



THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Devoted to International Socialism

Vol. III

NOVEMBER, 1919

No. 4

**SECOND ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC-ISSUE**

CONTAINS ARTICLES BY

Karl Marx

N. Chicherin

Nicholai Lenin

Klara Zetkin

Leon Trotzky

Wm. Bross Lloyd

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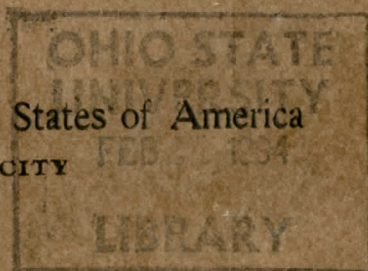
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Editorials and Important Documents

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Devoted to International Socialism

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The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America

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Editors: JACK CARNEY, LUDWIG LORE and GREGORY WEINSTEIN

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Hands off Soviet Russia—

The imperialists of the world are continuing their infamous armed intervention in Soviet Russia. The counter-revolutionary Tsarist generals, backed up by allied troops, allied ammunition and allied money continue shedding the blood of the Russian workers and devastating the territory of the proletarian Republic. Moreover, the Allies are tightening the iron ring of blockade around Soviet Russia, thus dooming millions of women and children to unheard of misery, starvation and disease.

All this is being done because the workers and peasants of Russia have cast off the yoke of exploitation and oppression and have devoted themselves to the task of reconstructing their life on such foundations as will eliminate all oppression of the poor by the rich, all exploitation of the toilers by the capitalists. This is why the capitalist countries, where all the power is concentrated in the hands of the big commercial and financial interests, are waging this predatory war against Soviet Russia. Defending **their class** in Russia they are thereby protecting **their own interests**, for they know that the example set by the Russian workers will inevitably be followed by the workers of their own countries.

Hence, America's participation in this war against Russia!

American troops are still on Russian territory, and American ammunition and money are still being used for the purpose of strangling the only proletarian Republic in the world.

America's intervention in Russia is frequently referred to as President Wilson's private war. This is correct only insofar as the formalities required for the waging of this war have not been complied with: It is being carried on without the consent of Congress. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is not altogether President Wilson's private war. It is rather the class war of the American plutocracy, the class war of the international money bags. American capital is vitally interested in crushing Soviet Russia and it does not stop at mere technicalities, even if it means the violation of laws of its own creation. In waging this war, President Wilson plays the part of the faithful servant of the American plutocracy.

American workers, you must realize this and bear it firmly in mind. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of the Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world—those brigands of the international highways. You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun which is being sent from the United States to Russia means death for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

Workers of America! it is not sufficient to know and to bear all this in mind—you must act accordingly. Your slogan must be: **Not a soldier for war**

against Soviet Russia, not a cent, not a rifle to help wage this war.

This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, in France and in Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the foes of Soviet Russia. **The Soldiers are refusing to go to the Russian fronts!**

American workers, you must follow their example! To every invitation to play the part of Cain towards your Russian brothers, to every request of the American government to enlist for active service in Russia, or to load ships for the bloodstained Russian White Army, there must be one answer: **"HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA!"**

The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America.

Two Years of Soviet Russia

By LUDWIG LORE

Not even the most optimistic among us believed that it was possible. That Russia, dark, ignorant, barbarous, illiterate, Tsar-ridden Russia had, not quite a year before, shaken the curse of the Tsar's despotism off its back had seemed marvellous enough. That, for years to come, this great nation, made up of countless heterogeneous elements, exhausted by years of warfare and incredible exploitation would change from ruler to ruler, was so obvious that the abdication of the first imperialistic government in favor of that of Kerensky caused little surprise. But the coming of a real socialist revolution, a revolution that would not only place complete political control into the hands of the socialist movement, but that would by and by actually carry out in medieval Russia the Marxian program of expropriation exceeded even the wildest of our hopes.

When the incredible did occur, there was a sharp difference of opinion among the socialist and labor movements, everywhere. On the one side were the conservative, doctrinaire elements who had accustomed themselves to the thought that the first social revolution must and would come in one or the other of the most highly developed capitalistic nations. They had always expected that Russia, once it had rid itself of the domination of the Romanoff despots, would develop its industrial resources under democratic conditions somewhat similar to those that obtained in the United States, and they vehemently resented this unexpected development for which their program had made no provision. On the other side were those who had realized that the war and the situations it had brought about had decidedly shaken up our old conceptions of social development. Above all they realized that Russia, bled to the limits of its endurance was unable to endure the torture of further warfare. It had become more and more plain that no government could long remain in power which did not take definite steps toward the securing of a speedy peace with the Central Powers. While the formal political control lay in the hands of the duly recognized cabinets, these bodies were able to hold themselves in power only so long as they were tolerated there by the revolutionary elements in the Workmen's and Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils. But none, neither the upholders nor the opponents of the action that definitely established the political domination of the socialist movement in Russia expected that its ascendancy would be permanent. Friend and foe alike prophesied that the working-class government of Russia would not, could not last; that Russia was not ripe for a proletarian revolution; that, even if the incredible should happen, and the new government under Lenin and Trotzky should succeed in bringing about a peace between Germany and Russia, that the return of normal conditions in the country would, of course, put to an end Bolshevist supremacy. And yet it persisted, through weeks, through months, and has now reached its second year, more firmly established, more invincible than at any time during the entire period of its existence.

Today we realize, what only a few could see at the time, that the very element which made a proletarian revolution such a monstrous thing in the eyes of its socialist opponents, that is, the non-existence of a strongly developed capitalist class was in fact one of the most valuable assets of the Bolshevist revolution. In the words of one of the most embittered opponents of Soviet Russia, "The power lay on the streets, and no one dared to pick it up." Russia was on the verge of bankruptcy.

The Tsarist government had assumed obligations particularly to the Allied nations that it seemed impossible to meet. Under such conditions, an open break with the Allies was unthinkable, and, at the same time conditions in the country and at the front made further warfare impossible. The fact that there was no strong capitalist class in Russia which could have steered it safely through this critical situation doomed every government that would attempt to meet these obligations to failure at the outset. Moreover, after once the Soviet government had been established, the counter-revolutionary elements had so little unity of purpose, were so hopelessly divided on personal issues that it was possible, even with the depleted resources that remained, to successfully meet and overthrow them all.

As a matter of fact the greatest danger that threatens the Russian revolutionary government is not the opposition of its own exploiting class but that of the great capitalist nations of western Europe and America. At first it seemed as if the liberal elements in these nations would be sufficiently strong to force, if not actual recognition, at least a policy of tolerance and aloofness on the part of their respective governments. Indeed President Wilson, who in those days still fancied himself in the role of liberator to a despot ridden world, at first showed a marked sympathy for the aims and aspirations of the Russian people. Lloyd George, so long as he hoped to rule in England with the sole support of the Liberal Party was inclined to pursue similar tactics. France alone was openly hostile from the start—its capitalists having engaged more heavily in Russian bonds. When Lloyd George found, however, that his only hope for the re-election of a workable parliamentary majority lay in the support of the Unionists, the most reactionary political group in England, he abandoned his position and allowed himself to be driven, by Churchill and others into alliance with counter-revolutionary Russian reactionaries, who aimed to re-establish Russian autocracy, in some form or other in place of the hated Bolshevist regime of the working-class. Wilson, too, underwent a similar metamorphosis. His avowed sympathy and understanding went overboard as soon as he realized liberalism, as a world issue is dead, that the man who hoped to dominate the peace negotiations, and through them the future of the world, must forget all liberal purposes and progressive aims, must be ready to do the bidding of the imperialists of all nations whom the war has made masters of the earth.

Nothing could illustrate this more clearly than the Bullitt affair that recently filled the newspapers. Bullitt,

the promising scion of an old American family, a young man who had already established for himself an enviable reputation as a liberal literat, was sent by the Administration, together with the well-known Lincoln Steffens, to Russia to investigate conditions there with a view to finding a basis upon which a peace between the Allies and the Bolshevik government could be arranged. The commission, after an absence of a number of months, returned from Russia while the peace negotiations in Paris were going on. Bullitt at once attempted to lay his report, which offered concrete and acceptable proposals from the Soviet government, before the President, but was unable to get even a hearing, in spite of his most persistent efforts. By Colonel House he was told that the President has a "one-track mind," which, being occupied with the peace treaty, could not be distracted by outside considerations. When Bullitt finally realized that Wilson, the Liberal, who had sent Steffens and himself to Russia to arrange peace terms, had succumbed to the openly imperialistic demands of the other parties to the peace that was in the process of creation at that time, considering himself released from further obligations, published his report, to the joy of every friend of the Russian revolution and the indignant consternation of the capitalist press.

The history of the various counter-revolutionary uprisings that have advanced from all points of the compass upon the proletarian government of Russia with the open assistance of the allied nations is too recent and too well known to need repetition. Korniloff, Kaledine and Alexieff, Admiral Kolchak and Denikin, each in their turn occupied the front pages of the newspapers of the allied nations; each in turn were reported as winning victory after victory, each in turn were supported liberally with Allied money and Allied forces. And in the end, each one of them was gently but definitely dropped, not, to be sure, before he had been whipped so decisively by the Red Army of the Bolsheviks that it was throwing good money after bad to continue to support him. It mattered not that these men were obviously self-seeking in their motives; that they established, in the territory they succeeded in subduing, a reign of terror that beggared the best efforts of the deposed Tsar. No methods were too shameful, no accomplice too perfidious to accomplish the defeat of Soviet Russia. The very men who, a year ago, claimed for intervention in Russia in order to drive out the Germans, the very men who accused the Bolshevik leaders, in forged documents, of being in the pay of the German imperialists, in the armistice terms expressly provided

for the continued occupation of the Baltic provinces by German forces under Von der Goltz, the murderer of the Finnish revolution. In spite of the continued protests of the Communists and the Independent Social Democrats of Germany large military divisions under the control of frankly counter-revolutionary imperialist elements in Germany, the very elements who were chiefly responsible for the outbreak of the war and for the methods employed by the German forces, were continually crossing the border between Germany and the Baltic provinces. While the people are being gulled with promises of trials that are to bring the guilty imperialists of Germany to justice, our ruling class is making common cause with these same imperialists for the suppression of Russian freedom in the interests of international capitalism.

Why this vehement hatred of Bolshevik Russia? The reason is fourfold. The first, which has already been mentioned, the fear that the Soviet government will adhere to its refusal to pay the debts contracted by the Tsarist government in the Allied nations. Second, the publication of the secret treaties, which made it exceedingly awkward for the "defenders of world-democracy" to keep up the fiction of disinterestedness with which they had until then piously covered their imperialistic aims. Thirdly, the socialization of the lands, the forest, the mines, the banks and the industries in Russia. For great, rich undeveloped Russia is to the capitalist countries in Europe what Mexico is to the United States, a field for unlimited investment affording under a capitalistic regime opportunities for enormous profits. As a matter of fact, British, French and German capitalists who have been for years heavily interested in Russian investments have suffered great losses through the socialization of Russian industries and the refusal of Russian peasants and workmen to submit to the exploitation that before the revolution was a matter of course. The London "Financial News" puts the matter in a nutshell when it tersely remarks "in the City it is realized that events are shaping more and more toward an international suzerainty over Russia, modelled upon the British surveillance of Egypt. Such an event would transform Russian bonds into the cream of the international market."

The last weeks have again brought a new savior for Russia into public notice. According to the newspaper reports Soviet Russia is surrounded by enemies on all sides. In screaming headlines Petrograd has fallen again and again. General Yudenitch, the newest "white hope" of west-European capital, after advancing upon Bolshevik Russia in an onslaught that seemed

to be carrying everything before it, today seems as far from having accomplished his purpose as when he began. Already he too is being discreetly retired into more unostentatious corners of our metropolitan press. Even the "Times" is constrained to admit that he will probably not capture Petrograd before winter.

There is something heroic in the struggle of this newly-awakened people for the preservation of an ideal. Material conditions in Russia are, of that there can be no reasonable doubt, in a desperate state. Cut off on all sides from its sources of supply by allied blockades and reactionary uprising, facing the stupendous task of building up a new social state upon an industrially undeveloped, materially depleted, bankrupt nation, placed before the almost impossible task of assimilating a huge contingent of uneducated, politically ignorant peasants into a socialist system of society, the proletarian government has been able not only to gradually win the support of its own people, but has met attack after attack with a dogged resistance that is almost incredible. It must not be overlooked that to the people of Russia submission to the will of the Allies will mean, for the present at least, the lifting of the blockade, the bringing in of food, the end of starvation, and the resumption of relations and trade with the outer world. And yet, in Russia itself there is practically no dissatisfaction. The following, taken from an article by John Rickman in the British "Labor Leader" indicates some of the reasons for this remarkable and admirable solidarity within the Russian nation:

"The Bolsheviks came into power largely because the other candidates, perhaps through no fault of their own, did not appear to be giving the people what they wanted, because the Constituent Assembly seemed likely to repeat the faults of the previous Governments and to embarrass the movement towards freedom by compromises with a class which had always held power. Having gained power the Bolsheviks more slowly gained popularity.

The Social Revolutionary *right* party had on its programme the nationalizing of the land, but it held the idea that the Socialist programme must come slowly; it was in favor of disposing of the estates only when the peasants were ready for them. Lenin incorporated the land question into the revolutionary movement by his order: "Peasants, seize the land." This did not, however, make Bolshevism popular, the peasants remarking, "Lenin did not give us the land; we took it." The movement of the workmen to take possession of the factories was more

properly attributed to the Bolsheviks, but it did not in my opinion make that party popular.

It was, I think, the general social programme of the Moscow Revolutionaries which commended itself to the people, which slowly took shape and may be judged in the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, adopted July 10, 1918. The Bolsheviks have attempted to deal with the

fundamental problem, the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a "Socialist Society." (Constitution, Article 1, chapter 2, paragraph 3.)

Great masses of the people, of course, remained in ignorance of the real meaning of "the establishment of a Socialist society." It was interpreted to them as being the organization of a State on principles very similar to their village communes, and the peasants thinking that as good or better than any alternative they had met yet did not give their allegiance to it, but showed a readiness to see whether it would work. They knew that no Government in Russia had thus far been satisfactory so they said they would give the Bolsheviks ten years before they would judge if it was really good or not. Such patience was not found in Moscow, nor apparently in foreign countries.

Under the Federal System great liberty was given to each province and county for the development of its own ideas and government, and in this way the difficult problems connected with mixed racial populations were partly solved.

The breaking up of the Empire into small units and their re-union into the Socialist Federated Republic gave support to one of the chief causes of Bolshevik popularity; that the war which was begun by the Tsar should be ended by the people; their avowed intention of "breaking secret treaties, or organizing on a wide scale the fraternalization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon a basis of the free determination of the peoples." Constitution—article 1, chapter 3, paragraph 4 coincided with the Russian sentiments on war. Accordingly the treaty of Brest-Litovsk came as no surprise, and I heard in all the time I was in Russia no workman or peasant disparage it.

The educational programme of the Bolsheviks commended itself to the people as being the most generous that had been placed before the public, and the zeal with which it was car-

ried out seemed to the people to indicate that the energies of the Government were turning principally to internal reforms. The wishes of the people were studied, not only in broad principles, but in details. "For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances." (Constitution—article 2, chapter 5, paragraph 15.) Libraries were opened in the villages and theatres in all the towns and were maintained at the public expense.

The popularity which the Bolsheviki Government earned by its measures was not seriously tested till the spring of 1918, because it had no serious rivals who could call for the allegiance of the people on the strength of their programme for internal reforms. In the early summer, when civil war was financed from abroad and supported at home by large sections of the upper classes, the first real test came. Districts which had tried both the Bolshevik regime and that set up under the Czechs when free to do so reverted to Bolshevism. The Czechs were forced to retire from the Volga to the Urals because of uprisings among the people. The Soviet of Vladivostok was returned at the July election though the "Reds" were in prison. From the Urals to the eastern coast the people were discontented with the directorate and the dictatorship and preferred a return to the Soviets.

No body of people I met feared the Bolshevik Government except the rich merchant and landowning classes, and among them I noticed a phenomenon not uncommonly seen in the last few years, that supreme sacrifices are easier to ask for and easier to make in many cases than smaller ones. When all rich people were losing their property it was not in accordance with the temperament of the better Russian to display great grief at an irreparable loss. I think there was hardly more grumbling than occurred in England over the Budgets and the Insurance Act of a recent Government. Through their losses some perceived, often with mixed feelings, the increasing sense of equality, and many contrasted the smallness of their loss with the great sacrifice of the war.

The Bolsheviks, in the opinion of the writer, used the repudiation of the foreign debts as a measure of internal politics, when the country was loath to assume any obligations contracted by the Tsar, but would in time have persuaded the people willingly to pay interest on the foreign loans because they realized that no further money would be lent to them unless they did.

Bearing in mind the exhausted condition of Russia due to the war, the lack of commodities due to the isolation caused by Allied blockade after November, 1917, and the disturbance in industry which accompanies civil war (especially if financed from abroad), I believe that the condition of finances under the Bolsheviks may compare favorably with that of any administration in the last sixty years in Russia except under Ministers of Finance Kankrin and Reiter, or with the present administration in Siberia before it re-introduced vodka distilling as a source of revenue. It is possible that new criteria may have to be formed before it is wise to come to definite and final judgments regarding the financial condition of a community that hopes "to establish a Socialist society" and eliminate the use as far as possible of currency."

