain after hearing so much about the war for "no annexations" thought that the only way to get territory was to keep out of the war.

"Senate asks for copies of Creel Bureau matter," says a headline. If we were asked we would venture the opinion that the Senate has quite enough misinformation already.

When we watch the dawn of 1919 break we will not forget that some few thousand men and women can only see it through bars.

And we will then know that the speeches about the "dawn of freedom," which will inevitably be made, will simply be so much cant.

The city council of Atlanta, Georgia has created a municipal art commission. It will be interesting to know what the commission will do with the remarkably fine collection of photographs of negro lynchings that have been made possible through the activity of some of the state's best citizens.

"Neutrals place in peace conference settled" says a headline and when we read down the column we find that it is outside.

Education in Russia

Official Document of People's Commissaire of Education A. V. Lunacharsky

THE Commissaire of Education Lunacharsky issued the following appeal to the teachers of Russia when the intelligentsia refused all help to the proletariat, and "rejoiced in every conspiracy against it":

"You, teachers—men and women—show them the example. Down with the boycott! Let us build a new school of the people. I, the people's commissary of education, do not want to force anything on you or on the schools. I say to you—away with the power of the bureaucracy! Conquer the bureaucracy! From now on the ministry (of education) is an executive organ. Let us build together a parliament of enlightenment, a vast government committee for the people. With friendly efforts let us build together a commission instead of a minister—a commission which will not hinder and command, but which will make the work easier and aid all healthy initiative. Let us finish the process of decentralization of schools and the transfer of their management to self-governing bodies. Can we even take count of the many problems which confront us? But they must all be decided by conference of teachers directly with the representatives of the organized working people. I published a series of statements dealing with the basic problems of education in Russia, and lately I issued a decree of the Central Executive Committee creating a Commission of Public Education. It is possible, and very probable, that these do not meet with everybody's approval. But the statements contain my own personal views, which I intend to apply not as a leader but as a collaborator. The decree has merely a preliminary character, for some sort of an apparatus had to be created to commence the work.

"I picture to myself a perspective of the following sort: The Government Committee of Public Education will meet in an extraordinary session to work out the broad democratic basis for the call of an Educational Convention of Teachers and direct representatives of the organized working masses. At this convention, in a friendly and open discussion, we will elaborate the underlying principles of a new people's school in Russia and will submit these for confirmation to the constitutional convention.

"We will create in the sphere of education an atmosphere of true co-operation. Here class differences do not frighten us. A sincere and true teacher yearns for that perfect school which would transform the greatest number of citizens into completely developed men. The proletariat yearns for the same.

"If engineers and workers were to take up the creation of productive machines, apart from any calculations of an entrepreneur character, and guided only by the objective sign of the greatest productivity, they could, no doubt, co-operate without the least friction. Likewise with the schools. The people has gained its freedom. It wants more light for itself and its children. I have been called by the Congress of Soviets, which represented 15 millions of the foremost citizens, to be the People's Commissary of Education. I undertake this task without any pretense of pomp, but with a clear sense of responsibility, and with a readiness at the first signal from the people to give up my post and join the ranks again, and I address myself to you—you men and women teachers of Russia, to put aside the unworthy boycott, and while waiting for the day when the Constitutional Convention will establish a definite order in the matter of public education, to begin our work now.

"I appeal to you for the fulfillment of the following program: The immediate preparation for an educational congress on the most democratic lines; the realization of such congress at the very earliest opportunity; the friendly co-operation of the proletariat and the best part of the "intelligentsia" in the creation of a united and free public school in the broadest sense of these words.

"When I am writing this call to you, teachers, a new master of the land is guiding my hand—young, inexperienced, but mighty, the very same worker whom

you wanted to serve. Go to his aid. He has conquered but he is alone. He is full of strength but surrounded with trouble. Glory to the one who in the heavy hour of trial by fire, will be on the side of the people—such as it is, and shame on those who forsake it.

"And remember, if the ugly revolt of the intelligentsia against the workers were to continue, it would sow his path of sufferings with only new thorns, but it will not stop the wheels of his chariot. The people are calling on you to work together to build a new school in common. If you decline it will undertake its task alone together with its true adherents and well-wishers.

"There is no return to the past."

A. V. LUNACHARSKY,

Commissaire of Education.

The All-Russian Teachers Congress

According to "Isvestia" and "The Weekly People," the all-Russian teachers' congress was held at Moscow and dealt with the question of a uniform school system. "The Commissaire of Public Education, Lunacharsky, developed the program and defined the mission of Russia's future school system. The Soviet Government is confronted with the task of a radical transformation of the schools. They must have teachers to be enabled to accomplish this colossal task, and new institutions must be founded for the training of teachers. The mission of the working school consists in that the school impart to the pupil necessary and thorough knowledge to enable him to enter upon life free and with confidence. The teacher is to give to the child a universal education. For this purpose he must be the possessor of comprehensive knowledge.

"In order to introduce universal education into Russia, the congress considered a doubling of the number of teachers an absolute necessity. As against that there are today within the realm of Soviet Russia 30 teachers' institutes, 140 teachers' seminaries, 6 higher teachers' courses and about 120 lower teachers' courses. For these reasons it was decided to open a number of new institutions and to organize teachers' courses. During the ensuing year about 200 pedagogic courses will be formed which will have to prepare the teaching personnel for the working schools. For the first semester 1918-19 over three million rubles have been appropriated for this purpose; for the following semester five million roubles. Concurrently with the teachers' courses pedagogic academies will be opened in Petrograd and Moscow.