Russian peasants and Russian workmen are accustomed to starvation. That is perhaps the best heritage the revolution received from the regime of the Tsar. For it has enabled them to endure, with the stolid patience and the hopefulness that is part of the Russian nature, the misery that the Allied blockade has caused. But even hunger and want under Communism assume a different aspect. There are no shop-windows, resplendent with luxuries that only the more fortunate can buy. The flimsy rags of the working woman are not made still shabbier by the flaunting of silks and satins on the back of a wealthier neighbor. Herein lies an object lesson that even the simplest can understand. Its appeal has not a little to do with the firmness with which the new government has established its influence among the poor and the downtrodden in Russia.

Although Russia is the most illiterate among the large nations of the world, its people are characterized by an intense craving for education. This natural tendency was fed and nurtured during the days of the darkest counter-revolution that followed the first revolutionary movement in 1905. During those years thousands of young, enthusiastic students traveled across the country, disguised as common laborers, living in the poverty-stricken farmhouses in the dreariest villages, and in the lonesome huts of the woodcutters, deep in the forests, teaching the men, the women and the children to read and to write, instilling in their minds at the same time the message of a better life when the workingman should become his own master. To this side of the Russian people the Bolshevik government has directed its chief appeal. In the short two years of its existence, in spite of almost insur-

mountable difficulties, it has established a system of schools that reaches out to the most forsaken village in the land. Threatened by foes on every hand, on the verge of annihilation from day to day, face to face with the stupendous task of socializing its industries, the largest of which are in the hands and under the direct control of German and Allied capitalists, the proletarian government has yet found time to establish a system of schools that is based upon the most modern principles of pedagogy. John Rickman, the English writer, says:

"The educational programme of the Bolsheviks was ambitious, but it was this ambitiousness which commended it to the people. The Bolsheviks aimed at starting a school in every village and increasing the number of gymnasia in the district and founding a university, but in this project they were stopped by lack of teachers. To overcome this difficulty they started training colleges for teachers, which were financed by the Soviet. Scholarships were given to promising pupils, which would carry them through the gymnasia and on to the universities already founded.

The enthusiasm of teachers for their work, which had been depressed by the restrictions of the old régime, revived. They gave up their holidays to attend university extension lectures and evening classes, in order to improve their teaching capacity for the coming terms. Technical classes were started, and the agricultural schools and colleges, some of which were already in operation under the old régime, were revived, additional instructors obtained, and new institutions begun. In every village the Soviets have turned the largest buildings into schools, libraries and public meeting halls. Expenses for outfitting, lighting and heating are met by the government. The passion of the Russian for long and exhaustive discussion on all questions of public interest has been satisfied to the utmost."

Industrial difficulties that were bound to arise were met, wherever this was possible by the workmen themselves. They were given the opportunity of solving difficult situations that arose by majority decisions. Very often, it is true, this resulted in costly mistakes, mistakes that sometimes resulted in the complete breakdown of the plant or railway involved. But it had the great advantage of building up a stable system of production and distribution that depended not so much upon orders from Moscow which had to be obeyed as on

motives for good work and co-operation which carried their own inducement.

Internally, therefore, the Soviet government is founded firmly on the broadest possible foundation, the confidence and the co-operation of the producing classes. That is the secret of its power, the reason why it has been able to throw back attack after attack of the trained men at arms who have been sent out against them.

But the future of the Russian proletarian revolution is by no means assured. No people can starve indefinitely. Ultimately the continued cutting off of Russia from the world market is bound to have its effect, while the support of a strong military force adequate for its protection against foreign attack will sooner or later deplete the resources, both material and human, at its command. In the last analysis, therefore, the life of the Russian proletarian government lies in the hands of the working classes of the West-European nations. The Russian revolution will stand and fall with the revolutionary world-proletariat. Of this the leaders of the Russian revolution are only too well aware. Their intensive propaganda, therefore, that they are carrying on in every country of the civilized world, is in a sense a campaign for their own preservation.

The great strikes that are following one upon the other in Great Britain, the ceaseless unrest that is agitating France, the chronic state of disquiet that has taken hold of Italy, the utter political and industrial collapse of Germany, broken down beyond hope of recovery, the increasing radicalization of the working-class movement the world over—even here in America—these give us the assurance that the two years of Soviet control in Russia are but the forerunner of the final world revolution of the proletariat that will bring liberation to the Russian and to the International working-classes.

Work, Discipline, and Order to Save the Socialist Soviet Republic

An Address by **Leon Trotsky** at the City Conference of the Russian Communist Party in Moscow, March 28th, 1918.

Comrades: The conference has met in a moment of profound internal disruption in this period that is so full of upheavals, and not in one of those moments pervaded a spirit of exaltation, a fighting spirit. Certainly we are experiencing a period of internal congestion, of great difficulties, and of internal criticism which—let us hope—will lead to an inner purification and a new advance of the revolutionary movement.

We trace our descent as a power to the October Revolution, which many of those who stood in the nearest ranks or moved parallel with us are now apparently inclined to renounce. In fact, the October Revolution is now regarded by many wise ones as a sort of adventure or a mistake.

We Communists cannot look upon the question of the October Revolution from this subjective point of view. During the course of a number of years preceding the Revolution of 1917 we not only predicted the inevitability of the new revolution, but we asserted, we theoretically predicted that when this revolution had been brought to a victorious conclusion it would inevitably place the working class, supported by all the poorest classes of the population, into power. This was called a Utopia. Now our socialistic perspective, our Communist program is called a Utopia. But the dictatorship of the working class which we predicted has become an accomplished fact, and all those "sober" individuals who saw a Utopia in this prediction were, just as our own subjective wishes, swept away by the development of the class struggle in our Revolution.

The February Revolution revealed the basic relations of the various forces. First, there was the combination of all the wealthy and propertied classes, a combination that was headed by the Cadet party in which all the contradictions and differences among the wealthy classes were sunk—for the simple reason that the Revolution had forced the crucial issue of possession as such and thus put an end to the differences within the possessing classes.

The compromise groups represented the second great camp

of the Revolution—politically a much larger one than its real social significance justified (for means which I shall mention presently), and the third camp was the camp of the working class, headed by our party, and of the toiling masses connected with the working class.

I said that the compromise camp, which imprinted its fateful seal upon the first epoch of the Revolution, appeared to itself and to others incomparably more powerful than the social character of that class from which it was recruited really warranted. I have in mind those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectual circles from which these parties drew not only their leaders but also their fighting cadres.

How, then, shall we explain the fact that in the first epoch of the Revolution the parties of the Social-Revolutionists and "Mensheviks" played a leading role, thereby contributing force to the downfall and incidentally lending to the whole further process of development an extremely acute and pathological character. The explanation of this fact is that our Revolution grew out of the war, and the war had mobilized and organized the most backward, dull masses of the peasantry, giving them a military organization and thus forcing them in the first epoch of the Revolution to exercise a direct and immediate influence upon the course of political events, before these masses had had an even elementary political education under the direction of the proletariat.

Regiments, divisions, army corps elected their deputies to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in the same manner as the working class. But while the workers in electing their deputies started out from their natural places of work, the factories and shops, the peasants, on the contrary, did not elect peasant deputies but regimental, company, and similar deputies, since the state machine confined them in compulsory army units.

In this manner they were called upon to exert an immediate and for the most part active influence on the course of political events, before—I repeat—political schooling under the direction of the working class had given them the necessary inner stimulus and the essential minimum of political ideas. It was natural that this peasant mass should seek representatives and leaders not among their own numbers but outside of them and that they should choose them from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, choose volunteers, young, more or less revolutionary officers, in a word, the sons of the bourgeoisie, who

possessed certain formal advantages over the soldier-peasant mass in their ability to express their thoughts more or less articulately, their knowledge of reading and writing, and the like. For this reason the cadres of the compromise parties increased in the first epoch of the Revolution. They depended upon the many millions of the peasant army. And the working class insofar as they strove not to cut itself loose from the strong peasant reserves evinced a certain inclination toward compromise, for an understanding was the bridge which connected it with the peasant and soldier masses. Here is the cause by virtue of which the Social-Revolutionists and the "Mensheviks" impressed the stamps of an all-determining influence upon the development of the Revolution during its first period. Their influence, however, found expression solely in the circumstance that they did not proceed to the fulfillment of a single demand, drew out and obstructed all measures, increased all difficulties, and imposed the character of a terrible historic burden upon the heritage which devolved upon us in October.

When the inner logic of the class struggle brought our party, which stands at the head of the proletariat, into power, the third camp, the camp of the working class, which from its very nature appears to be the only power capable of solving the basic problems of the Revolution, was put to the test.

Politically and from the point of view of actual fighting, the October Revolution proceeded with unexpected and incomparable success. In all history there has never yet been an example of such a powerful offensive on the part of an oppressed class, shaking off the domination of the possessing and ruling classes so systematically and swiftly in all parts of the country, as we have done in extending the dominion of the working class from Petrograd and Moscow to every nook and corner of Russia.

This triumph of the October revolt showed the political weakness of the bourgeois classes, a weakness which has its roots in the peculiar mode of development of Russian capitalism. For since Russian capitalism arose to triumph of a complete dissolution of small and moderate industry and the old capitalistic ideology in Western Europe, it appeared in the most concentrated form and undoubtedly developed great economic power and incidentally the innate capacity for a transition to more perfect economic forms, that is, it prepared the ground for nationalization of industry. But simultaneously these conditions transformed Russia's representatives of commercial and financial capital into a small privileged class, small numerically

and unconnected with the large masses of the people, having no ideological roots deep in the soil of the common people, no political army.

Hence the scant political opposition which our bourgeoisie was able to direct against us in October, November, and the months following, when at different points throughout the country the uprisings of various Kaledins, Kornilloffs, Dutovs took place, or the revolt of the Ukrainian Rada. If the Ukrainian Rada has triumphed, or is at the present moment overcoming the Soviet power in the Ukraine, it is accomplishing this only with the aid of the powerful machine of German militarism. (which in the meantime has collapsed just as miserably as the former Czarist army.—Ed). Just as in the progressive, so also in the backward, least industrial parts of the country, everywhere, far and wide, our possessing classes proved themselves powerless to resist unaided the military-revolutionary offensive of the proletariat in its fight for the control of the state. This indicates above all, Comrades, that if, by force and the will of fate we should be driven from power—which I doubt, and which you too will not believe—that this would be merely an episode, lasting a mere span of time for the development that has taken place up to the present moment would continue along the same fundamental lines. The deep social abyss between the upper strata of bourgeois society and the working classes and the welding together of all the disinherited masses with the proletariat indicates this and guarantees it.

Even should the proletariat for the time being be driven from power, it would still remain at the head of the vast majority of the laboring masses of the country, and the next wave would inevitably sweep it into power. From this assurance we must draw the deepest inner conviction to guide all our political work. The whole social structure of Russia and the international environment in which we live make us in the fullest sense of the word unconquerable, despite all difficulties and even in spite of our own shortcomings, faults and errors, of which I shall speak presently.

The military opposition of the bourgeoisie was broken in a very short time. So the bourgeoisie selected another mechanism of opposition in the form of sabotage by officials and technicians, all the specialized and semi-specialized intellectual elements who serve in bourgeois society as the natural mechanism of technical administration and incidentally of class rule and class government.

All these elements revolted after the conquest of power by the working class. From the point of view of Socialistic theory this revolt could not possibly come to any of us as a surprise. Marx wrote apropos of the Paris Commune that the working class when it comes into power cannot mechanically appropriate the old apparatus of state but must completely rebuild it. And this fact expressed itself in two different ways—in the distrust, on the part of the laboring masses and the Soviets, of the old officials, and in the hatred of the old officials towards their new master, the working class. Hence the sabotage, the desertion, the disorganizing of all government and of many public and private institutions by the directing technical and administrative personnel. This sabotage, in as far as it was not simply a product of the panic of the intellectual elements before the heavy hand of the working class which had taken the political power into their hands, and in so far as it pursued a political aim worked toward the future Constituent Assembly as its natural object, as a new bridge to those possessing the power.

While the Russian bourgeoisie, the Russian possessing classes in general, found their political ideal, in accordance with their nature and their political interests, in a limited monarchy based upon property qualifications for suffrage, the intellectual elements, led by the compromise parties, find it, in accordance with their interests and their conceptions, most of all in the Constituent Assembly, which assigns to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals an unproportionately large part, since they, thanks to their boldly wagging tongues stand up in a parliament in the name of all the dullest and most backward masses which still lack the power of speech, and because they, standing midway between the possessing classes and the laboring masses, would play their role of the unifying element, the middle-man and the go-between. And the Constituent Assembly would be, to their way of thinking, a great unification chamber, a great institution of agreements of the Russian Revolution.

The Soviets, that is, the working class, organized in Soviets, have rejected the Constituent Assembly, declaring that in an epoch of the direct and immediate clash of class forces only the one class or the other can openly and firmly rule, that in this moment there can be only one of two things, either the dictatorship of capital and the landowners or the dictatorship of the working class.

In dissolving the Constituent Assembly, the Soviets broke the back of the sabotage of the intellectuals. The resistance of all these technical, administrative, and official elements was

overcome. Meanwhile the immediate open civil war, as well as the fight against sabotage, to a certain extent diverted our attention from the fundamental organic, economic, and administrative tasks. On the other hand it was natural that the conviction should grow within us that now, having disposed of the Kaledins and Korniloffs, taken the power definitely into our hands, and broken the sabotage, we shall at last proceed to real, genuine creative work.

Once the military resistance of the bourgeoisie, of the Korniloffs and Kaledins, was quashed (thanks not to our military technique, which stood at the very lowest level, but to the fact that the bourgeoisie had no dependable cadres) and once the sabotage on the part of the administration—technical personnel was overcome, at least as far as principles were concerned, and it became possible to harness these mental forces to work—after all this was accomplished, we stood face to face for the first time with all the enormous tasks, difficulties, and obstacles that we had received as an inheritance of the past.

It was natural that the civil war and the methods by which we overcame the sabotage of officials in all institutions, should in themselves directly intensify the disorder which we had inherited from the War and the first period of the Revolution. We saw this ourselves and looked the facts plainly in the face. But this did not stop us, for we knew, we were deeply convinced—and this conviction we drew from our whole analysis of the historical events in Russia—we knew that here is for us only one outlet to the great stream of historical development, and that outlet leads only through the dictatorship of the working class. We knew that if in the path of this dictatorship there should be obstacles, they must be swept away. And if this sweeping away of obstacles should for the time being intensify the disorder, all this must be made up for a hundredfold through the policy of economic creation which the working class, after it had seized the reins of power, must develop.

Now, Comrades, having overcome the political obstacles, we are directly facing all these difficulties of organization. History places before you, before the working class, before its representatives, first of all the questions: Can you wrestle successfully with all the difficulties which the past decades and centuries have gathered for you, now tying them into Gordian knots, now presenting them to you in the way of entirely shapeless all-Russian disorder? Can you, can we manage these problems? In other words, will the working class, directed by the Communist Party, in the hours of the greatest trial ever imposed

upon the working class in all of history, rise equal to its historical task?

The difficulties that face us can be divided into two great categories, difficulties of an objective nature and difficulties of a subjective nature.

The difficulties of an objective nature lie in external circumstances. They consist in the fact of general disorder itself, in the fact that the avenues of traffic are in confusion, that our railroad cars are used up and getting out of joint, that we have a tremendous percentage of invalid locomotives and that the healthy ones don't move along the rails the way they should (the war has gotten everything off the track), in the fact that our factories and shops are disorganized—first as a result of mobilization, then as a result of the partial and extremely imperfect demobilization, in the fact that we are having the greatest food difficulties—partly because of our general impoverishment, partly because of the confusion in all our ways and means of bookkeeping and control and in all our means and avenues of transportation.

These are the difficulties, colossal in their significance, that confront us, which are waiting to be met, and which we must overcome. If we do not cope with them successfully, the ruin of the country in the next epoch is certain, for no one can replace us.

If (according to the words of Marx) we, as the working class, cannot simply appropriate the old apparatus of state power mechanically, this by no means signifies that we can get along without all the elements that comprised the old apparatus of state. The misfortune of the working class lies in the fact that it has always been in the position of an oppressed class. This fact has reflected itself everywhere—not only in its educational level but also in the fact that it has not the experience and usage in administration that the ruling class possesses and transmits through its schools, universities, and the like. Nothing of all this does the working class possess, all this it must attain. Once it has come into power, it must look upon the old apparatus of state as an apparatus of class oppression. But at the same time it must draw out of this apparatus all the valuable specialized elements which it needs for technical work, put them into the proper places, and use these elements to heighten its proletarian class-power. This, Comrades, is the task that confronts us in all its vastness.

The first stage of the struggle against sabotage consisted

in mercilessly suppressing the organizations of the saboteurs. This was necessary and therefore correct. Now that the power of the Soviets is assured, *the fight against sabotage must express itself in the conversion of the late saboteurs into servants, into executives and technical directors, wherever the new regime requires it.* If we cannot manage it, if we do not avail ourselves of all the forces we need and place them in the service of the Soviets, then our late struggle against sabotage, the military-revolutionary struggle, would be condemned as entirely useless and fruitless. Just as in the lifeless machines, so also in these technicians, engineers, physicians, teachers, former officers, in all of them a certain capital of our national public wealth is invested that we are obliged to exploit, to make use of, if we are at all desirous of solving the fundamental questions which confront us.

Democratization does not consist (this is the *A, B, C* for every Marxist) in abolishing the significance of the specialists, the significance of persons possessing professional training, but in replacing them everywhere and continuously by elected staffs. The elected staffs, consisting of the best representatives of the working class but not possessing the necessary technical knowledge cannot replace a single technician who has gone through a professional school and who knows just how a given specialized task is to be done. The overflowing of comradeship which may be observed among us in all fields appears as the entirely natural reaction of a young, revolutionary, but lately oppressed class which does away with the individual initiative of yesterday's lords, masters, and commanders and puts in everywhere its own elected representatives. This is, I say, an entirely natural and in its sources an entirely healthy revolutionary reaction. But this is not the last word in the economic political building up of the proletarian class. The next step must consist in the self-restriction of comradeship initiative, in the healthy and redeeming self-restraint of the working class which knows when the elected representative of the workers can speak with decision and when it is necessary to give place to the technician, the specialist, who is equipped with definite knowledge, who must be given greater responsibility, and who must be kept under watchful political control. But it is necessary to allow the specialist free activity, the possibility of free creative work, for not a single specialist who is at all talented and capable can work in his field if in his special work he is subordinated to a staff of people who do not know this field. A political Soviet control through an elected board or staff should exist under all circumstances, but for executive duties it is necessary to ap-

point specialists and technicians, place them in responsible positions, and simply let them bear the responsibility.

Those who are afraid of this procedure unconsciously reveal a deep inner distrust of the Soviet rule. Those who believe that to call the former saboteurs to the administration of specialized technical positions threatens the proper foundations of the Soviet regime, fail to realize that the Soviet regime cannot trip up on any engineer or on any former general—from a political, revolutionary, military point of view the Soviet regime is beyond all danger of being overcome—but that it may trip up on its own inability to cope with the problems of creative organization.

To avail itself of all that was vital and valuable in the old institutions and use it to do the new work, is essential for the Soviet regime. If we do not do this, Comrades, we will not accomplish our fundamental tasks for to produce all the necessary specialists from our own midst after casting aside all that the past had stored up, would be simply impossible.

Fundamentally, it would be the same thing if we should decide to throw away all the machines which up to now have served for the exploitation of the workers. That would be insanity. To make use of the trained specialists is just as important for us as to take all the means of production and distribution under our control, all the values in general that the country contains. We must—and at once—line up all the technical experts we have and actually introduce the obligation to work, for them, at the same time, of course, allowing them a wide field of activity. Incidentally, however, we shall have to place them under effectual political control.

In this direction, Comrades, there are difficulties which lie in the working class itself. Here, too, the past centuries of Russian history are in evidence, the times when the masses of the people were oppressed, despoiled materially and spiritually, and devoid of all essential experience in administration.

And we knew all along that we lacked the necessary organization, the necessary discipline, and the necessary historical experience; all this we knew, and it did not in any way prevent us from proceeding with open eyes to the conquest of power. We were certain that we would learn and manage it all. Now that we have taken the power into our hands, we, the representatives of the working class, must be perfectly clear and absolutely honest with ourselves on the internal sins and failings which represent the greatest menace to the cause of Socialist construction.

These shortcomings, as I have said, have their historical roots in the old, purely agrarian form of life, when there as yet existed no awakened, free and independent human individuality, but only a compact mass which vegetated, wore itself down, died, as a compact mass of locusts lives and dies. The Revolution, which awakened the human personality even in the most oppressed individual, naturally gave him in the earliest days of this awakening an outwardly—if you will, anarchical—character. This awakening of the most elementary instincts of the individual not infrequently has a coarse egoistic or, to use a philosophical expression, “ego-centric” character. But yesterday he was nothing, a slave of the Czar, of the nobility, of the bureaucracy, the accessory of a manufacturer’s machine. In agrarian life, he was a serf, a tithe-payer. Today, freed of all these restrictions he for the first time feels his own personality and begins to imagine that he is—all; that he is the center of the universe. He strives to get all he can for himself, thinks only of himself, and is not inclined to reckon with the general class point of view. Hence the flood of the sort of disintegrating sentiments and individualistic, anarchistic, and grasping tendencies which we may observe particularly in the extensive ranks of the lowest elements of the land, who never belonged to any class, among the members of the former army, and also within certain elements of the working class.

This is nothing but a disease of growth. We should be blind and cowardly, Comrades, if we were to see in this any mortal danger, any pernicious symptom. No, it is no such fatal thing, but like measles in a child or the pain which the teeth come through, it is the organic disease of growth of our class, the pangs of the awakening of its class powers, its creative urge. Nevertheless, it is a disease, and we must strive to overcome it in the shorest time possible. These negative phenomena are evident everywhere—in the large works, in factories and shops, in the industrial unions, in the railroad system, in the state departments among the new employes—under all conditions and on every side.

We have smashed the old sabotage and swept out the majority of the old officials and employes with a broom. In all the branches of administration the successors of the old officials frequently proved to be far from first-class material. On the one hand the vacated positions were taken by our party comrades, who had done the underground work, who had revolutionary training behind them, the best elements, the fighters, the most honest, the most unselfish. On the other hand there came

place-hunters, intriguers, former failures and derelicts, who under the old regime of yesterday were without employment. When suddenly necessity arose for the employment of tens of thousands of new specialized workers, it is no wonder that many parasites succeeded in getting into the pores of the new regime.

It must be added that many of the comrades working in various offices and institutions have shown themselves to be still far from capable of organic, creative, intensive work. At every step we observe such comrades, particularly from the ranks of the October-Bolsheviks, in the government bureaus working four to five hours—and not very intensively at that—at a time when our whole situation at present demands of us the hardest work that is in us, not out of fear but out of conscientiousness.

Many even honest persons with weak wills easily give themselves up to the suggestion that now in the weakened condition of the country, when everything is rather loose and out of joint, it doesn't pay to develop a whole lot of energy, since in the general economy of national life it won't count anyway—so why, says each one to himself, shall I alone slave away in all this chaos? And right here, Comrades, there arises for the representatives of our party which has convened its city conference in this hall, for you, these representatives, an entirely new task. If we were first in the revolutionary battles, just as before we had been first in underground activity, and afterwards in the open struggle stormed the position of the class that was our enemy, we must now in all the places which we are holding—do not forget that we are now the ruling class—we must develop a maximum of conscientiousness, devotion to duty, creative joy, in a word all those qualities which characterize the class of real builders. And it is necessary for us within our party to establish a new ethics, or more correctly, such an ethics as will appear to be the development of our ethics of yesterday. If yesterday he was regarded with the greatest esteem who had self-sacrificingly committed himself to living in unlawful habitations, cutting himself off from every personal interest and feeling, who at any moment was ready to lay down his life, today, too, the same fundamental characteristics of the Russian revolutionary of which we have been proud must find a new application in all positions, no matter how prosaic they may outwardly appear. Everywhere the leading executors of all the functions, all the tasks and all the needs of the Socialistic Soviet Republic should rise up and put into the execution of these duties all their self-sacrifice, all their enthusiasm.

Through the agency of our Communist Party we must

form in every factory a model cell, as it were, which should be the working conscience of the factory. It is necessary that this call maintaining the standpoint of the general interest of the people follow and observe the life of that factory and convince the workers of the necessity of fulfilling at all times and in all stations the most elementary duties toward our Soviet land. The responsibility for its fate after all rests with all its weight upon us, we must stand up for it, and we alone, as the ruling class, the ruling party—particularly now, since the Left Social-Revolutionary group has left us and since with the Communist Party lies the direct and full responsibility for everything that happens in the state life, and through the state life in the economic life of the land.

It is necessary that this new sentiment should be cultivated, through the Party and through our industrial federations, in every large shop and factory that this new consciousness of working duty and working honor should be adopted and fostered, that, with this consciousness to depend upon, working-courts should be established, so that the worker who is indifferent to his duties or appropriates wilfully or wastes material, or the worker who does not devote all his working-time to work—so that such a worker may be brought to trial, so that the names of all such offenders against socialistic solidarity may be printed in the Soviet publications as the names of renegades. This communistic ethics, Comrades, it is our duty to preach at once, to support, to develop, and to establish. That is the noblest task of our Party in all the fields of its activity.

Look at the railroads. Hitherto in regard to the railroad system we have accused one another, we have attacked the former government, the old administrations, the Central Committee of the Railroad Union. And we were in the right. And we became the conquerors, and the power and the administration came our way. The railroads are in our hands, but this, Comrades, is not the whole thing, not even half, perhaps not more than a tenth. Now it remains to transform the apparatus of the railroads into the mechanism of a clock—and this at the present time is one of the most important political tasks of our Party. You see, this is the essential thing and the keynote to the situation. If in former times the political task consisted in agitation, in propaganda, in open street fighting behind the barricades, in the conquest of power, in elections, now it is the organization of the railroad system, the creation of workers' discipline in it, of the fullest responsibility of each individual for his position—all this constitutes the *political* task of our party.

Why? Because if we do not go through with it, it will mean that we are beaten, and this fact would be entered in the books of history of the proletariat on the debit side. We understand as a matter of course that eventually the proletariat will conquer, but it will not be passed by—no, it will count heavily against us—that at the given moment our Party and our class did not stand the test. Do you see, it is for this reason that all these creative national tasks or organization are transformed directly and immediately into political obligations for our Party.

All this on the whole relates also to the field with which I am now most closely connected, the military branch of our regime. I will not at this time speak of the international situation of the country, of the international perspectives and dangers. My report will be sufficient if I say that in so far as the fate of the Russian Revolution depends on the world situation, this fate is bound up with the fate of the European Revolution. If the Revolution should not come in Europe, if the European working class should prove incapable of rising up against Capital at the conclusion of the war, if this monstrous premise should turn true, it would mean that European culture is doomed. It would mean that at the culmination of the powerful evolution of capitalism, at the conclusion of the world slaughter into which world capitalism hurled the peoples of the world, the European working class had shown itself incapable of appropriating the power and delivering Europe from the strangle hold of capitalism and the hell of imperialism. It would mean that Europe is doomed to disintegration, to degeneracy, to retrogression. Why, of course, if Europe should fall back into barbarism, and if civilization should then develop somewhere in the east, in Asia, in America, if Europe should be transformed into a backward peninsula of Asia, like the Balkan peninsula, which was once the seat of the development of civilization, then fell back, died, and was converted into that most backward southeastern corner of Europe—if all this should happen, then of course we, too, could not resist the current. But in so far as we have decidedly no grounds at all for such a monstrous hypothesis, in so far as we are convinced that the European proletariat at the conclusion of this war, and probably even in the course of it, will rise—it is being driven to this course by the new offensive on the western front, which is once more revealing to the laboring masses the whole desperateness of their situation—in so far as we are able to say that the fate of our Revolution in its international aspect is inseparably bound up with the fate of the European Revolution, and hence with the fate of Europe. And therefore we, as a factor of this European Revolution, as a component part

of it, must see to it that we should be strong, that is, taken individually, that we should be equipped with an army that shall be representative of the character and spirit of our Soviet regime.

You have read the general decrees of the Commissariat for Military Affairs which we are presenting to you. We assume that since the further development of the international situation may in the very near future hold new and cruel trials in store for us, we must at once proceed to create efficient and dependable cadres of any officers, which for this very reason cannot be formed on the basis of general compulsory recruiting, for it is obvious that such a conscription could not be accomplished within the next two months. You see, therefore, we must for the time being depend on the method of volunteering, which, of course, will have to be safeguarded by a vigorous personal and political examination of all these volunteers.

The duty of the Party organizations, the Party cells will consist in making sure that the elements entering the army are in a political and moral sense of good quality and that after becoming members of the army they do not lose their connection with the working class, which shall subject them to its systematic influence. Anticipating a little, I will say that there are many in our own party ranks who fear that the army may become a tool or a breeding place of counter-revolutionary attacks. This fear, in so far as it has a certain justification, must compel us to concentrate our attention entirely upon the lower strata, the ranks of the soldiers of the Red Army. Here we must create such a foundation, that every attempt to use the Red Army as a tool for counter-revolutionary attacks will be fruitless. The noblest task in this direction seems to me the perfection of the backbone, the officers' staffs, through general training in the shops and factories, and among the poor peasantry. Thus far, Comrades, many decrees, many provisions have existed only on paper. The task of first importance for the Party should be to see to it that the decree concerning compulsory military training in the industrial plants, factories, workshops, schools, etc., which we shall publish in the course of the next few days, are actually carried out in practice. Only the extensive military training of the masses of workers and peasants wherever it can be immediately put into practice will make it possible to convert the voluntary cadres into that skeleton which at the instant of danger can be surrounded with flesh and blood, that is with really extensive armed masses.

And here I come to a ticklish point, which to a certain ex-

tent represents the weak spot in our party life. It is the question of the employment of military specialists, or to speak plainly, the former officers and commanders, for the creation of the army and the administration of the army. At present all the fundamental administrative devices of our army are constructed on the principle that the type should be a combination of one military specialist and two political commissaries.

Already I have on more than one occasion had to speak in public meetings about the fact that in the matter of officering the army, of operations and battles, we intend to place full responsibility upon the shoulders of the military specialists, and hence to give them also all the necessary rights. Of this, many of us are afraid, and these fears find expression in the resolutions of various Party organizations. I have such a resolution in my pocket—received it yesterday from the northwestern country. It contains a splendid characterization of the difficulties which confront us. How much violence of every kind (this resolution points out) may be observed on the part of several Soviet representatives, how much negligence, unscrupulousness, and dishonesty—yes, even dishonesty!—on the part of representatives of the Soviet power, of those elected by the workers' organizations. Yes, there is much, there is very much of this now! And there again it is the duty of the Party to take a merciless attitude toward such phenomena in our own midst, for they will ruin the land, they will ruin our party. Not only those must be prosecuted who are themselves directly or indirectly guilty of embezzlement of the public moneys, but those also who shall be indulgent toward any manner of indecency and vice. Comrades, we must carry out our sifting process with iron-like inexorability, for there are in all this many dangerous and disturbing symptoms. It is just this that our comrades in the Northwest demand. In the resolution I have mentioned, which describes this situation splendidly, they demand that the Party adopt drastic measures, measures that will cauterize these moral wounds with glowing irons.

And this resolution points with the same disquietude to another danger, namely, the employment of generals who (as it expresses the thing) will lead the country into a new Korniloff adventure. True, the danger of a Korniloff adventure is not out of the question. However, this danger is nourished not by the employment of one or two dozen former generals but through roots that go deeper.

How do violence, carelessness, and even unscrupulousness develop? They come exclusively from the fact that persons are

holding positions which they cannot master. Examine at close range what is now happening in the Ukraine. Those who fought splendidly and heroically against the Kaledins, Dutoffs, and Korniloffs, who conquered these enemies that stood on the same technical level with them, failed us when they were confronted by the German military machine and felt the sense of their utter helplessness. Hence their dissatisfaction with themselves. They, these commanders of guerilla bands fight against one another, accuse each other, not infrequently fight less against the Germans than against the native population. The example of what is happening in the Ukraine shows us that if we are to speak seriously about the defense of the Soviet Revolution by force of arms, by means of war, we must reject all the empty talk of the Left Social Revolutionaries about partisan or guerilla warfare, and all measures that make use of small bands, and proceed to the task of creating a regular army. Only if this regular army exists can these partisan bands play a positive part on its flanks. But in order to create such an army we need trained specialists, including the former generals. As I have said before, the difficulty of the Soviet government at the present time consists not in combating sabotage, the back of which is already broken, but in enlisting the activity of the former saboteurs.

The second question concerns the so-called principle of election of the army. The whole purpose of this principle lies in its use to fight the old make-up of the officers' machine, to control the commanding personnel. As long as the power was vested in the class that is our enemy and the commanding personnel appeared a tool in the hands of this power, it was our duty to strive, through the election principle, to break the class-opposition of the commanding personnel. But at the present time the political power lies in the hands of the same working-class from whose ranks the army is recruited. Under the present regime in the army—I tell you this with absolute frankness—the election principle appears politically unnecessary and from the technical point of view impractical, and in the decree it is to all intents abolished.

Let me ask you: Is the election principle applied throughout in your industrial unions and co-operatives? No. Do you elect the officials, bookkeepers, clerks, cashiers, the employees of definite professions? No. You elect from among the workers of the Union in whom you have the most confidence your supervisory council and leave to this body the appointment of all the necessary employees and experts. The same thing must be done in the army. Since we have once established the Soviet

Government, that is, such an apparatus in which the head executives are persons directly elected by the Soviets of Workers' Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, there can be no contradiction between the executive power and the masses of the workers, just as there exists no antagonism between the supervisory council of a union and the general assembly of its members. And hence there can be no grounds to fear the appointment of persons of the commanding personnel by the executive organs of the Soviet power. The true solution of the problem of the commanding personnel consists in establishing courses of instruction for the advanced soldiers and workers and in this way gradually training a new commanding personnel in keeping with the spirit of the Soviet regime. This task we have undertaken.

The question of the creation of an army has become for us a question of life and death. You understand this as well as I do. But we cannot create an army, not by means of our present administrative apparatus, which is really very bad. If we have a powerful apparatus, it is an ideal apparatus, and this apparatus is our Party. You will create the army, Comrades. And you will do everything in your power to weed out the prejudices of which I have spoken, you will help us to fill out the skeleton of the Revolutionary Army with willing and devoted workers and peasants. You will use your power to put through obligatory military training in the industrial plants and factories and among the peasants, and in this way you will create a fighting machine for the defense of the Soviet Republic.

The Invincible Power of the Russian Revolution

By A. S. SACHS

What will the appearance of our little world be in the immediate future? Who will be our recognized leader? What melodies will the historical music produce? Who will be in the saddle and hold the very destiny of the world in their hands and who will have to blindly follow and say amen to everything the individuals in control may do? These are some of the questions confronting us today.

The war brought about a radical upheaval in many countries. The over thirty millions of victims that fell dead or half

dead on the various battlefields and those that went down to the bottom of the deep seas, never to come up again, dragged along with them the czars, the kaisers, the kings, and the princes whose families have ruled over peoples and countries for thousands of years. But the question is: has the power of their thrones also passed away forever? Has this power of the kings and kaisers been torn out with its very roots, or is there, somewhere, a rascal of the monarchical type who will at an opportune moment spring up again? For it is well known that hydras possess a few heads. And so—if one head is removed another one takes its place, which in turn ejects poison in all directions.