"At the session of the Government Commission for Public Education, in connection with a petition of the church meeting, the question of parochial schools was taken up. The Government Commission decided that the educational institutions of the church shall pass over to the administration of the local Soviets for public education. Private initiative may be permitted to found courses for religious instruction, but these shall have no right to include in their programs general educational subjects.

"At the Commissariat for Agriculture a new division was formed for educational work outside of the schools. It is divided into two branches: (a) Courses, Lectures and Addresses; (b) Means of Education, People's Houses and Museums.

"The Commissariat formed at different places courses for soil-study and practical work in model establishments in order to disseminate agricultural information amongst the population. These courses have a temporary character and are divided into short-time and periodic kinds. The latter will be formed in every province as necessity may demand. These courses will take up principally such matters as are of particular interest at the point of location. Besides, permanent courses will be organized.

"The Division for Agricultural Education Outside of Schools already has held a number of lectures bearing upon questions within the realm of systematic farming and has also arranged for excursions to inspect model agricultural establishments. In the libraries of the People's Houses special branches are being formed with collections of objects to serve for demonstration lessons bearing upon agricultural questions. Also, for the dissemination of agricultural information amongst the population, permanent and travelling museums have been organized."

"Considering the present lack of employment in the printing trades, considering also the shortage of books from which Russia is suffering, the commission on public education will undertake immediately the publication of books on a large scale, through its committee on literature and publications, with the co-operation of the committee on sciences and arts, and with the assistance of representatives of the printers' union and other interested trade organizations.

"The first books to be printed will be reprints of works by Russian writers on which the authors' copyright has expired. In the case of copyrighted works passing from private to public ownership, royalties will be granted by the commission on public education for varying periods, not to exceed five years.

"Two editions will be printed of each work—an unabridged edition, prepared by the section of Russian languages and literature of the Academy of Sciences, and a one-volume edition of selected works in compact form. In its selection of works, the editorial committee shall be guided by the fact that this edition is especially designed for the working classes.

"Complete or unabridged editions shall be supplied with prefaces by literary authorities. [The news has just come that Maxim Gorky, who previously had been hostile to the Bolsheviki, has accepted a commission of this nature.]

"Editions of the classics will be offered for sale at the lowest possible price, and widely distributed free of charge through the libraries for the benefit of the working classes.

"The national publishing establishment shall prepare large editions of textbooks. The task of correcting the old ones and of preparing new shall be supervised by a special commission on textbooks, consisting of delegates from pedagogical and scientific societies with the collaboration of specialists.

"A committee shall be organized for the publication of popular periodicals and shall consist of representatives of pedagogical and literary societies, specialists, and delegates from labor organizations.

"The committee on publication has full authority to subsidize the publications of periodicals and books put forth by private societies or individuals whenever those publications are of national usefulness; the first moneys received from the sale of such publications, however, shall be applied to reimbursing the government for the subsidy received.

"For the purpose of financing this important governmental enterprise, the council of people's commissaries shall open to the commission on public education a credit of one and one-half million rubles.

"The technical part of the work shall be done exclusively through the typographical union, which shall distribute the works among the various typographical plants."

A. V. LUNACHARSKY,

Commissaire of Education.

Educational Activities

"The Central Committee of the Proletarian Educational Organizations have opened the following sections in Petrograd:

1. Theatrical; 2. Literature; 3. Clubs; 4. Education Outside the Schools; 5. School Instruction; 6,

Continued on page 7.)

To the American Workers

Moscow, August 20, 1918

By N. Lenin

A Message from the Soviet Republic

OMRADES: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the Revolution of 1905 and for many years afterwards lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully for the revolutionary proletariat of America—insofar as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time.

The history of modern civilized America opens with one of those really revolutionary wars of liberation of which there have been so few compared with the enormous number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialistic war, by squabbles among kings, landholders and capitalists over the division of ill-gotten lands and profits. It was a war of the American people against the English who despoiled America of its resources and held in colonial subjection, just as their "civilized" descendants are draining the lifeblood of hundreds of millions of human beings in India, Egypt and all corners and ends of the world to keep them in subjection.

Since that war 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilization has born its most luxuriant fruit. By developing the productive forces of organized human labor, by utilizing machines and all the wonders of technique America has taken the first place among free and civilized nations. But at the same time America, like a few other nations, has become characteristic for the depth of the abyss that divides a handful of brutal millionaires who are stagnating in a mire of luxury, and millions of laboring starving men and women who are always staring want in the face.

Four years of imperialistic slaughter have left their trace. Irrefutably and clearly events have shown to the people that both imperialistic groups, the English as well as the German, have been playing false. The four years of war have shown in their effects the great law of capitalism in all wars; that he who is richest and mightiest profits the most, takes the greatest share of the spoils, while he who is weakest is exploited, martyred, oppressed and outraged to the utmost.

In the number of its colonial possessions, English imperialism has always been more powerful than any of the other countries. England has lost not a span of its "acquired" land. On the other hand it has acquired control of all German colonies in Africa, has occupied Mesopotamia and Palestine.

German imperialism was stronger because of the wonderful organization and ruthless discipline of "its" armies, but as far as colonies are concerned, is much weaker than its opponent. It has now lost all of its colonies, but has robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a high conception of "liberation" on either side! How well they have defended their fatherlands, these "gentlemen" of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the Social-Patriots.

American plutocrats are wealthier than those of any other country partly because they are geographically more favorably situated. They have made the greatest profits. They have made all, even the weakest countries, their debtors. They have amassed gigantic fortunes during the war. And every dollar is stained with the blood that was shed by millions of murdered and crippled men, shed in the high, honorable and holy war of freedom.

Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany a just peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality could have been forced upon Germany, and millions of lives might have been saved. Because they hoped to reestablish the Eastern Front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of warfare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the

power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace.

It ill becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace upon our shoulders!

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a Socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over. But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause.

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifice, the sacrifice of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working class. For the sake of "their" cause, that is for the conquest of world-power, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to ruin a whole of row nations, from Belgium and Servia to Palestine and Mesopotamia. Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers of the world from the yoke of capitalism in the name of a general honorable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international Socialist revolution?

We have been attacked for coming to terms with German militarism. Is there no difference between a pact entered upon by Socialists and a bourgeoisie (native or foreign) against the working-class, against labor, and an agreement that is made between a working-class that has overthrown its own bourgeoisie of one side against a bourgeoisie of another nationality for the protection of the proletariat? Shall we not exploit the antagonism that exists between the various groups of the bourgeoisie. In reality every European understands this difference, and the American people, as I will presently show, have had a very similar experience in its own history. There are agreements and agreements, fagots et fagots, as the Frenchman says.

When the robber-barons of German imperialism threw their armies into defenseless, demobilized Russia in February 1918, when Russia had staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to certain agreements with French Monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathized in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds he was the faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. "I am a Monarchist. My only purpose is the overthrow of Germany," de Lubersac declared to me. "That is self understood (cela va sans dire)," I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an understanding with de Lubersac concerning certain services that French experts in explosives were ready to render in order to hold up the German advance by the destruction of railroad lines. This is an example of the kind of agreement that every class-conscious worker must be ready to adopt, an agreement in the interest of Socialism. We shook hands with the French Monarchists although we knew that each one of us would rather have seen the other hang. But temporarily our interests were identical. To throw back the rapacious advancing German army we made use of the equally greedy interests of their opponents, thereby serving

the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution.

In this way we furthered the cause of the working-class of Russia and of other countries; in this way we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the world by making use of the usual and absolutely legal practice of manoeuvring, shifting and waiting for the moment the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in the more highly developed nations had ripened.

Long ago the American people used these tactics to the advantage of its revolution. When America waged its great war of liberation against the English oppressors, it likewise entered into negotiations with other oppressors, with the French and the Spaniards who at that time owned a considerable portion of what is now the United States. In its desperate struggle for freedom the American people made "agreements" with one group of oppressors against the other for the purpose of weakening all oppressors and strengthening those who were struggling against tyranny. The American people utilized the antagonism that existed between the English and the French, at times even fighting side by side with the armies of one group of oppressors, the French and the Spanish against the others, the English. Thus it vanquished first the English and then freed itself (partly by purchase) from the dangerous proximity of the French and Spanish possessions.

The great Russian revolutionist Tchernychevski once said: Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Nevski Prospect. He is no revolutionist who would have the revolution of the proletariat only under the "condition" that it proceed smoothly and in an orderly manner, that guarantees against defeat be given beforehand, that the revolution go forward along the broad, free straight path to victory, that there shall not be here and there the heaviest sacrifices, that we shall not have to lie in wait in besieged fortresses, shall not have to climb up along the narrowest path, the most impassible, winding, dangerous mountain roads. He is no revolutionist, he has not yet freed himself from the pendency of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back, again and again, into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pendency, shows an incapability of understanding the most fundamental of the raging, climatic force of the class struggle, called Revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle class utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of form of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Tchechov type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the Revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression to their full solidarity with us, the

tsheviks, are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the 18th and the Civil War in the 19th century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pendantic, so absolutely idiotic who would deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American Civil War of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of Civil War, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform Socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who said in the "Appeal to Reason" at the end of 1915, when it was still a Socialist paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" that he would rather be shot than vote for war credits to support the present criminal and reactionary war, that he knows only one war that is sanctified and justified from the standpoint of the proletariat: the war against the capitalist class, the war for liberation of mankind from wage slavery. I am not surprised that this fearless man was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie. Let them brutalize true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they show, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our Revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it up upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just, is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods.—Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working-class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 millions, in crippling 20 millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the powers

of state it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it, at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know, too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our Revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working classes who have been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true,—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as unconquerable. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working-class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization from out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of ten million plain workingmen and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way, through thousands of hindrances to victorious Socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25 to October 26 (Russian Calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and workers under state ownership and are now learning from day to day under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working-class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary ac-

tivity by the Soviets which were first created in by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workers' and Peasant Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of Democracy, a particular form, the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be a democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of hundreds of millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which Socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered forms of formal parliamentary democracy. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeois democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeoisie republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rule of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns cut of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. This is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our Socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Workingmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how could it be otherwise!) We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions cannot come neither at a word of command nor according to pre-arranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolution in individual countries may still

(Continued on page 7.)