What guarantee have we that the power of the czar and the kaiser will not once more arise in Russia and Germany—the power that would again rob the people of their inalienable rights? For did we not have just such examples in history? And furthermore what guarantees have we that in the present struggle between the forces of democracy and those of autocracy, between the people and the former rulers, the people will ultimately be the victors? Is it not a fact that there are very dark forces such as the Kolchaks, the Ludendorffs and the Denikins, the von der Goltz, Yudenich and many others who lie in wait for the opportune moment to arrive when they will spring out from their hidden places and throw themselves upon the throats of the people?

Such and similar questions give us no rest. Almost the entire world has been roused. Each nation turned into a strong, violent, wrathful current. But where is the outlet for this current? Will this current entirely wash away the old institutions and make room for a newer, more beautiful world, or will it after the turmoil, the agitation will have passed away, become a quiet calm river where the Nicholases, the Wilhelms and their relatives will thrive and multiply?

I do not pretend to be a prophet. It is very foolish for one to attempt to foretell what will happen in the future: But one thing is certain—that is—czarism and kaiserism, the remnants of the ancient and barbarous medieval times have passed away forever. There will be no resurrection of these powers. The people awoke. They awoke not merely because they felt vexed and downtrodden. They rose fully aware of their might and they are determined not to lay down their arms until victory will be theirs.

The characteristic feature of the present revolution in Russia and Germany is that the people revolt intellectually. They

are acquainted with the causes that drove them to a revolt. The lust for freedom and the conviction that the gifts of nature and the results of labor belong to the people and not to a few self-crowned individuals pierced very deeply the hearts and souls of the Russians and Germans. No force in the world will be powerful enough to take away from the hearts and souls of the people the conviction that the time has already come when the peasant and worker shall demand and receive what is his.

Regardless of what we may think of Lenin and Liebknecht we must admit that they have performed a gigantic piece of work by "deepening the revolution." They have planted in the mind of the peasant and worker the idea that something is due him, that he is a somebody in this world, that he also has a share in the immense wealth, that he also has a voice in the government, that he has something to say and what is more must be heard.

That is why the revolutionary upheavals of our time are so important. The fact that the power of government has been taken away from one class and is controlled by another class is of very little import. Control can be taken away again—by a revolution from above. But it is impossible to take away the thoughts, ideas, feelings, convictions of anybody. Former revolutionists have sought political power. The present revolutionists, however, seek the souls of the people. They desire that the people shall understand just what they are doing.

The present revolutionists care very little whether the quality of this or that institution is good or bad, whether it is perfect or absolutely useless. Institutions and laws can be reformed and changed. What they want is that the people shall be convinced that their fortunes and future must be made secure by them alone and not by anybody else.

And as soon as the people shall be convinced that everything belongs to them no counter-force in the world will be able to conquer them. Large armies, bayonets, cold and hot weapons of every description, yes intervention itself will not be able to subdue the sentiment of the peasants and workers that they are justified in being the owners of God's earth and the possessors of the fruit of their own labor.

The revolution has become the conviction of the people. Let all those who wish to destroy the revolution by force, know and remember this:

Among the ancient peoples we find a law to this effect; if two parties are quarreling regarding a certain matter in ques-

tion, the verdict of the judge may be to leave the parties concerned to fight it out by themselves. The side that happens to be the stronger will naturally win.

No matter how foolish such a verdict may appear at first sight, nevertheless there is a profound meaning attached to it. The authors of this specific law proved themselves to be very good psychologists. Physical strength does not determine the result in a struggle but rather the conviction that one is right. This conviction is the strongest weapon in a struggle. The party that is right and is convinced that he is right will always be the victor in a struggle even though he may be physically weaker.

History is full of such examples—where a small David slew a giant Goliath. Belief and conviction are the best weapons in any struggle.

A remarkable incident occurred in Russia in the nineties of the last century. The entire governmental brutal force of the czar-cossacks' knouts and similar weapons of the czar's servants—was unable to overcome the peasants in one village.

The peasants were in possession of a "paper" from long ago showing that a certain tract of land rightfully belonged to them. They therefore considered and used this land as their property. A few Russian noblemen wanted this land. They came with their servants and wanted to take possession of this land. The peasants did not permit this to take place. Bloody encounters ensued. The noblemen won their case before the various magistrates, supreme courts, and in the Senate; but this was of no avail. The peasants claimed that they have a "buzmaga" (a legal paper or certificate) and therefore they are entitled to the land. Soldiers and Cossaks arrived in the village. The peasants were whipped, tortured, and made to undergo all sorts of sufferings; but the peasants still claimed that the land was theirs. And no power in the world was able to overcome this conviction of the simple peasants.

And who do you think were the victors? The village peasants with their oven-rakes and shovels and not the soldiers and cossaks won the fight.

The present revolutionists concern themselves less with the putting into order of the various governmental branches than with the propagating of the revolutionary thought amongst the masses. In this respect they are very successful. Revolutions do not take place in the government institutions but rather in the minds of the common people. This fact should be taken into

consideration by those who mean to overcome the revolution in Russia and Germany by armies.

When a hundred million peasants in Russia are convinced that the Russian territory belong to them, then no army is strong enough to take this conviction away from them.

When five million workers in Germany are convinced that the factories and all other undertakings belong to them, then the devil himself will not be able to take these things away from them.

The *will* of the people—that is the predominant factor in the present revolutions.

Instead of His Majesty, the Czar, or the Kaiser, we now have His Majesty the People.

Oh! How—German is this Revolution!

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(This article which appeared in the "Red Flag" of Berlin, the organ of the Spartacists of Germany, on the 18th of November, 1918, shows not only the fearless energy, but also the boundless goodness of heart of a great woman. Its contents may serve, moreover, as a fit weapon against the slanders with which unscrupulous opponents have tried to besmirch the memory of Rosa Luxemburg.)

For the political victims of the old regime of reaction we ask neither "amnesty" nor mercy. We demand the right of freedom, fight and revolution for those hundreds of true and faithful men and women who are languishing in jails and prisons because they dared to fight for liberty, for peace and for Socialism under the rule of the sword of the imperialistic criminals whose rule has now come to an end. They are all free. Once more we are standing, shoulder to shoulder, ready to do battle for our cause. But it was not the Scheidemann socialists with their partners of the bourgeoisie and Prince Max at the head, who freed us; the proletarian revolution itself rent asunder the gates of our dungeons.

But another category of unfortunate inmates in those dreary buildings has been completely forgotten. No one thinks of the thousands of pale, emaciated figures languishing in prisons and jails in expiation of common crimes and misdemeanors.

And yet, they too are the unfortunate victims of the infamous state of society against which the revolution was directed. They, too, many of them, are victims of the imperialistic war that intensified want and misery until they became unbearable torture, that awakened, by its brutal bestiality, the evil instincts that slumber in weak and degenerate natures.

Here, too, bourgeois class justice was the net through which rapacious sharks escaped with ease while it caught in its pitiless meshes every small, helpless minnow that ventured beyond the pale of capitalist law. Millionaire war-profiters escaped, or were condemned to pay ridiculously inadequate fines. The small thieves were punished with draconian sentences.

On starvation rations, shivering with cold in cells that are practically unheated, in a state of hopeless mental depression from the horrors of four years of war, these stepchildren of society are waiting for mercy, for relief.

They wait in vain. As a good father to his country the last of the Hohenzollern forgot these unfortunates over the cares of mass-slaughter and the division of the spoils of war. During the past four years, since the fall of Louvaine, there has been no amnesty worthy of mention, not even on that highest holiday of German slaves, the "Emperor's Birthday."

It remains, therefore, for the proletarian revolution to lighten the dreary existence of life behind prison walls with a small ray of mercy, to shorten the severity of the imposed sentences, to uproot and discard the barbarian disciplinary system that still obtains—the system of corporal punishment, the system of the ball and chain, to improve, to the best of its ability, the treatment, the medical supervision, the food and the conditions of labor that prevail. It is a debt of honor! The existing penal system, breathing the spirit of brutal class-spirit and capitalist barbarism must be torn up by the roots. A fundamental system of prison-reform must be inaugurated immediately. To be sure, a truly free method of criminal treatment, one that is in every respect in harmony with the aims and the spirit of a socialist state of society can be erected only upon the foundations of a new industrial and social order. For, in the last analysis, crimes as well as their punishment are but the outgrowth of the prevailing social conditions. But one decisive measure can be carried out immediately; capital punishment, that greatest blot upon the reactionary penal code of imperialistic Germany must disappear. Why do they hesitate in the Workmen's and Soldiers' government? Ledebour, Daeumig, Barth, did the noble Baccaria who, more than two hundred

years ago denounced the shame of the death-penalty in all civilized languages, not live for you? You have no time, have a thousand cares, difficulties, problems, that wait upon your attention. Undoubtedly! But take your watches into your hands. See how much time it will take to part your lips, and to say: Capital punishment is hereby abolished. Or is it possible that there could be a long debate among you upon this question? Would you, in questions of such fundamental importance wrap up the issue in the long trailing gown of formalities, of consideration of competencies and authorities and all the fuss and trash of by-gone days?

OH! how—German is this German revolution! How sober, how pedantic, how without boyancy, without glory, without bigness! The forgotten question of capital punishment is only one small individual phase. But how such small matters betray the inner spirit that animates the whole!

Take the history of the great French Revolution. Take, if you will, the dry Mignet! Can you read it without throbbing pulse and fevered brow? Can you lay it down, once you have begun to read, before you have heard the last mighty chord of that marvellous occurrence die away? It is like a gigantic Beethoven symphony, a wild storm on the ocean of the ages, great, marvellous, in its errors as in its achievements, in its victories as in its failures, in its first naive effervescence as in its last dying sob. And now, with us here in Germany? At every step, in large things and in small, we feel it: they are still the old, faithful comrades of the old, dead and buried Social Democracy, to whom that little membership card is everything, and the human being, the spirit nothing. Let us not forget—world-history cannot be made without mental greatness, without moral pathos, without largeness of gesture. When we left those hospitable walls where we were recently forced to spend our time, Liebknecht and I promised our companions in misery—he to his shaven prison mates and I to my poor dear prostitutes and thieves among whom I had spent three and a half years—we promised them, by all that was holy to us, as they looked after us with longing, sorrowful eyes: we will not forget you!

We demand of the executive Council of the Workmen's and Soldier's Council of Germany immediate amelioration of the conditions of all prisoners in all penal institutions of Germany!

We demand the abolition of capital punishment from the German penal code.

In the four years of imperialistic mass murder blood has flown in rivers. Now every drop of that precious fluid must be preserved, with veneration, in crystal vessels. Unfettered revolutionary energy and big-hearted humanity—these alone are the breath and the life of Socialism. A world must be overthrown, but every tear that is needlessly shed is a reproach; he who, while hastening to important duties, out of gross heedlessness crushes a poor worm, commits a crime.

Convention Impressions

By WM. BROSS LLOYD

On the morning of August 30th, as I came into the building where the Socialist Party Emergency Convention was to be held, I met a crowd of delegates coming down from the convention hall. They were the left wing delegates thrown out of the hall by the police acting under order of Adolph Germer and Julius Gerber. They were nearly all contested on one flimsy pretext or another with Adolph Germer as chief detective in charge of frame-ups, prosecuting attorney, court bailiff, Judge, Jury, jailor, and hangman. For instance, in the case of Minnesota, Germer made a special trip to Minneapolis to direct the State Executive Committee in arranging a delegation to contest the seats of those elected by membership referendum and Germer, making up the roster of delegates, seated the contesting delegation he created. No delegate could get into the convention hall on credentials, signed by his state officials. A special card of admission had to be procured from Germer's minions in the National office. The card was white, historically symbolic of the work of Finland's White Guard and her bloody fields and streets, of Berlin's streets red with workers' blood spilled by our "comrades" Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske; symbolically prophetic of the part for which the Socialist Party of America has cast itself. Later, in the convention, in response to a question I could not hear, the chairman, "Comrade" "Seymour Stedman Noske," raised his impassioned voice above the tumult: "Chief of Police Garrity has his orders and when the time comes, he will obey them." One cannot help wondering whether the police who shortly before beat up the striking I. W. W. restaurant workers, were also following Comrade "Noske's" orders. Truly, when the police co-operate with our "comrades" and take their orders, the revolution must have come to pass. It behoves all revolutionary

Socialists to watch for and extirpate all efforts at counter-revolution.

This use of and co-operation with the police is a notable instance of "socialist" participation in the class struggle. But under which flag? The dozens of handsome, expensive flags of the capitalist government of the United States decorating the convention hall, put there by those in charge of the convention, not those owning the hall, the two scanty strips of cheap red cloth so stretched as to be almost hidden, gave eloquent answer.

California's delegates were contested. The state executive committee had voted unanimously to take the vote of the expelled federations, tabulating that vote separately. A scheme of preferential voting was also adopted, which caused some confusion, some marking their ballot simply with a cross instead of properly with numbers. But excluding all federation and other improperly marked ballots, the delegates were overwhelmingly elected. No contesting delegates were present, the contest resulting from a letter from two members of the State Executive Committee defeated in the election for delegates. The contest committee, with a Judge for chairman, its members mainly lawyers, was hostile. Its queries were like an examination before the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, or government cross-examination of a defendant in an espionage law trial. Do you believe; do you think; will you be bound by the acts of the convention? Note what was done. The vote tabulation showed votes from the Russian branch of San Francisco regularly counted. Ha! Contempt of the National Executive Committee and its order expelling the Federations and ground for exclusion. But no, it developed the branch had a regular branch charter nearly twenty years old. California's delegates were left wing delegates. The committee therefore needed no grounds to justify its vote to exclude. True, the convention overturned the committee; true, the convention seated Minnesota—three hours before adjournment—when the delegates had worked for a week in the two other conventions.

Such matters do not alter the fact that the convention was packed. Packed by a process of eliminating all known left wing delegates, packed by delegations from Massachusetts, New York, and Michigan, which had delegates proportioned to a membership, most of whom had been expelled. The Michigan case is the most glaring example. Its seven delegates, the quota due its thirty-five hundred expelled members, represented actually one hundred and thirty-nine.

The resolutions, platform and other documents I have not

seen. It is not necessary. Any good scholar can write revolutionary phrases. As Boudin wittily remarked, "The convention will give you Moscow, so that they may keep control of Chicago." The membership of the Socialist Party voted more than ten to one to join the Third International the convention refused. In spite of that the convention did not give Moscow, so absolute was the control of a little group of men bent on perpetuating their control and keeping their jobs. Reckless of aught else, they have killed the Socialist Party as a working class organization. Not that it will disappear. Controlled by its ruling clique, financed by capitalism, it will remain an interesting, well preserved mummy.

Of the Communist Convention, I saw nothing, nor have I seen its program. With the Left Wing Program as a model, with Ferguson and Fraina to write it, beyond doubt the program will be excellent. More than that is needed to make a revolutionary Socialist Party. What went into the making of the Communist Party eliminates it from that category.

The party is controlled by the Russian Language Federations, with a membership of thirty-five thousand out of a total of fifty-eight thousand party members—accepting their own figures. I admit it ill becomes an internationalist, a revolutionary Socialist to complain of foreign control. That is not the point at all. If those Russian comrades scattered through the branches, mixed with the other members and acting through the branches, controlled the party, no one would, I think, object. Such is not the case. The control lies in the hands of executive committees through whom go the only avenues of communication. The Executive Committees to all intents and purposes are the Federation. They are a machine just as pernicious as the old S. P. National Executive Committee. That is the situation which is the fundamental cause of the disunion of today.

The other main elements of the Communist Party are the expelled state organization of Michigan and the followers of the National Council of the Left Wing. That council came out of the Left Wing Conference of June in which both Michigan and the Federations participated. This conference was called to formulate a statement of Left Wing principles, to form a council "for propaganda, securing and spreading information" and to discuss "the crisis in the party and action thereon; the conquest of the party, for revolutionary socialism." Not a word expressed or implied about forming a new party. As the Communists say in a communication to the Communist Labor Party

Convention, "our convention is absolutely bound by the joint call." Up to the assembling of the Conference, no one had thought of forming a new party. And yet the Michigan-Federation crowd made a continuous persistent effort to stampede the convention for a new party. This, in spite of the fact that over a hundred delegates had come long distances, some twenty-five hundred miles, to consider something quite different. Bound? Bound by nothing except their imperious will to power. Defeated on the new party, nevertheless, the Federation-Michigan delegates remained in the conference till defeated on a question more important to them.

The conference seated the delegates elected by the Federation branches. Then the Federation Executive Committee demanded and secured the seating of delegates from their bodies. Later, when the National Council was being elected, the Federations, although doubly represented by delegates participating in the election, demanded that nine members to be elected by the Federation Executive Committees be added to the Council. Beaten on this proposition, they withdrew from further participation in the conference. It would seem these Russian gentlemen will only play when they can load the dice.

These Russian Federations openly regard themselves as the only simon-pure "Bolsheviks" in the world—not even excluding Russia. Yet they broke from the Conference on a question not of principle but one of clique control. Yet they united with Michigan, a purely political parliamentary non-Bolshevik organization, disbelieving in industrial unionism, industrial organization of working class political power and in mass action. All through July the Federations were maligning the Left Wing Council as centrists, as a fetid swamp. Meanwhile, the council was maligning Michigan as parliamentary and non-Bolsheviks and both Michigan and the Federations as petty political intriguers.