The Constituent Assembly

By N. I. Hourwich

THE slogan of a Constituent Assembly has become an "international" slogan of all those forces who are united by a common hatred towards the proletarian revolutionary conquests, towards the coming final victory of the working class, its final emancipation from the yoke of capitalism.

Reactionaries and obscurants in all countries are striving to cover up their counter-revolutionary aims and "innermost hopes" with this so "democratically" sounding slogan; the slogan of a Constituent Assembly has been advanced by international capitalism protecting its "rights and sanctities" from proletarian aggressions; under the cover of this slogan, finally, have taken refuge all "had-beens" from the camp of the social-traitors and social-patriots, who have gone over to serve capitalism. . . .

The slogan: "Constituent Assembly" has, indeed, become the battle cry of the aggressive international capitalism, of the world's reaction.

And this is very significant, since it symbolizes a new epoch in world's history which humanity entered upon—an era of proletarian "self-definition" and era of Socialist revolution, or to be more correct, of *one great world Socialist revolution*, in contradistinction to the bourgeois revolution of the past, whose chief task was the destruction of feudalism,—as it were, a "paving the way" for an unobstructed march of "triumphant capitalism."

This entering the new era of the revolutionary war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is characterized first of all by a complete *breaking away* of the working class from all bourgeois classes and their hirelings. The slogan of the past revolutions—"Constituent Assembly," which is intended to unite the bourgeoisie and the working class, is set against another slogan—*dictatorship of the proletariat*—all power to the Soviets of workmen's deputies—a slogan which draws a sharp demarcation line between these classes, in fact, creating between them an impassable gulf.

The struggle between these two slogans and the social forces rallying around each of them, represented in fact, the substance of all that colossal, in truth, *historical*, struggle which was going on in Russia during a period of eight months, from the moment of the March revolution up to the victorious proletarian revolution of November, 1917, which put an end to all

sorts of sentimental dreams about "co-operation between the classes." . . .

The same struggle is developing before our eyes now in Germany.

The German Junkers the yesterday's spokesmen and preachers of the "divine right" of kings' absolutism; the German bourgeoisie only the other day, reluctant to concede a trifle of their class privileges, and who furiously fought against equal franchise reform, all of them, suddenly conceived a great faith in the "people," demonstrating unusual sympathies for the Constituent Assembly! They, as was also the case in Russia, have been joined, of course by the Kaiser's lackeys and bourgeois hirelings, social-patriots, Scheidemanns. In them, in those "his majesty's Socialists" the German junkers and the bourgeoisie, who had finally and forever discredited themselves in the eyes of the people's masses, have found "deserved" and "in honor" faithful fighters for their "ideals" and aspirations.

At the other side of the pole around the slogan of "all power to the Soviets" have united the revolutionary-Socialist elements of Germany, the Bolshevik group "Spartacus," headed by Karl Liebknecht.

Thus, as in Russia, this struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat has assumed in Germany the ostentatious aspect of a struggle between "two factions of the Socialist Party"—between social-patriots and revolutionary Socialists (Bolsheviks).

And, as in Russia, this struggle between two factions at first brings "victory" to the social-patriots, opportunist elements in the labor movement. Judging from the newspaper reports, the predominant majority in the All-German Congress of Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, having its sessions in Berlin at present appeared to be on the side of the Ebert-Scheidemann party. Liebknecht has not succeeded in attending the congress. The congress rejected a resolution recommending to "bar the bourgeoisie from participation in the political life," i.e., plainly speaking, *deprive the bourgeoisie of its political rights*. The preponderate majority has expressed itself for the calling of the Constituent Assembly.

Socialist-opportunists during decades, were in Germany the official leaders of the labor movement, the "intellectual masters" of the proletarian masses. Their

shameless behavior during the war at one time drew the masses away from them. But, being shrewd politicians, they succeeded in the period immediately following the revolution, by a few adroit manoeuvres, to strengthen their position already shattered by the people's mistrust. "Frightening" the masses of the people by telling them that "excessive revolutionism" might result in Allied intervention and famine, they managed to keep themselves in power—and now at the congress they have the majority on their side.

But it is not difficult to foretell that this is merely a temporary victory, that the same causes which destroyed the illusions of the Russian workers and forced the latter finally to go over to the Bolsheviks and to support them—will play an analogous role in Germany, too. Already Germany has her own Kornilovs, in the persons of Hindenburgs, Mackenses and other generals, former associates of the Kaiser. Already the German bourgeoisie in their desire to crush the "revolutionary hydra," calls for help her yesterday's "foreign foe"—the Allied troops.

And the Allies, on their part, very hastily removed their "democratic" armor and spoke to the German people in a language far from being democratic. All this cannot but influence the working masses in the sense of sobering them to a large extent.

And the indications of such a change are already on the surface.

Rather significant is the report of the Berlin correspondent of the Times, whose sympathies are, of course, wholly on the side of Scheidemann, telling about the success of the latter within the halls of the congress sessions. This correspondent adds melancholically: "Liebknecht commands the streets and has his agents in the congress who may easily break it up." And further: "The minority Socialists have given fresh evidence that they are not as powerless as 'Vorwaerts' would have us believe." However even this "organ of the majority begins to doubt the success of elections to the National Assembly."

The same pessimistic tone can also be detected in the speech of one of the "industrial kings" of Germany, the head of the General Electric Company—Rathenau.

All evidence goes to show that the "victory" of the social patriotic "majority" is not more than a "Pyrrh victory."

"The Blind Leading the Blind"

By Scott Nearing

OUR leaders have failed us. The educated, trained, responsible men and women whose duty it was to show the way to their fellows, lost the way themselves. They were blind guides. When the great test came they proved by their own actions that as shepherds of the flock they were unworthy of trust.

Our leaders did not tell us the truth. Their mouths were full of words and phrases, but the words and phrases were lies.

They told us that we should let well enough alone. Things were not so bad. A little patience and they would improve—and they were to do the improving by sharing profits, building shower baths in the basement; "regulating" railroad rates, contributing to the Children's Aid Society, and praying to God on Sunday. "We have things well in hand," they said. "Follow us. We know!"

They told us that the system of society under which we live could endure, with its monstrosities of poverty, prostitution, child labor, unemployment and monotonous, endless, grinding toil. It was possible, they said, to continue a scheme that enabled the few who were booted and spurred to ride the many, who were saddled and bridled—gouging us for our coal and wheat; robbing us for the rent and plundering us for the dividends on watered stocks. Such a society, they insisted, would hold together—even if the hand of every man was raised against his neighbor.

While we plundered and enslaved the weaker peoples, "backward" races; while we raided those too weak to resist our assaults; while we spread desola-

tion and terror over the face of the earth, in order to pay a profit of six per cent. or better on the investments of our ill-gotten gains—while we slapped Justice and Brotherhood in the face, they continually told us that God was on our side.

Can it be possible that they did not understand that civilization is built upon the united action of men? Did they deceive themselves so completely as to imagine that a system of society would last which "shelters the noble and crushes the poor"? Could they not see the whirlwind of human sighs and groans and the torrent of human tears that the ferocious system of exploitation and cut-throat living was gathering about them? No! Their education, their experience, their daily surroundings had blinded them to the realities of life. Living in a fool's paradise of imaginary safety they twittered their song of contentment—as ignorant as the blind earth-worm of the coming storm.

They even went so far as to tell us that we could keep peace among the nations of the world by building battleships—if we only built enough of them. "Preparedness," said they, "will prevent war." Every great nation of the West, acting upon this advice, bléed itself, year after year, of its hundreds of millions of dollars to equip an army and construct a navy, to devise engines of death, and to mobilize its resources for conflict. Europe was for forty years, an armed camp, with the common people sweating blood to pay the bills, and then—then the storm broke.

This war was war. It was no child's play, no flash in the pan; no game among amateurs—but a struggle

among battle hosts that had been preparing for near a century. The preparedness of Europe brought on a war more fearful than any of which history bears record.

Then the shepherds betrayed their flocks.

All through the years—the bitter years of exploitation and outrage—they had preached brotherhood and talked democracy. God was the father of us all and we, as brethren, must dwell together in peace upon the earth. They told us to love one another and overcome evil with good. They commanded us to do to others as we would have others do to us.

The preachers, teachers, editors and lawyers do not know about economic determinism. They did not understand that when convictions are placed on one side of the balance, and income, social position, a reputation for "respectability" are placed on the other the great majority of men and women will forgo conviction and stick to income. These many years they had taken their living from the hands of the plutocracy—the wealth power of the United States. When the great hour came, the plutocracy gave the well-known call and they responded.

They were blind—these leaders of ours. They do not understand life. They mixed up the true and false unable to tell them apart. They played a game for the plutocrats—leading us to a precipice and then standing aside to watch, with horror and anguish, while even their own children were carried over the brink. We trusted them to lead us. They did not understand. They were blind, "and the blind lead the blind both shall fall into the ditch"

Concerning the Russian Revolution

By Romain Rolland

DO NOT think it necessary for me to explain again my ethical position in time of war. It is neither political nor social. It is human. I am absolutely opposed to violence, from whatever side it comes. Moreover, I have said and repeated twenty times that I belong to no party. One has no more right to connect me with Bolshevism, as the newspaper *La France Libre* recently attempted to do, than with militarism.

I am not a Bolshevik, but I can not tolerate lying or wilful error. Now I have established beyond a doubt that the greater part of the news of the Russian revolution is unblushingly false in almost the entire range of the leading papers (with the exception of certain French and English papers who are trying to find out the truth). Means of information are not wanting. But it is only derived from sources hostile to the revolutionaries. I have more than once pointed out the fact, with details, to some of the leading Swiss papers.

They did not deny it, but no change was made in their behavior, and one never hears anything but the cry of one side. 'Audi alterem partem.' Inasmuch as the two sides will not be heard before the bar of the Swiss press, I deny to the readers of that press the right to judge of the affairs in Russia.

I deplore the attitude which the Allied governments have persistently maintained toward the Russian revolution from its beginning. They have done everything possible to add to its difficulties, to provoke violence on its part and in short to force it into the arms of Germany, their worst enemy. That is what Captain Sadoul has said, it is what the French Socialist delegates said on their return from Russia. It is what is said by the English and American correspondents of the *Manchester Guardian*, and of the *Independent Review*, *The Liberator* of New York. It was even publicly declared recently in New York by a political

enemy of the Bolsheviks, the Menshevik leader, Lomonosoff, head of the Russian mission to the United States, appointed by the Kerensky government.