The National Council was elected under carefully drawn instructions which made it an administrative, ministerial body and in no sense an Executive Committee with power to act on questions of policy. Those instructions were to organize to capture the S. P. at the Emergency Convention, and, failing that, afterwards to organize a Communist Party. The Council advertised for money to carry on that work. And in August, the Council publicly renounced the struggle to control the S. P. and joined with Michigan and the Federations in calling the Communist Convention. In so doing it violated its instructions and exceeded its authority and if any unexpended funds so se-

cured by advertisement were expended in the Council's new venture, these funds were misapplied.

That is the Communist Party: a faction of non-Bolsheviks, parliamentarians; a faction, the "only real Bolsheviks," systematically seeking clique control by undemocratic methods; the Left Wing Council, violators of instructions and betrayers of the Left Wing Movement, the whole crowd petty political intriguers without principle, seeking simply power and the control of organization expenditure.

The first thing the Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Convention did was to appoint a committee of five to meet the Organization Committee of the Communist Party and later a like committee of the Communist convention for the purpose of seeking unity. Bound by the call of their convention—this time they wanted to be—the Communists could only admit delegates on a very narrow basis, which many of the Left Wing delegates, though elected by a referendum of their states, could not fulfill. The "Communists" would examine our roster of delegates and admit them as individuals whenever proper—just like Germer et al. Their communications cheerfully admitted that they were always and perfectly right, that they alone knew anything, especially of Communist principles and tactics. Their game was perfectly simple and perfectly apparent. They would have been only too glad to secure a considerable number of Communist Labor Party delegates to camouflage their gang controlled convention with the semblance of being representative. But on no terms nor whatever be the cost—even to the splitting of American Communist elements would they for one moment peril their control. So with a standing invitation for unity—not only to the Communists but to all other class-conscious, revolutionary working class bodies, the Communist Labor Party left that branch of their work. And rest assured, if unity comes, it will come because self-seeking politicians and their power of control have been eliminated.

I would be glad to represent the Communist Labor Party Convention as perfect. It was far from that. Often the longest way round through interminable debate was the shortest way out for it. Often it made mistakes, some of them glaring mistakes such as, for instance, when, having adopted a Communist platform, it elected an executive committee with a large non-Communist element upon it and had to go back and elect all over again. But, like all bodies controlled by the rank and file, no matter how inefficient, how ignorant, unwise or mistaken they seem to be, the C. L. P. got to the right end at last. We had

our disagreements, our personalities, our underhand attempts by parliamentary tricks to make the convention do something it didn't believe in and would be sorry for.

There was at least one delegate—he actually got on the committee on International relations—who doubted the wisdom of affiliating with the Third International. He was also one of another and much larger group who made a fight against the Report of the Committee on Program and Labor and who actually succeeded in postponing action on that report until a committee on platform had reported, as instructed, a “terse,” short platform in simple language suited to the worker and the platform had been acted on. This platform was so terse as to quite omit the Communist idea of political action and the necessity for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to overthrow Capitalist power and accomplish the Socialist transformation of society. Many of the delegates were none too clear on the distinction between parliamentarianism and revolutionary political action. The convention spent nearly half a day in debate. Those trying for a terseness so extreme as to cloud the issue, were both vociferous and adroit, but in the end the Convention, by an overwhelming vote, amended the platform with a clear cut, uncompromising statement of Communist principles and tactics. The politicians subsided or went home, and the Report of the Committee on Program and Labor quickly and quietly went through subject to the careful consideration it merited. The report was based on the Left-Wing Program and Manifesto, improved both by the Committee and the Convention. Shortly, it will speak for itself to the workers of America.

I may be wrong in my opinion that the C. L. P. convention did good work. I may be wrong in my feeling that that party is the only one in America where the working class of America—the rank and file, can get a run for their money. But in this I am surely right: All this storm and stress in the Socialist or Communist—call it as you like—movement are nothing but labor pains. A new soul, a new life is coming into this world, the life and soul of the real revolutionary proletarian movement in America—a life and soul so strong and lusty that its first cry strikes terror to the heart of our ruling class.

Concerning the Jewish Question

Two Reviews by KARL MARX

1. *The Jewish Question.* By Bruno Bauer, Braunschweig, 1843. 2. *The Capability of present-day Jews and Christians to become free.* Twenty-one leaflets from Switzerland. Edited by George Herwegh. Zurich and Winterthur, 1843, p. 56-71.

I.

The German Jews are demanding emancipation. What sort of emancipation do they desire? Civic, political emancipation!

Bruno Bauer replies to them as follows: Nobody in Germany is politically emancipated. We ourselves are not free; how shall we free you? You Jews are egoistic in demanding special emancipation for yourselves as Jews. You should work as Germans for the political emancipation of Germany, as men for the emancipation of mankind, and regard the particular form of oppression and insult to which you are subjected not as an exception to the rule but rather as a confirmation of the rule.

Or do the Jews demand equal footing with the Christian subjects of the state? If they do, they thereby justify the existence of the Christian state, they acknowledge the rule of general subjugation. Why do they chafe under their own specific yoke if they find the general yoke acceptable? Why should the German be interested in the emancipation of the Jew if the Jew is not interested in the emancipation of the German?

The Christian state knows only privilege. In this state the Jew possesses the privilege of being a Jew. As a Jew he has rights which the Christians do not possess. Why does he desire rights which the Christians enjoy and which he does not have.

In demanding emancipation from the Christian state, the Jew expects the Christian state to give up its religious prejudice. Does he give up his own religious prejudice? Has he therefore the right to demand of another this abdication of religion?

The Christian state from its very nature cannot emancipate the Jew; and, adds Bauer, the Jew from his very nature is incapable of emancipation. As long as the state is Christian and the Jew Jewish, they are both as incapable of bestowing emancipation as they are of receiving it.

The Christian state can be related to the Jew only in the manner of the Christian state, that is, in the manner of privilege, permitting the segregation of the Jew from the remaining subjects, but at the same time making him feel the pressure of the other segregated spheres, and the more acutely so, since he stands in contradiction to the dominating religion. On the other hand, the relation of the Jew to the state can be only a Jewish one, that is, the relation of a stranger, asserting his chimerical nationality in the face of his real nationality, his illusory law in the face of the real law, deeming himself entitled to segregation from the rest of humanity, consistently taking no part in the historical process, awaiting a future which has nothing in common with the general future of man, regarding himself as a member of the Jewish race and the Jewish race as the chosen people.

On what account then do you Jews demand emancipation? Because of your religion? It is the mortal enemy of the state religion. As citizens? There are no citizens in Germany. As human beings? You are not human beings, any more than those to whom you appeal.

Bauer has formulated the question of Jewish emancipation anew after giving a criticism of previous stands and previous solutions of the question. What, he asks, is the nature of the Jew who is to be emancipated, of the Christian state which is to emancipate him? He answers by a criticism of the Jewish religion, analyzing the religious contradiction between Judaism and Christianity, giving information about the nature of the Christian state, all this with boldness, keenness, intelligence, and thoroughness, in a style that is as precise as it is pithy and energetic.

How, then, does Bauer solve the Jewish question? What is the result? The formulation of a question is its solution. The criticism of the Jewish question is the answer to the Jewish question. Briefly, it is this: We must emancipate ourselves before we can emancipate others.

The most obstinate difference between the Jew and the Christian is the religious difference. How can a difference be neutralized? By making it impossible. How is a religious difference made impossible? By doing away with religion. As soon as Jew and Christian come to regard their respective religions merely as different stages of development of the human spirit, as so many snake-skins which history has shed, Man being the snake which has molted in them, they will no longer stand in a religious but only a critical, scientific, in a human relation to

one another. Science is then their unity. For contradictions in science are resolved by science itself.

The German Jew in particular is confronted by the absence of general political emancipation and by the pronounced Christianity of the state. In the sense of Bauer, however, the Jewish question possesses a general importance apart from the specifically German conditions. It is the problem of the relation of religion to the state, the contradiction of religious prejudice and political emancipation. Emancipation from religion is made a condition—for the Jew who desires political emancipation, as well as for the state which desires to emancipate and to be itself emancipated.

Very well, it is said, and the Jew says it himself, then the Jew shall not be emancipated as a Jew, not because of his Judaism, not because he possesses such an excellent universal principle of mortality, on the contrary the Jew will yield to the citizen, and be a citizen despite the fact that he is a Jew and will (wishes to) remain a Jew—which really means, he is and remains a Jew despite the fact that he is a citizen living under universally human conditions; his Jewish and limited self ever takes final precedence over his human and political obligations. The prejudice is retained although transcended by general considerations. But if it remains it is more certain to itself transcend everything else in the end. "Only sophistically, that is, only to outward appearances, could the Jew remain a Jew in national life; so that, if he desired to remain a Jew, mere outwards appearances would be made the essential—the dominating principle—which means that his life in the state would be only a form, or a momentary exception to the real essential and the rule." (*The Capability of present-day Jews and Christians to become free. Twenty-one Leaflets, p. 57.*)

Let us see on the other hand what Bauer considers to be the duty of the state: "France," we read, "has recently (proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies, December 26, 1840), given us with regard to the Jewish question, as always in political questions, an insight into a life which is free but which revokes its liberty through its laws (in other words, admits this liberty to be a delusion) and, on the other hand, nullifies its free laws through the acts of its government." (Jewish question, p. 64.) "Complete freedom is not yet law in France, the Jewish question likewise is not yet solved, because freedom under the law—meaning that all citizens are equal—is circumscribed in actual life, which is still governed by religious privi-

lege, and because this restraint in life reacts upon the law, compelling it to sanction the discrimination between the oppressed and an oppressing class of citizens, who, as such are presumably *all free*." (P. 65.)

When, then, would the Jewish question be solved for France?

"The Jew, for example, must inevitably cease to be a Jew, did he not permit his law to interfere with his duties to the state and to his fellow citizens, if, for instance, he should go to the Chamber of Deputies on a Sabbath and take part in public sessions. In fact, every religious privilege, including therefore the monopoly of a privileged church, would have to be abolished; and if a few, or a larger number, or even the majority should still feel constrained to fulfill certain religious duties, this observance would have to be left to them individually as a purely personal matter." (p. 65.) "There is no more religion if there is no more privileged religion. Take away from religion its power of exclusion, and it ceases to exist." (p. 66). "Just as M. Martin du Nord saw in the proposal to omit mention of Sunday in the law, a declaration that Christianity had ceased to exist, just as logically would the declaration that the Sabbath-law contained no more obligations for the Jew stand for the proclamation of the dissolution of Judaism." (p. 71).

Bauer therefore asks, on the one hand, that the Jew relinquish Judaism, that, in fact, man relinquish religion altogether, in order that he may be granted civic emancipation. On the other hand, he deduces, that doing away with religion by political means is equivalent to simply doing away with religion altogether. The state which presupposes the pressure of religion is not yet a true, a real state. "To be sure, the religious conception of life gives the state certain guarantees. But what state? What sort of state?" (p. 97).

At this point Bauer's one-sided conception of the Jewish question becomes evident.

It would by no means be sufficient to question: Who shall emancipate? Who shall become emancipated? The critic has yet a third task. He must ask: What sort of emancipation is under consideration? What conditions are essentially contained in the demanded emancipation? It was the criticism of the larger question of political emancipation that finally absorbed the criticism of the Jewish question and actually merged it into the "general problem of the age."

Since Bauer does not raise the question to this level he falls into various contradictions. He stipulates conditions which are not based upon the nature of political emancipation itself. He brings up questions which are no part of his problem and he solves problems which leave his question unsettled. When Bauer says of the opponents of Jewish freedom, "Their error was only that they presupposed the Christian state as the only true state and did not subject it to the same criticism with which they regarded Judaism" (p. 3), we find Bauer's error in the fact that he subjects only the "Christian state" and not simply "the state" to criticism, that he does not examine the relation of political emancipation to human emancipation and therefore stipulates conditions which can be explained only by an uncritical confusion of political emancipation with general human emancipation. When Bauer asks the Jews, "Have you from your standpoint the right to demand political emancipation?" we ask on the contrary, "Has anyone from the standpoint of political emancipation the right to demand of the Jew the abolition of Judaism, or for that matter, of mankind in general the abolition of religion?"

The Jewish question takes on various aspects according to the state in which the Jew exists. In Germany where there is no political state, no state as such, the Jewish question is a purely theological question. The Jew finds himself in religious opposition to the state, which acknowledges Christianity as its foundation. This state represents theology ex-professo. Criticism here is criticism of theology, double-edged criticism, criticism of Christian theology and criticism of Jewish theology. But all the time we are still concerned with theology, regardless to what extent our interest is critical.

In France, the constitutional state, the Jewish question is the question of constitutionalism, the question of the incompleteness of political emancipation. Since here the semblance of a state religion is retained (even though in an empty and inconsistent formula, the formula of a religion of the majority), the relation of the Jew to the state continues to bear the aspect of religious, theological opposition.

Only in the North American republics—at least in a part of them—the Jewish question loses its theological significance and becomes a really secular question. Only where the political state exists in its full development can the relation of the Jew—of the religious person in general—to the political state, that is to say the relation of religion to the state, stand out clearly in all

its peculiarity. The criticism of this relation ceases to be theological criticism as soon as the state ceases to take a theological attitude toward religion, as soon as it assumes the attitude of the state, that is, a political attitude, toward religion. This criticism then becomes criticism of the political state. At this point, where the question ceases to be theological, Bauer's criticism ceases to be critical. "*Il n' existe aux Etats-Unis ni religion de l' etat, ni religion declaree celle de la majorite, ne pre-eminence d'un culte nur un antre. L' etat est estranger a tous les cultes.*" (*Marie ou l' esclavage aux Etats Unis, etc., par G. de Beaumont, Paris, 1835, p. 214.*) There are even some North American states in which "*la constitution n' impose pas les croyances religieuses et la pratique d'un culte comme condition des privileges solitiques*" (*l. c. p. 225*). Nevertheless "*on ne croit pas aux Etas-Unis qu'un homme sans religion puisse etre un honnete homme*" (*l. c. p. 224*). Nevertheless, America is by preference the land of religiosity, as Beaumont, Tocqueville, and the Englishman Hamilton assure us with one accord. However, the North American states interest us only as an illustration. The question is, what is the relation of complete political emancipation to religion? If we find even in the land of complete political emancipation not only the existence but the strong and thriving existence of religion, that is proof that the presence of religion is not incompatible with the perfection of the state. But since the existence of religion connotes the existence of a failing, the source of this failing must be sought in the nature of the state itself. Religion no longer appears to us as the cause but merely as the expression of secular prejudice. We therefore explain the religious prepossession of the free citizen through his secular prepossession. We do not maintain that men must give up their religious bias in order to do away with their secular prejudice. We maintain that they will put aside their religious bias as soon as they put aside their secular prejudice. We do not transform the secular questions into theological ones. We transform the theological questions into secular ones. Since history has been long enough merged in superstition, we are merging superstition in history. The question of the relation of political emancipation to religion becomes for us the question of the relation of political emancipation to human emancipation. We criticize the religious weakness of the political state by criticizing the political state, aside from its religious failings, in the light of its secular construction. The contradiction between the state and a certain religion, say Judaism, we convert into a human problem—the contradiction between the state and certain secular elements, between the state and religion as a

whole, the contradiction between the state and all of its basic assumptions.

The political emancipation of the Jew, of the Christian, of men in general as followers of religion, implies the emancipation of the state from Judaism, from Christianity, from all religion. In its own form, in the manner peculiar to its nature, as a state, the state emancipates itself from religion by emancipating itself from state religion, that is, by professing no religion as a state but rather professing itself as a state. Political emancipation from religion is not the complete, the non-contradictory emancipation from religion, because political emancipation is not the complete, the non-contradictory mode of human emancipation.

The limits of political emancipation are at once apparent when we consider that a state may free itself from a restraint without the individual really becoming free from it, that the state may be a free state and the individual still not be a free man. Bauer himself tacitly admits this when he makes political emancipation dependent upon the following principle: "Every religious privilege, including therefore the monopoly of a privileged church, would have to be abolished; and if a few, or a larger number, or even the majority should still feel constrained to fulfill certain religious obligations, this observance would have to be left to them individually as a purely personal matter." Thus the state may have emancipated itself from religion while the great majority is still religious. And the great majority does not cease being religious by being religious privately.

But the attitude of the state toward religion, particularly the attitude of the free state, is in reality only the attitude of the people comprising the state toward religion. Hence it follows that the individual frees himself from a restraint through the medium of the state, politically frees himself, by raising or partially above this restraint. Furthermore, it follows that himself in a self-contradictory, in an abstract and limited manner freeing himself politically the individual frees himself indirectly, through a medium, even though a necessary medium. Finally it follows that the individual, even if, through the medium of the state, he proclaims himself an Atheist, which is as much as to say if he proclaims the state atheistical, still retains the religious bias, for the very reason that only indirectly, only through a medium does he acknowledge himself. For religion is simply the recognition of the individual indirectly, through a mediator. The state is the mediator between men and the free-

dom of men. Just as Christ is the mediator upon whom men impose the whole burden of their religious prepossession, so the state is the mediator that is made to bear all their irreligion, all their human freedom from bias.

The political exaltation of men above religion partakes of all the failings and all the advantages of political exaltation in general. The state as a state for example annuls private ownership, and men by political means declare private ownership void, as soon as they abolish the property qualification for suffrage—as has happened in many North American states. Hamilton interprets this fact from the political point of view quite correctly when he says, "The great mass of people has triumphed over the property owners and over wealth." Is not private ownership ideally abolished when the unpropertied man has become the law-giver of the propertied man? The property qualification is the last political form of recognizing private ownership.