I understand the antipathy of the European bourgeoisie to the Social revolution achieved in Russia, whose influence threatens to spread to the West. The revolution is disquieting to the big interests who feel themselves menaced, and at the same time, it exasperates the exalted ideology of the conservatives. But the opponents of the revolution are indeed blind if they do not see that the social revolution is the daughter of war, and that in order to stop one, it is necessary to stop the other.

In my article "To the Peoples Assassinated" (November, 1916) I said of the people of Europe sacrificed by millions upon the field of battle:

"Have you at last reached the depth of the tragedy? No, I see that in the future, after all this suffering, I dread that fatal day when in the disillusionment of betrayed hopes, in the recognized futility of vain sacrifices, the people worn out with misery shall blindly seek upon what and upon whom to avenge themselves. Then they also will fall into injustice and will be despoiled by a riot of disaster just in the funeral glory of their sacrifices. And from top to bottom of the scale all will become equal participants in calamity and error."

These lines were written in November, 1916. Since then the world has made long strides towards this plunging of all sides alike in violence. To accuse the revolutionary movement of this is as absurd as to blame the wall against which one throws a ball for sending it back again. The revolution exists as a product of war, and war as a product of the abominable social system of Europe.

Mr. Eugene Pictet, referring to Bolshevism, speaks of the "bloody governmental anarchy." How, then, will he qualify the social state which has led Europe, during four years, to twenty or thirty millions of wounded, without counting the abyss of suffering and demoralization over which the official press judiciously throws a veil? Bolshevism has not disorganized, it has tried in an unformed way to organize disorder; in the midst of the spiritual and material ruin of Europe, it has endeavored to bring forward new social forms. The value of the result we are not discussing here; but in order to have either sympathy or antipathy for this work, one is forced, if sincere, to recognize in it the spirit of the proconsuls of the convention. And, indeed, it is to this lineage that the leaders of Bolshevism are related; and they are the object of the same hatred and the same wrongs.

As for myself, I do not take my stand with them any more than with the bloody heroes of the Convention. I am not on the side of violence whether of war or of revolution. But I recognize energy and intelligence wherever I find them. I have not the gift to see or not to see according as it pleases or displeases me. Free of every party and of all prejudice, I see what is before my eyes and I say what I see. The interview of *Wissen und Leben*, reproduced by Mr. Herman Fernan with perfect fidelity' (although at certain points insufficiently shaded) has on the last page outlined what I conceive to be my intellectual duty:

"My position in this war is that of an observer who foresees and who warns. Above all, I am the servitor of truth. My highest duty is to oppose hate, in the name of liberty and humanity. For the future of human civilization rests only in mutual love and mutual esteem. . . ."

Questions

IT is generally known that President Wilson had talked and is talking a great deal that the basis of the coming peace should be the principle of justice and an equal non-partisan attitude towards all peoples—big and small, strong and weak—and he has found the most complete and bright expression in the famous formula proclaimed by the Russian Revolution: "peace with no annexations or contributions and on the basis of self-determination of peoples."

We don't know how President Wilson understands the principle of justice. But, there can be no doubt, that the demand put forward by him to the Central Powers regarding the evacuation by the latter of foreign lands seized by their troops, at least, technically speaking, is in accord with that part of the Russian formula which speaks about peace without annexations. In connection with this a question arises: Does this demand of evacuation apply also to Russian provinces which are at the present moment in the hands of the Central Powers? And furthermore, another question: "Does not the principle of justice and equal attitude towards all-without-exception nations, proclaimed by President Wilson, dictate also the evacuation of the Russian provinces by the Allies?"

These questions are especially important because of the coming peace negotiations. They excite and fill with alarm the heart of every citizen of the Russian Soviet Republic. And the Soviet Government is facing these questions, the government which, as the newspapers report, only the other day sent a communication to President Wilson asking, in effect, when he intends to withdraw his troops from the Murman region, Archangel and Siberia.

What can President Wilson answer to that? What can the Allies answer?

The Soviet Government, in its communication, states that it accepts the Wilson condition regarding evacuation and is ready to conclude an armistice with

the Allies in case they clear from the troops the parts of Russian territory occupied by them.

Will the Allies take into consideration this statement? Doubtful. Indeed as they interpret, they do not wage war against Russia, and therefore, there can be no talk in this case about an armistice.

But if the Allies do not wage war against Russia, then, what, are their troops doing there? Have they gone there for a jolly good time. And, furthermore, what is the explanation of the fact that the American and Allied press print official reports regarding war operations on the Murman and Far East fronts?

And another question: What sort of an enemy is spoken of right along in the official reports from the above fronts Against whom are the French, British, Japanese, American, Italian, Serbian, Checho-Slovaks and other Allied troops fighting? Not against ghosts, surely.

It means, then, that war is being waged, and a war, evidently of a regular character. Why can there be no question in this case about an armistice?

Education in Russia

(Continued from page 6.)

Demonstrative Arts; 7, Musical-Vocal; 8, Artistic-Ethnographical; 9, Cinematographical.

These sections are proceeding to create in Petrograd:

1. A central Socialist Theatre.
2. A theatre of the Socialist youth.
3. A garden for the children and the youth of the proletariat with a permanent theatre, games and scientific-sportive occupations.
4. A central Socialist Club.
5. A Socialist theatrical school with special courses for actors of the revolutionary stage.
6. A bureau of lectures.
7. A bureau of proletarian stage performers.
8. A bureau of theatre plays.
9. A central literature store.
10. A central Socialist library.

"All comrade Socialists having to do with art and with the education and instruction of children who are willing to participate in the creation of a proletarian culture are requested to address themselves to the Central Committee (Petrograd, Fontanka, Tchernysheff Square, House of the Commissariat of Public Instruction) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 7 to 9 P. M., on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 4.30 to 8 P. M.

Honorary Chairman of the Central Committee,
A. V. LUNACHARSKY.
Chairman of the Executive Bureau,
F. KALINN.

To the American Workers

(Continued from page 5.)

meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for if humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international Socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching communistic Bolshevik tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

We are invincible, for invincible is the Proletarian Revolution.

End—and Beginning

By Louis C. Fraina

THE National Congress of Councils of Workmen and Soldiers, which convened in Berlin on December 16 and was dominated by the moderates, marked the end of the first stage of the German Revolution.

Simultaneously, the movement among the masses, the temper of the revolutionary proletariat, the tremendous problems which are pressing upon Germany and Europe, and the whole tendency of events as determined by the proletarian revolution in Russia and its influence upon the coming peace conference indicate that the beginning of the second stage of the Revolution is developing—the stage of the definite accomplishment of a proletarian revolutionary alliance with Soviet Russia, and the breaking forth of new international antagonisms, revolutionary war and civil wars.

The days preceding the convening of the Congress were marked by rumors of counter-revolution, even actual preparations, by the feverish activity of the revolutionary Socialists, by ministerial crises and the refusal of Dr. Solf to resign (which he subsequently did, however, being succeeded by another hack of the old regime), and by the German workers engaging in huge strikes and preparing to interfere in the process of industry. This economic activity of the masses is vital, for unless the masses develop a consciousness of economic power, the will to establish workers' control of industry, the revolution will remain political, and become a wasted opportunity.

The Spartacus Socialists, a few days before the Congress met, promulgated a program wholly in accord with the revolutionary requirements of the situation: "Disarmament of all police officers, non-proletarian soldiers and all members of the ruling classes; confiscation by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils of arms, munitions and armament works; arming of all adult male proletarians and the formation of a Workers' Militia; the formation of a proletarian Red Guard; abolition of the ranks of officers and non-commissioned officers; removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils; abolition of all Parliaments and municipal and other councils; the election of a General Council which will elect and control the Executive Council of the soldiers and workmen; repudiation of all state and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscriptions; expropriation of all landed estates, banks, coal mines and large industrial works; confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount." This program, an immediate, practical program of action, may yet rally the revolutionary masses and would imply the dictatorship of the proletariat a great stride onward to Socialism, and the preparation of the revolutionary German proletariat for the decisive international revolutionary events that are coming.¹

The Congress of Councils met on December 16, with a clear majority for the moderates and the petty bourgeois Socialists. It dodged every actual problem of the Revolution, being intimidated alike by the enormity of these problems and the threat of what the Allies might do under certain conditions. The Congress allowed itself, perhaps willingly, to be browbeaten by Ebert and Scheidemann—while outside in

¹Rosa Luxemburg, some time previously, published in *Die Rote Fahne*, the Spartacus organ, the following program: "The rebuilding and re-election of the local Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils; the constant session of these representatives of the masses, transferring real political power from the small committee of the Executive Council to the broader base of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils; immediately to call a national council of workers and soldiers to organize the proletariat of all Germany as a class; to organize immediately, not the 'peasants,' but the rural proletariat and small peasants, who as a class have thus far been outside of the Revolution; the formation of a Red Guard of the proletariat, for the defense of the Revolution and the organization of a workers' militia in order to break the power of the absolutist and militarist police-state and its administration, judiciary and army; direct confiscation of landed property, especially the large estates, as a provisional first step to secure food for the people; immediately to call a Workers' World Congress in Germany in order to make the Socialist and international character of the revolution sharply and clearly apparent, because in the International alone, in the world revolution of the proletariat, lies the future of the German Revolution."

the streets of Berlin raged the revolutionary masses who repeatedly invaded the Congress. By a vote of five to one, the Congress refused to allow Karl Liebknecht and Rose Luxemburg to address it with advisory functions, while essentially counter-revolutionary speakers were listened to and often applauded. The Revolution had been accomplished by the uncompromising use of Bolshevik methods and Bolshevik slogans, which the Congress now rejected in favor of petty bourgeois democracy.

The reactionary character of the Congress was indicated in the repeated attacks on the old Executive Committee which, heaven knows, was moderate enough. The old executive was too radical for the Congress. Barth attacked Ebert and the Government for its food policy but the Congress sustained Ebert. Ledebour, the left Independent Socialist, who still hesitates, however, accused Ebert of furthering counter-revolutionary plans, and stigmatized him as "a shameful smirch on the Government," amid scenes of protest and disorder. But the Congress approved of the Ebert ministry—and the right Independents, Haase & Co., in spite of all, retained their membership in the government of the counter-revolution. The Congress climaxed its reactionary attitude by the election of a very moderate Executive Committee in accord with the Government, giving this committee power to "control" the Government—in the event, perhaps, that it might become radical!