Yet with the political annulment of private ownership, private ownership is not only not abolished but even presupposed. The state does away with the differences of birth, rank, education, occupation in a way by declaring them to be unpolitical differences, by proclaiming every member of the people an equal participant in the popular sovereignty, by treating all elements of the real national life from the state point of view. Nevertheless the state allows private ownership, education, occupation to work in their way, that is, as private ownership, as education, as occupation, and to assert their particular character. Far from abolishing these actual differences, it rather exists only by presupposing them, regards itself as the political state and asserts its general function only in opposition to these its elements. Hegel determines the relation of the political state to religion quite correctly, therefore, when he says: "In order that the state as the self-conscious ethical reality of the spirit may come into being, it is necessary to differentiate it from the form of authority and of faith; but this differentiation is evident only in so far as this formal side—organized religion—accomplishes a separation within itself; only in this way, by subordinating the different churches, has the state attained universality of thought, which is the principle of its form, and brought it into existence. (Hegel's *Philosophy of Law*, 2nd ed., p. 346.)" True! Only in this way, over its different elements, does the state constitute itself as a universal, all-transcending institution.

The perfected political state represents by nature the generic life of man, (that is, the wider life of the human race,

of humanity) in opposition to and transcending his material life. All the institutions implied under the latter, egoistic life persist outside the sphere of the state in bourgeois society*, but as characteristics of bourgeois society. Wherever the political state has attained its true development, man, not alone mentally, in his consciousness, but in reality, in actual life, leads a double existence, an ethereal and a mundane life, the life of the political community, in which he regards himself as a community being, and the life of bourgeois society, in which he moves and acts as a private person, regarding the rest of the people as means to an end and in turn degrading himself to a mean and becoming a pawn in the game of strange forces. The political state stands in as spiritual a relation to bourgeois society as heaven to earth. It is opposed to this society in the same way, overcomes it in the same way as religion is respectively related to the prepossessions of the profane world, that is, by likewise being compelled to recognize the institution it is supposed to transcend, build it up, and permit itself to be dominated by it in turn. Man in his immediate real surroundings, in bourgeois society, is a profane being. Here, where he regards himself and is regarded as a real individual, he is a true phenomenon. In the state, on the other hand, where man is regarded as a generic being, he is the imaginary member of an imagined sovereignty, he is robbed of his real individual life and filled with an unreal universality.

The conflict in which man as the adherent of a particular religion finds himself with his civic life, with his fellows as members of the community, reduces itself to the secular separation between the political state and bourgeois society. For man as a bourgeois "his life in the state is a mere form, or a momentary exception to the real essential and the rule." It is true, the bourgeois, like the Jew, only sophistically maintains a place in the life of the state, just as the citizen only sophistically remains a Jew or a bourgeois, but this sophistry is not personal. It is the sophistry of the political state itself. The difference of religious man and man the citizen is the difference of the merchant and the citizen, of the day-laborer and the citizen, of the landholder and the citizen, of the active individual and the citizen. The contradiction which exists between man's religious self and his political self is the same contradiction ex-

* The expression "bourgeois" throughout this article refers simply to man in the sphere of his traditionally "private" activity as opposed to his traditionally "public," i.e., political life, and does not here connote a critical characterization of the entire present system of society.

isting between the bourgeois and the citizen, between the member of bourgeois society and his political lion-skin.

This contradiction of secular life to which the Jewish question eventually reduces itself, the relation of the political state to its fundamentals (whether these be only material elements, such as private ownership, etc., or intellectual ones, like education and religion), the contradiction between the general good and private interest, the division between the political state and bourgeois society, these secular antitheses Bauer allows to persist, while he directs his attack upon their religious expression. "The very foundation of bourgeois society, the end which insures its existence and guarantees its essentiality, exposes its existence to constant dangers, maintaining within that society an uncertain element and producing that constantly changing mixture of poverty and wealth, want and prosperity, in fact, all changes in general" (p. 8).

Compare the entire section headed "Bourgeois Society" p. 8-9, which follows the outlines of the Hegelian philosophy of law. Bourgeois society in its opposition to the political state is recognized as necessary because the political state is recognized as necessary.

Political emancipation is certainly a great step in advance; it is not, to be sure, the last form of human emancipation altogether, but it is the last form of human emancipation within our traditional world-order. It is understood of course that we are here speaking of real, practical emancipation.

Man emancipates himself politically from religion by relegating it from public to private jurisdiction. Religion is no longer the spirit of the state, in which man—even though within narrow limits, under a particular form and in a particular sphere—conducts himself as a generic being, in communion with others; it has become the spirit of bourgeois society, of the sphere of egoism, of the bellum omnium contra omnes. It is no longer the essence of communion, it is the essence of discrimination. It has come to be the expression of the separation of man from his communal existence, from himself and his fellows—as it was originally. It is now only the abstract confession of individual perverseness, of personal caprice, of arbitrariness. The infinite dismemberment of religion in North America, for example, gives it even superficially the aspects of a purely individual affair. It is degraded to the mass of private interests and exiled from the community life as such. But we should have no illusions about the limits of political emancipa-

tion. The division of man into a public and a private being, the dislocation of religion from the state to bourgeois society, this is not a step, it is the complete extent of political emancipation, which is therefore as little destined to abolish the actual religiosity of man as it is desirous of doing so.

The analysis of man into the Jew and the citizen, the protestant and the citizen, the religious believer and the citizen, this analysis is not a fraud upon citizenship, it is not a circumvention of political emancipation, it is political emancipation itself, it is the political manner of effecting the emancipation from religion. Granted, that at times of the violent birth of the political state out of a bourgeois society, when human self-liberation strives to come about by the method of political self-liberation, the state can and must proceed to the abolition of religion, to the annihilation of religion, but only as it proceeds to the abolition of private ownership, to the maximum, to confiscation, to the progressive tax, as it proceeds to the repudiation of life, to the guillotine. In moments of particular consciousness of strength the political life seeks to crush its foundation—bourgeois society and its elements—and to constitute itself as the real, non-contradictory generic life of man. This, however, it is able to do only through violent contradiction of its own conditions of life, only by declaring the Revolution as permanent—hence the political drama just as inevitably ends in the re-establishment of religion, of private ownership, of all the elements of bourgeois society, as war ends in peace.

Indeed, not the so-called Christian state, which professes Christianity as its foundation, as the state religion, and hence maintains an attitude of exclusion toward other religions, is the consummate Christian state, but rather the atheistic state, the democratic state, the state that assigns to religion a place among the other elements of bourgeois society. The state which is still steeped in theology, which still officially confesses the Christian faith, which does not yet dare to proclaim itself as a state, that state simply has not yet succeeded in expressing in secular, human form, in its reality as a state, the human basis of which Christianity is the transcendent expression. The so-called Christian state is simply the non-state, for not Christianity as a religion but only the human background of the Christian religion is capable of materializing itself in the shape of real human creations.

The so-called Christian state is the Christian negation of the state and by no means the fulfillment of Christianity in the form of the state. The state which still professes Christianity

in the form of religion does not yet profess it in the form of the state, for it still takes a religious attitude toward religion, that is, it is not the real fulfillment of the human basis of religion, because it still hinges upon immorality, upon the abstract form of this human grain. The so-called Christian state is the imperfect state and the Christian religion serves to eke out and sanctify its defectiveness. It therefore necessarily makes of religion a means, and so it is a state of hypocrisy. It makes a great difference whether the perfect state counts religion among its underlying factors because of the deficiency which lies in the general nature of the state, or whether the imperfect state declares religion for its basis because of the deficiency which lies in its peculiar make-up as a deficient state. In the latter case religion becomes the bearer of a deficient policy. In the former case the deficiency of even a consummated policy asserts itself in religion. The so-called Christian state requires the Christian religion in order to round itself out as a state. The democratic state, the real state, does not require religion for its political consummation. On the contrary, it is capable of drawing upon religion because in the democratic state the human basis of religion is fulfilled in a secular form. The so-called Christian state on the other hand takes a political attitude toward religion and a religious attitude toward politics. If it reduces the functions of the state to a pretense it equally reduces religion to a pretense.

The Twilight of Leadership

By A. BILAN

History is made by heroes, and the leaders are the dynamic forces of social development. That is the assertion of present-day bourgeois ideologists and scholars. In their eyes the masses are but the instrument that transforms the ideas of the leaders into action. According to their conception the people live peacefully, as satisfied, law-abiding citizens, respecting all laws and orders of their natural leaders until undesirable elements create distrust, dissatisfaction and unrest among the masses. Therefore in order to restore normal conditions these undesirable leaders must be separated from the masses, and all unrest, strikes and revolt will cease.

This is the theoretical foundation of capitalist social philosophy, and on the basis of this philosophy they are justifying

their persecution of radical labor leaders, and their imprisonment to save society from "unwise" action of the masses.

An analysis of this theory in its historical development will show that this belief in the right of the capitalist class to be the leader of the masses by heritage has a distinct economic basis. Under the system of ancient slavery the slaveholder did the thinking for the slave. He was the organizer of production, he marketed the produced goods, in short the slave-owner gave the orders and they were obeyed by the slave, because their existence depended upon his will.

The development of the trades in cities during the middle-ages created a new class independent of a superior class, resting upon their own economic interests. Their interests aroused a new spirit in the masses. The relations of the people to their feudal lords underwent a change, the latter were overwhelmed first in the economic field and then on the field of battle. The leadership of the feudal class was broken and replaced by that of the new class. This process reached its climax in the French Revolution. Down through the history of the ages, new social forces have always been combated by the old order; the dying class has always had to become the suppressor of new thought in order to safeguard its own existence.

Our capitalist class, whose power rests upon its ownership of the means of production, thinks in the same terms. In the mad competition between individuals they fail to see the social forces that stand behind the modern social system, driving them onward to the end of their leadership.

Economic conditions are forcing them to combine, are destroying their individuality, are depriving them of their leadership. Capitalist development has produced a working class whose interests are driving them, as yet unconsciously, to united action. Individual leaders, foreseeing what the masses as yet only dimly perceive, can for a time assume leadership; but the development itself is inevitable, beyond the power of leaders, be they never so influential, to create or to stop. The work of the leader in this movement of the working-class is limited to hastening or hindering this process; in no wise can they either create or prevent inevitable changes in society. The bourgeois conception of the part that the leader plays in the modern labor movement is therefore completely at variance with historical facts. When economic pressure becomes strong enough to awaken the class interests of the masses, no power on earth can stop the movement of the oncoming tide.

Bourgeois history, its art and its literature tell us at every turn that the development of the social system is the work of great minds. Small wonder, then, that they seek to place the responsibility for the rising spirit of unrest that is urging on the working class upon the heads of its leaders, that the elimination of these leaders therefore will put an end to matters. In their eyes the capitalist class alone is ordained to assume leadership, they cannot understand that a new class is rising to power and that its power lies in the economic necessity of this class for the continuation of organized society, just as the capitalist grew up out of the middle class under feudalism because new methods of production demanded its existence. Nor can they grasp that the power of this new class lies not in its individuals but in its solidarity, that for this reason all capitalist attacks directed against individuals are futile.

Look at the revolutions in Europe; look at the increasing number and bitterness of strikes in America. Eliminate the leaders, and yet the masses will act in the same way. Give them misleaders, of the type of Gompers, and they will eventually pass over the heads of such leaders in response to the urge of their class interests.

The international situation is driving the working-class to international solidarity, to united action. Economic conditions are forcing it to adopt the revolutionary methods of the class struggle. It is aligning itself gradually with the form of organization that will respond with the most effective resistance against the opposing forces. The work of the leaders is simply the formulation and expression of these desires in concrete form. And to this extent alone can they help or retard the movement of the working-class. No prison-bars can stop the onward march of the iron battalions toward their goal. No false leaders can lead them astray, once they have realized the power that is theirs. The old theories of the leaders of the human race are shattered. The twilight of the leaders has come. The new world belongs to the working-class, the only possessor of the life of the future.

The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution

By N. LENIN

From among the revolutionary social-democrats in Holland, Scandinavia, and Switzerland who fought against the lie of the social chauvinists about "defense" in this imperialistic war, voices are heard favoring the substitution of "disarmament" for the old term "militia" or "citizen-army" of the Erfurt-program. It is our intention to scrutinize the argument upheld by the supporters of disarmament.

Their basic argument is that the demand for disarmament is the clearest, most determined, and effective expression of the struggle against all militarism and every war. But in just this argument lies the fundamental error of the supporters of disarmament. Socialists cannot be opposed to every war without ceasing to be Socialists.

In the first place, Socialists never were, and never can be opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the big imperialistic powers has become reactionary through and through, and we consider the present war, waged by this same bourgeoisie, to be a reactionary, enslaving, and criminal war.

But now, what about a war against this bourgeoisie? For instance, a war on the part of those peoples oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie, or a war for independence on the part of their colonies? In the program of the group "Internationale," we read: "In this era of reckless imperialism national wars can no longer occur." Obviously, this is not true. The history of the twentieth century, a century of "reckless imperialism," abounds in colonial wars. But what we Europeans (who are the imperialistic oppressors of the majority of the peoples of the world), with that base chauvinism so characteristic of us, call "colonial wars" are often national wars or national rebellions on the part of the oppressed peoples.

It is one of the most fundamental characteristics of imperialism to hasten the development of capitalism in the backward countries and thus spread and intensify the struggle against national suppression. Junius, in the defense of the previously mentioned "program," maintains in his pamphlet that in the imperialistic epoch every national war against one of the im-

perialistic powers would result in the participation of a second imperialistic power in competition with the first, and that thus every national war is changed into an imperialistic war. But this argument also is not true. It may be true, but it is not always true. Several of the colonial wars between 1900 and 1914 did not follow this course. It would be ridiculous to say that, when the present war ends with the complete exhaustion of the fighting nations, there can be "no" national, progressive and revolutionary war against the great powers, say on the part of China, in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc. All denial of the possibility of national wars under imperialism is theoretically untrue, historically incorrect, and practically it is European chauvinism. We who belong to the nations oppressing hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., we explain to the oppressed peoples that their war against "our" nations is impossible!

In the second place, civil wars, too, are wars. Whoever accepts the class struggle must also accept civil wars, which represent a natural, at times unavoidable, continuation, development, and intensification, of the class struggle. All great revolutions prove this. To deny or to disregard civil wars would mean to turn to extreme opportunism and to abandon the idea of socialistic revolution.

In the third place, socialism, victorious in one country, does in no way thereby exclude all wars as such. On the contrary, it presupposes them. The development of capitalism in the various countries proceeds very unequally. It cannot be different in the age of industrialism. Hence it unavoidably follows that socialism cannot be victorious in all countries simultaneously. It first will gain control in one or several countries, the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This will not only produce friction, but will lead, moreover, to direct efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to destroy the victorious proletariat of the socialistic state. In such a case war on our part would be legitimate and just; it would be a war for socialism, for the freeing of other peoples from the bourgeoisie.

Engels in his letter to Kautsky, of December 12, 1882, was quite right when he unreservedly acknowledged the possibility of wars of defense on the part of already victorious socialism. By that he meant the defense of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries. Not until we have overthrown the bourgeoisie in all countries, conquered and expropriated them, will wars be impossible.

It is scientifically incorrect, and not at all revolutionary, for us to avoid and to conceal the most important thing, that which will prove the most difficult in the transition to socialism, namely, the overthrow of the bourgeois opposition. The "social" clergy and the opportunists are always ready to dream of peaceful socialism in the future, but they differ from the revolutionary social-democrats in this particular: they dodge all thoughts of bitter class struggles and class wars as well as all other real efforts to realize this beautiful future.

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by words. For example, the idea of "defense" is hateful to many, because it serves the outspoken opportunists and the "Kautskians" to cover up the lie of the bourgeoisie in the present war of aggression. This is true. But it need not lead us to disregard the importance of political slogans. To accept the "defense" idea in the present war would mean to consider it a just war serving the interests of the proletariat. That and nothing else! For, after all, every war may bring invasions. On the other hand it would be foolish not to recognize the idea of defense on the part of oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialistic powers, or of the victorious proletariat in its struggle against some Gallifet of a bourgeois country.

Theoretically it would be altogether wrong to overlook the fact that every war is but a continuation of politics with changed methods. The present capitalistic war is the continuation of the imperialistic policies of two groups of world powers, policies which were created and nourished by the sum total of conditions of the imperialistic epoch.

However, this same epoch must of necessity give rise to the policies of war against national oppression and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Thus we see the possibility and unavoidability first, of revolutions and national wars, second, of wars and uprisings of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and third, of a combination of these two types of revolutionary wars.

There still remains another general question to be considered. An oppressed class which does not strive to be familiar with, to wield, and to possess arms deserves to be oppressed, maltreated, and enslaved. If we do not wish to degrade ourselves to bourgeois pacifists and opportunists, we must not forget that we are living in a class-society from which there is no possible or thinkable escape except through class wars.

In every class society, whether it rest upon slavery, serf-

dom, or, as today, upon wage slavery, the oppressing class is always armed. Not only the standing army of today, but also the militia of today, not excluding that of Switzerland, is armament of the bourgeoisie directed against the proletariat. Surely, it is not necessary to prove this elementary fact. It may suffice to point to the immediate call for troops in capitalistic countries during strikes. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the biggest and most important realities of present capitalistic society.

In the face of this fact can anyone except the revolutionary social-democrats put forward demands for "disarmament!" That would mean complete abandonment of the inherent idea of the class struggle and of all the thoughts of the Revolution. We say: Arming of the proletariat for the purpose of conquering, expropriating, and disarming the bourgeoisie—these are the only possible tactics of the revolutionary class, tactics which are being prepared for us, established, and taught us by the entire objective development of capitalistic militarism. Not until the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie can it discard its weapons without betraying its historic mission. It can do it then, but no sooner.