Repeatedly, during the sessions, delegations of workmen and soldiers insisted upon being allowed to present demands, a right they insisted upon in spite of the oppositional attitude of the Congress. One delegation of soldiers demanded the dismissal of all officers and military control for the Councils. A delegation of workers, which was allowed to speak only after violent protests, presented the following demands: "That all Germany be constituted as one single republic; that all government power be vested in the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils; that the supreme executive power be exercised by the Executive Council; the abolition of the existing government; measures for the protection of the Revolution; disarmament of the counter-revolutionists; arming of the proletariat; propaganda for the establishment of a Socialist World Republic." In spite of these revolutionary proposals, they were decisively rejected, the Congress adopting a hesitant, compromising, petty bourgeois policy.

The Congress was stampeded into deciding for an early convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the date being set for January 19 by a vote of 400 to 70, amidst cries from the gallery of "Shame! Shame!" and "Cowards, we shall teach you a lesson yet! You are robbing the people of the fruits of the Revolution." The counter-revolutionary character of this stampede in favor of the Constituent Assembly was indicated in Scheidemann's speech, who told the delegates "very plainly" that if the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils continued in operation unspeakable woe would befall Germany, worse even than what had been suffered already; they were bound to drift into Bolshevism, no matter how little they desired it, and they would transform Germany into a second Russia but worse than the latter, because in Germany there was more to destroy. The Independents of the right had nothing to say against this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. The Soviets of the revolutionary masses made the Revolution, and they are to abdicate—in favor of petty bourgeois democracy. This would mean the end of the Revolution. Again, the issue is clear—Constituent Assembly and Capitalism, or all power to the Soviets and Socialism.

The Congress of Councils indicated a definite swing to the right, to reaction. The representatives of the masses acted in accord with the policy of the *petite bourgeoisie* and not in accord with the policy of the revolutionary masses. But the Congress was not decisive. There were indications, moreover, that the reaction is temporary: the majority Socialist organ,

Vorwaerts, declared during the sessions of the Congress:

"It must be declared openly that there is danger of the whole government apparatus crumbling and the armistice and peace negotiations being broken off on the ground that no competent German Government exists, and then all Germany will be occupied by Entente troops."

It is precisely this threat that is temporarily holding in leash the action of the masses. The majority Socialists and the bourgeois cliques are shamelessly using this threat, declaring that the Allies will never permit a proletarian government in Germany,—and being willing, if necessary, to invite the intervention of the Allies against the Revolution. The proletariat wants peace; it dreads a new war, exhausted by the old, and a definite proletarian revolution might conceivably mean a new war—a revolutionary war against international Imperialism. Will the revolutionary masses develop new reserves and new energy for the great final struggle?

The German proletariat will realize more and more how hopeless is its position unless it definitely completes the Revolution. It will realize that the policy of moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism is offering the proletariat as a sacrifice to international Imperialism; and the realization of this fact will mean swift and drastic action come what may.

The German revolutionary proletariat has a mighty ally in the Soviet Republic of Russia, and in the awakening proletariat of the other European nations, particularly France and Italy. Soviet Russia has offered the German proletariat three million soldiers if a war against Entente Imperialism becomes necessary; and in this revealed the splendid strategy of Lenin—the peace with Germany, in spite of its onerous character, allowed revolutionary Russia an opportunity to recuperate and reorganize, to establish the conquests of the proletarian revolution, to organize a new Socialist army for its own defense and for the defense of Socialism everywhere. The censorship on news from Russia cannot hide the fact that the Soviet Republic is stronger than ever, that it has largely restored normal conditions, that it is securing new allies, and that it has the military strength to become a real factor in coming events. Already, the revolutionary war against international Imperialism is starting in the Baltic Provinces, particularly in Estonia, and the further into these provinces the Bolshevik troops penetrate, the nearer they come to Germany, the easier becomes revolutionary co-operation between the German and the Russian proletariat.

Coming events will surely assume a giant character, may mean the flaring up of new revolutionary struggles. . . .

In Germany itself the Spartacides are being strengthened by the counter-revolutionary trend of events. Reaction conquers, but out of reaction comes new revolutionary action. The Independent Socialists have split and this split has strengthened revolutionary Socialism. The economic crisis is acute, and strikes are becoming numerous, the workers making what the bourgeois consider "impossible" demands. The workers, moreover, are developing, hesitatingly and awkwardly, the tendency toward workers' control of industry, but of this practical movement, determined by necessity, may develop larger doings. The proletariat is face to face with problems which life itself must and will compel them to tackle by revolutionary means. The impulse of the economic crisis plus the sinister plans of international Imperialism, and the international revolutionary opportunity will create new revolutionary currents, will instill new energy into the exhausted masses: and the Revolution again flare up into action. The Ebert-Haase Government of the counter-revolution, in spite of the approval of the Congress, is shaking, threatened by counter-revolution from the extreme right and revolutionary action from the left, from the betrayed masses.

End and beginning—they jostle each other in Germany. Will the German proletariat act, and assure the international Revolution?