And if the present war creates among the "social" clergy and the sentimental middle class fear and terror, and hence abhorrence of the use of arms, we still must maintain that capitalistic society always was and always will be a terror without end. If as a result of such a reactionary war this very society perishes in terror, we have no cause to despair. All preaching and clamoring for, or rather dreaming of, disarmament can only be a sign of despair. And this at a time when the only legitimate and revolutionary war, the civil war against the imperialistic bourgeoisie, is being openly prepared by the bourgeoisie itself!

Whoever considers this a mere abstract theory, we should like to remind of two historical facts, namely, the position of the trusts and that of woman labor on the one hand, and the communes of 1871 and the events in December, 1915 in Russia on the other. It is the business of the bourgeoisie to promote the trusts, to drive women and children into factories, and then torture and corrupt them and to subject them to unspeakable misery. We cannot promote, we cannot even tolerate this practice; we must fight against it. But how do we fight? We openly proclaim that trusts and factory work for women are stages in the industrial advance. We do not wish to return to the handicraft stage, to pre-monopolistic capitalism, to house-

work for women. Forward, beyond the trusts and through them to Socialism!

The same holds true for the militarizing of the people. The imperialistic—and all other—bourgeoisie is now militarizing not only all manhood but also the youth. Tomorrow it may even militarize the women. Our answer is: All the better! Keep on! So much the sooner shall we have the armed uprising against capitalism. How could the social-democrats allow themselves to be frightened and cowed by the militarizing of the youth, with the example of the Communes before them. Surely, that is neither theory nor dream, but plain fact. It would indeed be hopeless, if the social-democrats despite all economic and political evidence should begin to doubt that the imperialistic epoch and the imperialistic wars must of necessity lead to a repetition of such events.

A bourgeois observer of the Commune wrote in an English paper on May, 1871: "If the French nation consisted only of women, what a terrible nation would that be!" During the commune the women as well as the children over 13 fought side by side with the men. It will not be different in future wars against the bourgeoisie. When the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot upon the poorly armed, or perhaps defenseless, proletariat, the proletarian women will not be willing to look on; as in 1871, they will again take up arms.

Out of the frightened and disheartened nation of today—or rather out of the labor movement, disorganized by the opportunists more than by the government—there will sooner or later arise an international alliance of "terrible nations" consisting of revolutionary proletariats.

At present, militarization penetrates all public life. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the great powers for a redistribution and redivision of the world, and therefore it must lead to further militarization even in the small and neutral countries.

What will the proletarian women do to prevent this? Merely denounce all wars and militarism? Merely demand disarmament? Never shall the women of an oppressed and revolutionary class resign themselves to so despicable a role. On the contrary, they will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will have a gun. Take it and learn how to use it—that is vital to the proletariat—not in order to fight your brothers, as is the practice in this war of plunder and the advice of the betrayers of socialism, but in order to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country; in order to put an end to misery and

wars, not by means of "kind wishes," but by overthrowing and disarming the bourgeoisie."

Whoever in view of this last war is not willing to carry out this demand, let him be good enough to refrain from uttering large words about the international revolutionary democracy, about the social revolution, and about the war against wars.

Rosa Luxemburg

Her fight against the German betrayers of International Socialism

By CLARA ZETKIN

Rosa Luxemburg's Junius pamphlet has its history and is itself a piece of history—thanks both to the circumstances under which it originated and to the life that emanates from it in a sparkling, glowing stream.

Rosa Luxemburg wrote the pamphlet in April, 1915. A few weeks before she had been forced to enter the "Royal Prussian Women's Prison," where she was to serve the year of imprisonment to which she had been sentenced by the Criminal Court of Frankfort a.m., for her courageous fight against militarism. In the fight, the sentence, and the sequel was gathered as in a nutshell what soon appeared, full grown, virile, unconcealed—Rosa Luxemburg's clear recognition of the imminent imperialistic tempest and the need of the hour for the proletariat to hurl itself against the onslaught with all the desperate energy of its protest; the courage and spirit of self-sacrifice with which she led the fight against the dangerous enemy in the name of International Socialism; the acute capitalistic class instinct, not to say the wakeful capitalistic class consciousness with which the bourgeois world so ruthlessly applied its instruments of power to protect imperialism and to which the historical evolution of society, with the rise of imperialism, had assigned new tasks and a greater significance for the existence of capitalism; the dishonorable surrender of the German Social-Democracy, or more correctly of its leadership, to militarism and imperialism.

In truth, at that time great masses of proletarians burned with eagerness to go into the fight against militarism and imperialism. If their class consciousness did not yet clearly rec-

ognize the mortal enemy, their healthy class feeling sensed, anticipated that enemy. As though illuminated by a searchlight, militarism in its historic form had become visible on their horizon, glaringly exposed by Rosa Luxemburg's condemnation and the reason for it—the conviction expressed by the courageous leader, that proletarians would not obey the command to raise the weapons of murder against their brothers of other nationalities. The rousing, fiery effect of the condemned words were intensified by the speech before the Frankfort Court, a classical document of political defense which in place of legal quibbling about "guilt," penalty, and degree of punishment, set up the fight for the scientifically firmly established ideal of International Socialism. A wave of spendid, determined fighting spirit rose out of the proletarian masses. It should have been the obvious task of Social-Democratic leaders, if they had the least political insight, to take advantage of this fighting spirit, to intensify it, in order to give militarism and imperialism a fight on a large scale, to give them a staggering blow. The Executive of the Social-Democracy showed once again clearly that it was not convinced of the truth and worth of the great strong bulwark of that consistent Marxian standpoint which affords a free outlook over situations and their obvious development and thus determines the correct basis of judgment, of will, and of action.

In the present situation it gave itself the certificate of weakness that it fell short of everything that makes for political leadership. It avoided the obvious, the natural, the necessary thing—to gather together the protest that was arising everywhere with elemental force against the judgment of the Frankfort Criminal Court, into a tremendous mass action against militarism and imperialism. The Party Executive went even further with its "Backward, backward, Don Rodrigo" to the proud vow of the Social-Democracy. It tried to dam up the current that had begun without its effort. And all this in the atmosphere of burning indignation not only about the Luxemburg case but also about the triumph of the sabre in the scandalous trial against the little lieutenant, Forstner-Zabern; about the sanguinary judgment of the Erfurt court-martial, which, treading on all that is human, banished proletarians to the prisons for years on account of mere bagatelles; about the numerous cases of terrible abuse of the soldiers that were to be brought to light out of the darkness of the drill-yards and the company rooms through an approaching second trial of Rosa Luxemburg—if recollection does not deceive, more than 30,000 mistreated men volunteered to act as witnesses.

But to be sure, by this time the Social-Democratic Party had already turned its misguided steps toward parliamentarism, it was fast becoming a bourgeois party, and its fear of mass action was already leading to its surrender to militarism and imperialism. It was the active and passive connivance of the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag, and through them the connivance of the Social-Democracy as a whole, that made it possible in 1913 for the tremendous bluff of the "Jubilee gift for the Peace Emperor, Wilhelm II" to go across the political stage successfully, that enabled the Government to prepare unhindered the imperialistic war stroke of 1914, with the army bill—the most gigantic increase of the army which up to that time had ever been demanded and granted—and the defense contribution of billions—the first war credit for the intended marauding expedition across the Balkans to Bagdad and other "places in the sun." The Party group in the Reichstag had made it easier for the bourgeois "opposition parties" to nod assent to the army bill, by having itself agreed to the separation of that bill from the general budget. It had given its blessing to the defense contribution and income tax bills as presumptive burdens upon the possessing classes. It had run after the delusive spectre of "modified finance" policies and had skipped the fight against the robust armored fellow called imperialism.

But the sins of commission and omission of the Party faction in the Reichstag had begun to determine the attitude of the entire Party, a few small, criticizing and dicking groups excepted. The Social-Democracy had not collected its forces for a stand against the brazen advance of imperialism greedy for power. Thus it created on the one hand the confident assurance of militarism and imperialism that there was no fear of opposition to their plans on the part of the proletarian masses, and on the other hand a paralyzing dullness in the masses themselves, even a slackening up in the face of danger. In short, the Social-Democracy allowed that atmosphere of war illusion to gather which in the summer of 1914 broke down all the political and moral opposition of the working classes against the crime of the war. Let us not forget that in the attitude of the Social-Democracy at that time, the policy of the "Marxist center" dominated, the policy which Karl Kantsky in our times praises up to the proletariat eagerly as the pre-requisite for its victory. Let us not forget, moreover, that it was this high priest of "pure Marxism" who with his extremely un-Marian tax theory built the ass's bridge over which the Reichstag faction had proceeded to accepting the defense contribution and income tax measures. Under the given conditions the Social-Democratic

Party Executive would have had to jump over its own shadow, if it desired to brace up and make use of the mass sentiment created by the Frankfurt decision for a serious fight against militarism and imperialism. In the events which forced Rose Luxemburg into prison during the latter half of February, 1914, the disgraceful bankruptcy of the German Social-Democracy on August 4, 1914, had cast its shadow before, but there was foreshadowed in them as well, the loyal, self-sacrificing fight of this inspired pioneer of Socialism against its internal decay.

Hardly had the acceptance of the war credit measure by the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag become known, than Rosa Luxemburg together with a few friends raised the flag of rebellion against this treason to the International, to Socialism. Two circumstances prevented this rebellion from at once becoming widely known. The fight was to begin with a protest against the vote in favor of the war credits by the Social-Democratic representatives, which would have to be so managed, however, that it would not be squashed by the tricks and wiles of the state of siege and the censorship. Besides this, and above all, it would certainly have been significant if the protest were from the start issued in the name of a goodly number of familiar Social-Democratic fighters. We therefore tried to put it into such a form that as many as possible of the leading comrades should declare their solidarity with its ideas who had uttered sharp, even absolutely destructive criticism on the policy of August 4th, in the Reichstag faction or within small groups. A consideration which cost much hard thinking, paper, letters, telegrams, and valuable time—and the result of which, despite all that, was nil. Of all the critics of the Social-Democratic majority who had expressed themselves in vigorous speech, only Karl Liebknecht dared, together with Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and me to defy the idol of Party discipline upon whose altars were sacrificed character and convictions.

Rosa Luxemburg had nearly completed the first number of the magazine "Internationale," when she was made to begin her prison sentence on the eve of a trip to Holland which we had intended to take together to prepare the way for the projected International Conference of Socialist Women and in general to bind more strongly the ties of international relations and to encourage the attempts to combine internationally the men and women comrades who were still true to their principles. Now, instead of speeding to the Dutch border with her, I had to visit Rosa in the Barnim Strasse prison. The unexpectedly sudden execution of the sentence had crashed like a thunderbolt into our immediate fighting plans. Nevertheless barely two

months later the Junius pamphlet was finished. Rosa Luxemburg did not allow her imprisonment to be a "breathing spell" for the enemy. They would not let her fight. With stubborn courage she replied to the power attacking her, "Very well, now I'll fight all the more!" Her indomitable will converted the place of severest restraint into a site of spiritual liberty. Writing of a political nature was strictly forbidden her. Secretly, under the greatest difficulties, narrowly watched by spying eyes, outside of the permissible occupation with literary and scientific work, she wrote her grand, penetrating final reckoning with the Social-Democracy, using every minute of time, every spark of light for the purpose. Weariness, illness disappeared before the force of the inner voice. That voice helped her to bear the most disconcerting, the most tormenting part of it all—that innumerable times she was wrested out of her train of thought, that she was never sure that she might not be caught at her task and prevented from completing it. It was a relief from the most tyrannical spiritual pressure when at last she was able to put the last stroke to her manuscript and, crafty as Odysseus, to send the last pages out of prison walls by the hand of loyal friendship.

Outside the doors of the women's prison lay the heavy atmosphere of the World War, reeking with destruction, commingled with the rotten odors of the unbridled passion of profit and usury of the respectable parasites and defenders of the bourgeois order; raged the "will to victory," artificially inflamed and fanned to a white heat with all the means of perfidy, violence, despicability; waded the Social-Democracy month after month through the fratricidal sea of blood, repeating piously, like an obedient pupil, the sayings of the imperialistic bourgeoisie and its government, with merely a few clumsy variations, breaking every solemn oath of international solidarity, treading upon the ideals of Socialism; outside those prison walls, stood like a gray, oppressive nebular mass, the dullness and stupidity of the workers allowing themselves to be dragged by imperialism into death and ruin instead of resisting it with strength and consciousness of purpose. In the choking atmosphere of those days, the Junius pamphlet came like the fresh, strong wind that hurries on before the purging storm.

And its significance was even greater than that by far. It was even a part of that same purging tempest of returning consciousness in which German Social-Democrats and German workers began to find the way back to the historical task of the proletariat—to overcome imperialism and capitalism through the

international class struggle and to realize Socialism. It gave a mighty impetus to the awakening of the proletarians out of the social-patriotic war delusion and harmony delusion of civic truce, the process of their rallying to the class struggle and the banner of International Socialism. Clearly, firmly, scientifically, and penetratingly it gave expression and direction to an emotion, a thought, and a will that stirred within the proletarian masses, at first fearfully and scatteringly, then more loudly, more imperatively, uniting ever larger groups.

Karl Kautsky, the official theoretician of the Social-Democracy, had changed from a leader into a misleader. In his supply-kit of "Marxian" formulas, he could find not a single one that would justify the miserable treachery of the Party majority. Ad usum Delphini he invented the famous two-soul theory for the Socialist International, which was "an instrument of peace and not of war," and the principles of which therefore were, all according to the given situation, "Proletarians of all lands, unite" or on the other hand, "Proletarians of all lands, murder one another!" "Like a beast on the barren heath" he wandered vaguely back and forth between gay logical houses of cards and schoolmaster quibbling, in order to place himself with his authority protectingly before the policy of August 4th. His subsequent opposition was contradictory, uncertain as to principles, weak. Rosa Luxemburg, on the other hand in the Junius pamphlet placed that policy on trial—consistently, mercilessly, annihilating it. She proved the bankruptcy of the German Social-Democracy, unparalleled in history, and her proofs were not formulas, but hard, stubborn facts. She knocked the bottom out of all the legends and slogans for the justification of Social-patriotism by revealing the causes and the impelling forces of the imperialistic war, baring its character and its aims.

The keynote of the Junius pamphlet is contained in the following sentence of the last chapter: "The history which gave birth to the present war did not just begin in July, 1914, but dates back decades, where thread was tied to thread with the inevitability of a natural law, until the finely woven net of imperialistic world policy had entangled five continents—a tremendous historical complex of phenomena whose roots go deep down into Plutonic depths of economic creation and whose branches point toward the vaguely stirring new world."

Imperialism, born of capitalistic development, confronts us as an international phenomenon in its radiations and influences, accomplishing with its brutal unscrupulousness of conscience,

its gigantic, insatiable appetites, its tremendous means of power, very different wonders from "the construction of the Egyptian pyramids and Gothic cathedrals," as expressed in the "Communist Manifesto." It gives new and deeper content to the difference between Germany and France created by the war of 1870-71; it extinguishes old differences familiar to world-politics between the great powers of Europe and creates new fields of conflict between them; it is tearing the United States and Japan into its powerful current. Dripping with dirt and blood it traverses the earth, destroying ancient civilizations and converting entire despoiled nations into slaves of European capitalism. International imperialism is heaping up fagot upon fagot for the devastating world-conflagration—in Egypt, Syria, Morocco, South and Southeast Africa, in Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia, and China, on the islands and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, and on the Balkan peninsula. But it was German imperialism, late-born and madly aggressive, which, by way of the provoking ultimatum of Austria to Serbia in 1914, carried out the war stroke that lit the pyre of capitalistic civilization. It was driven on irresistably by the gold-hunger of German finance—represented in particular by the German Bank, the most concentrated, best organized institution of capitalistic finance in the world—which longed to exploit Turkey and Asia Minor, and the lust of profit of the armament industries; it received its ruinous fool's-liberty from the barely curbed despotism of Wilhelm II and the voluntary weakness of the bourgeois opposition.

Rosa Luxemburg succeeded so well in portraying within the narrow limits of her Junius pamphlet the imperialistic nature of the World War and its aims, because in her extensive scientific work on the "Accumulation of Capital" she had traced down in an exposition as thorough as it was brilliant, the last roots of imperialism, as well as its political branchings. But in divesting the World War of its ideological dress, exposing it in its nakedness as a business venture—the business venture, the deal for life and death—of international Capital, she also mercilessly, piece by piece, tears the ideological wrappings of the Social-Democratic policy of August 4th from its body. In the fresh morning atmosphere of scientific examination of the entire historical phenomenon and its associations, the hollow phrases of the "fight for civilization," "against Czarism," "for the defense of the Fatherland," etc., crumble away. Convincingly Rosa Luxemburg proves that in the present imperialistic environment the conception of a modest, virtuous war of defense of the fatherland has forever flown. The Social-Democratic war policy reveals itself in all its primitive ugliness as out-

right bankruptcy, as the inner expression of a social-patriotic labor-party imbued with bourgeois ideals, a party that has sold the proud revolutionary birthright of the proletariat for even less than the mess of pottage demanded by Kautsky—for the empty words of a Kaiser, "I recognize no parties, I know only Germans," for the "honor" of a place in the ranks of nationalistic delusion.

The Junius pamphlet is introduced by observations on the duty and importance of Socialist self-criticism, observations that are among the most wonderful things that have ever emerged out of the depths of pure and strong socialistic feeling and thought. Here the sincerest, most glowing conviction demands the highest and severest standards for our actions as Socialists, directing our glance with prophetic force to the great resplendent perspectives of the future which Socialism opens to us. The approaching heroic hour of the new world-epoch must find a heroic race in the proletariat which during the up and down of victory and defeat of its revolutionary struggles shall train itself through unsparing self-criticism, for the triumph of Socialism. The conclusion of the Junius pamphlet links on to the beginning, closing the ring. It views the World War as the pioneer of the World Revolution. Victory or defeat in the present gigantic struggle must be equally fateful for the conflicting imperialist groups, and incidentally for the proletariats of the different lands, leading inevitably to the collapse of the capitalistic order and capitalistic culture, to its world-trial before the judgment seat of the Revolution. Rosa Luxemburg wrote this in March and April of 1915—long before the heroic Russian proletariat led by the determined Bolsheviki gave the storm signal for the social revolution, long before the slightest ruffling of the waters in Germany and in the Habsburg dual monarchy announced the approach of a revolutionary flood. What we have since experienced, what Rosa Luxemburg herself was still permitted to experience in part, is a splendid corroboration of the sharpness and correctness with which she had in her Junius pamphlet seen the historical lines of development.

Perhaps on this very account some reader may regrettingly or faultfindingly inquire why the author did not show in perspective the possibility of a revolution in Russia, why she neglected to indicate the possible methods and means of fighting in the revolutionary period that was just dawning. It is true that in 1915, already out of the roaring chaos of the world struggle more and more clearly and visibly the giant form of the Revolution was emerging. But there was no indication of when and

where it would begin its triumphal course. The Russian Revolution was to be the subject of a second Junius pamphlet, some of whose outlines had already been hastily sketched by Rosa Luxemburg. The murderous hand of the German culture-bearing military has deprived us of the projected work, which would also have discussed and evaluated the fighting means and methods of the Russian Revolution—not in Kautsky fashion, certainly, according to a hard and fast scheme to which the actual development had to fit itself. No, Rosa Luxemburg's view is that of a living, creative stream following out the historic development. "The historical moment each time demands the appropriate form of the people's movement and *itself creates* new means, improvises hitherto unknown fighting instruments, enriching the arsenal of the people, unheeding of party rules." The essential thing for the Revolution, then, is "not a conglomeration of ridiculous rules and prescriptions of a technical nature, but the *political slogan, the clear consciousness of the political tasks and interests of the proletariat.*" In accordance with this view, Rosa Luxemburg at one time investigated an already tried fighting instrument of the working class—the *general strike*, which she recognizes as first in historical importance and as "the classical form of the movement of the proletariat in the periods of a revolutionary ferment." Her pamphlet on this subject—a pioneer work in the proper estimation of this fighting instrument—has been given a new significance by present events; today it should find millions of readers and sympathizers, rally millions of active fighters, ready for revolutionary deeds.

The Junius pamphlet is a particularly sparkling treasure of the heritage which Rosa Luxemburg has left the proletariat of Germany, of the world, for the theory and practice of its struggle for liberation, a treasure whose sparkle and glow are a painful reminder of how great and irreparable is the loss we have suffered. What is said of this treasure here, compares with it as a dry table of classification of plants compares with a garden full of blossoming, resplendent, fragrant flowers. It is as though Rosa Luxemburg, in anticipation of her sudden end, had gathered together in the Junius pamphlet all the forces of her genial nature for a great work—the scientific, penetrating, independently searching and pondering mind of the theoretician, the fearless, burning passion of the convinced, daring revolutionary fighter, the inner richness and the splendid wealth of expression of the ever struggling artist. All the good spirits which nature had lavished upon her stood by her side as she wrote this work. Wrote—merely wrote? No, experienced

in the depths of her soul. In the precisely coined words that mark both her iconoclastic criticism of the Social-Democratic betrayal and her inspiring vision of the expiation and the resurrection of the proletariat in the Revolution; in the sentences that seem to rush on to their goal; in the extensive chains of thought welded together with iron firmness; in the brilliant sarcasms; in the plastic figures of speech and the simple, noble pathos—in all this one feels that it is suffused with the heart-blood of Rosa Luxemburg, that in it speaks Rosa Luxemburg's iron will, that behind it stands her whole being, every fibre of it. The Junius pamphlet is the outlet of a great personality that has devoted itself wholly and singly to a great, to the greatest cause. So, out of this work, the same Rosa Luxemburg greets us from beyond the grave who today more than ever is leading the world proletariat, going before it and leading it upon its way of Golgotha toward the promised land of Socialism.

But within the circle of light that surrounds her form, there stands a second great personality, which it is necessary to draw out from the obscurity in which it has purposely remained with that modesty which is a sign of real worth and the complete merging of all personal characteristics in a great ideal. This personality is Leo Jogisches. More than twenty years he was united with Rosa Luxemburg in an incomparable community of ideals and fighting purpose which had been steered by the most powerful of all forces—the glowing, all-consuming passion of the two unusual souls for the Revolution. Not many have known Leo Jogisches, and very few indeed have estimated him according to his great significance. He appeared usually only as the organizer, who translated Rosa Luxemburg's political ideas into practice, as an organizer to be sure of the first order, as a genial organizer. However, this does not exhaust his accomplishments. Of a far-reaching, thorough general education, a rare master of scientific Socialism, a penetrating dialectic mind, Leo Jogisches was the incorruptible critical judge of Rosa Luxemburg and her work, her ever-waking theoretic and practical conscience, at times too the one who saw further, the one who stimulated, just as Rosa on her part was the more penetrating and the one who created. He was one of those still very rare great masculine personalities who was capable of living side by side in true and joyous comradeship with a great feminine personality, without feeling in her growth and development a bond and a limitation upon his own ego; a gentle revolutionary in the noblest sense of the word, without any contradiction between belief and action. So, much of Leo's best lies enshrined in the life-work of Rosa Luxemburg. His increasing,

impetuous insistence and his creative criticism contributed their full share in causing the Junius pamphlet to be created so soon and so masterfully, just as it is due to his iron will that it could be printed and distributed despite the extraordinary difficulties caused by the state of siege. The counter-revolutionists knew what they were doing when, a few weeks after the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, they had Leo Jogisches assassinated too—"in an alleged attempt at flight" in the same Moabite Prison from which it had been possible to abduct Rosa's assassin, in an elegant private automobile in broad daylight.

The Junius pamphlet was an individual revolutionary deed. It must give birth to revolutionary mass action. It is of the dynamite of the spirit which is blasting the bourgeois order. The socialistic society rising in its place is the only fitting monument for Leo Jogisches and Rosa Luxemburg. And this monument is being reared by the Revolution for which they lived and died.

May, 1919.

(Introduction to the Second Edition of the "Junius" Pamphlet, "The Crisis in the German Social-Democracy.")

Documents

Bolshevist Propaganda

WHY DON'T THEY SEND YOU HOME?

To the American and British Soldiers—

Did you ever stop to think why they don't send you home?

The war is over. Armistice is concluded. Peace negotiations are already being conducted. Months have already elapsed since the great slaughter has stopped.

Millions of soldiers—French, British, American are returning home from the battlefields. Millions of prisoners are returning home from prison. This is a time of joy and happiness for thousands of humble homes—the boys are coming back! Hundreds of ships are carrying American boys in khaki from the Western front back to the shores of Columbia.

Why then don't they let you go home?

"Sweet home" is waiting for you. Those whom you love are waiting for you. Your wives and children, your sisters and sweethearts are waiting for you. Your gray, old dear mothers are waiting for you.

Are they waiting in vain?

Your mother is asking every newcomer from the front: "Where is my boy?" "Don't know! Somewhere in the steppes of Russia."

What are you doing here, "somewhere in Russia?" What do they want you here for,

The war is over because there is nothing left to fight for, and nothing to fight against.

They have been telling you that this was a war against German autocracy, against German imperialism, against kaiserism. But now there is no more kaiserism, there is no more autocracy. The German workers have arisen in revolt—and they have themselves defeated kaiserism. Themselves!—without the help of British and American troops. There is no more imperialism in Germany. The Kaiser and the cruel "war-lords" have fled. Germany, like Russia, is now the land of Revolution. Germany, like Russia, will be governed not by a bunch of cruel masters, but by the people, by revolutionary workers.

Is it true that you have been fighting for freedom and democracy? If this was true you would have been sent home on the very day the German revolution broke out. But instead of home you are sent to the steppes of Russia. Why?

Because this is not a war for Freedom. This is not a war for Democracy, but against Democracy.

Do you know that Russia is the freest and the most democratic country in the world? Do you know that all the wealth of Russia now belongs not to a small group of greedy capitalists, but to the vast majority of the people, to the workers and the poor peasants? Do you know that the land, the mines, the shops, the factories of Russia are now owned and governed by the people and operated for the benefit of the people? Do you know that the present Government of Russia—the Government of the Soviets (councils of work-

men's and peasant's deputies) is the only real democratic Government in the world?

Of course you don't know all this. Because your masters are afraid to tell you the truth about revolutionary Russia. They are telling you lies about the atrocities of the Bolsheviks. Don't believe them! There is no disruption, no anarchy, no disorder in Russia. Revolutionary Russia is indeed, as one of your American journalists has said, the paradise of the workers and the poor.

The capitalists and imperialists of France, Great Britain and the United States, the Rothschilds, the Rockefellers, the Morgans want to destroy this paradise of the workers and the poor. The blood-thirsty exploiters of the Entente want to defeat the revolution. Why? Because the revolution is making headway, because revolutionary ideas are being spread in all countries. Country after country is getting revolutionized; the German workers have followed the example of the Russians. The French and Italian and British are going to follow the example of the Germans. This is the time of Revolts! The workers of the whole world are going to throw off the capitalist yoke! The Russian and the German revolutions are just the first two acts of the Great World Revolution. The capitalists of the Entente are trembling. Don't they hear the sounds of revolt all around? Don't they realize, don't they know that "it" is coming? And this is why they want to defeat the Revolution before the Revolution defeats them. This is why they declared war on revolutionary Russia. And this is why they don't want to send you home.

You are here to fight against Democracy and Freedom. You are here to fight against the Russian workers and poor peasants.

Do you realize that in this great battle of Labor against Capital, of Freedom against exploitation, of real Democracy against the fake-democracy of Rockefeller and Morgan—you are to fight on the side of your cruel masters against your brethren, against your fellow workers? Are you not workingmen yourselves?

You are going to shed your blood and our blood for the benefit of the Allied plutocrats, for the benefit of the Rockefeller-Morgan kaiserism.

We don't want war. We want peace with your American and British fellow-workers! Don't you want peace with us? Don't you want to go home?

The war is over, but a new war is starting. This new war is the class war. The oppressed of all countries are rising against the oppressors, because the war has brought so much distress and so much sufferings to the poor that they can suffer no longer. Do you realize that your are shedding your blood in the interests of the oppressors and not of the oppressed? Do you realize that you are to defend oppression and exploitation and that you are to give your very lives for the interests of those who are now, after the fall of the Kaiser the only kaisers in the world?

Do you want to sacrifice your lives in order that the capitalists may obtain a greater hold on our class, the workers? Of course not!

Demand to go home. Hold meetings in your regiments, form Soldiers' Councils, and force your demands on your Governments and your officers. If you are convinced in the justness of the cause of Labor then come over to our side and we will give you a hearty welcome into the ranks of those who are fighting for the emancipation of Labor.

The group of English speaking Communists.

WHY DON'T YOU RETURN HOME?

To the American and British Soldiers—

Comrades!

The war is over, why are you not returning home? The people in England and America went nearly mad with joy when the long hoped for peace at last arrived. But why is there no peace for you, and for us? President Wilson and his colleagues are in Europe, the other Allied governments have also appointed their delegates, and soon the Peace Conference will assemble. But in the meantime you are still condemned to fight and die, and war with all its horrors is raging in Russia.

For many long, weary agonizing months, perhaps years your old folks, your wives, your little ones have been overwhelmed with anxiety about you. Now in their innocence their anxiety has been turned into joyful expectation of your return. Can you not picture them—every knock, every footstep they hear makes their hearts leap in the belief that it is someone bringing tidings of your homecoming. But your dear ones will wait in vain your masters continue to drive you through the valley of death, and you do not know, but that your bodies may rot in the mud and blood of the battlefield. Don't you want to mingle with your loved ones again?

The war is over. Why don't you go home?

For over four years your governments have kept you at war, and have condemned millions of your fellow citizens to death, and millions more to a fate worse than death. You made these fearful sacrifices for what you were led to believe to be the defense of Europe against the domination of the Kaiser, and once and for all to relieve the world from the crushing burden of armaments; from the menace of Prussian militarism.

Well, this menace is removed. Prussian militarism is crushed. The kaiser is a fugitive. The German workers have risen in revolt and have delivered a death blow to the power of the reactionary Junker class.

Why then are you still fighting? Above all why are you in Russia?

The help of the Allied governments against Germany was never desired by Russia. It is now quite unnecessary. It was never intended that the Allied troops in Russia were to fight Germans. This is perfectly obvious now since the war with Germany is apparently over, and yet the war against the Russian people still continues. Why? The reason is not far to seek.

The workers and peasants in Russia have done what your rulers fear you will do; they have swept the whole-class of parasites, courtiers, landlords, and capitalists out of power, and have taken possession of the land and the means of production for the use of the whole people. The Russian people refuse to be the slaves of an idle class any longer. They are constructing a new order of society in which the products of labor will go to those who work. The spirit which animates the Russian people has spread westward, and now the Austrian, Hungarian, and German people have overthrown their rules, and are rapidly travelling along the same lines as the workers of Russia. It is the awakening of the real democracy that we are witnessing today: The common workers in field, factory,

and mine are asserting their right and power to rule, and be masters of their own destiny.

Your masters see that the spirit of revolt is spreading to your countries. In both England and America the idea of Bolshevism is making rapid headway. Great Labor demonstrations frequently take place at which the workers demand that the means of wealth production shall be taken over by the workers. At these meetings strong protests are expressed against the invasion of Russia. Your masters know that the source and centre of the revolutionary World movement is Russia, and they are determined therefore to crush it out, and remove the menace to their power. That is why you are here. That is why your masters will not permit you to rejoin your loved ones who are eagerly looking forward to your return.

You see that the war has now been converted into a gigantic conflict between Labor and Capital. It is a conflict between Progress and Reaction. A conflict between those who are inaugurating a new era of social and economic liberty for the toiling masses, and those who desire to retain the present sordid commercial system, with its sweating, poverty, and war. And you who obey the orders of your governments are fighting to maintain the old order, you are fighting on the side of Reaction against the forces of Labor and Progress.

Is this worth dying for? Do you really desire to bleed and die in order that capitalism may continue. Say no?

Form Soldiers' Councils in each regiment, and demand of your governments, demand of your officers to be sent home. Refuse to shoot your fellow workers in Russia—Refuse to crush our Workers Revolution.

The Group of English speaking Communists.

The Agrarian Program of the Communist Party of Germany

At the moment of publishing this agrarian program Germany is for the first time experiencing far-reaching strikes of the agricultural workers in Bielefeld, in Pommerania, in East Prussia. Smaller, short-breathed strike activity has preceded in Magdeburg, in West Prussia, in Lubec. Here and there communities of small farmers had favored the apportionment of the large estates within their district—this happened back in the May days of the Ebert-Haase Government—but the armed power of the Ebert Republic let them know at once that property is inviolable, and they sank back at once into their former lethargy.

The present strikes of the agricultural workers in Bielefeld, Pommerania, East Prussia, etc., once more open the dispute between the agricultural proletariat and the large landowning class. The former is for the time being fighting for individual economic demands, still unconscious of the revolutionary significance of its newly begun fight. The Junkers on the other hand, with the sure instinct of the ruling class, have immediately grasped the fact that the strikes of the farm workers are more than any individual move of the agrarian proletariat in "normal" times. In a number of Pommeranian districts a state of siege has been declared, Government troops have been ordered to forcibly put down the rebellion

of the rural proletariat. Thus Junkerdom answers the first independent move of the proletariat of the land with the last word of the bourgeois state—with musket and sword. This act expresses its knowledge that this is a fight for the whole, for its ruling position on the land. And the power of state of the Ebert Republic, in placing itself at the disposal of the Junkers at the first hint that the class-struggle is smouldering in the lowlands, stands opposed to the rural proletariat from the beginning to the tool of Junkerdom. Thus they are seeing to it that the workers of the country may speedily become aware of the revolutionary significance of their movement.

The reasons that the rural proletariat is so late in taking up the quarrel with the large landowners are obvious. Its division into small communities and its isolation place much greater hindrances in the way of independent action than in the case of the urban proletariat. In the pre-revolutionary period the Junker power succeeded in hermetically shutting off the agricultural workers from every political movement. Only the Revolution made political life accessible to the country folk. In the first months of the Revolution they had to make up the studies that the urban working class had hammered into it during two generations. To them even the hackneyed demagogic phrases of the Scheidemanns regarding bourgeois democracy were a revelation. What wonder, then that in the elections to the National Assembly they streamed in large bodies into the camp of the Majority Socialists and that they—together with the petite-bourgeoisie—stepped into the gaps which the desertion of the metropolitan workers had torn in the ranks of the Majority Socialist Party organization. Then there is another thing: The economic ruin did not show itself in so harsh a form to the rural proletariat as it confronted the proletarian masses of the cities—as naked hunger and wholesale unemployment. The country had become accustomed during the war first of all to nourish itself duly—many small farmers who in normal times had sold the food they raised and underfed themselves with substitutes of various kinds, now for the first time eating the butter, cheese, eggs, poultry, meat, fruit, etc., themselves. Only the excess over their own needs was shipped to the cities. Thus hunger or its most glaring was spared the country people during the war and during the Revolution itself. Unemployment among the agricultural workers, particularly after the departure of the prisoners of war, was unheard of; on the contrary, there was a dearth of hands.

The end of the war, the return to the native village or estate, the destruction of the old militarism, bourgeois democracy, these things at first sufficed the rural proletariat. Those who did not take part in uniform in the military rebellion that was such a significant feature of the 9th of November, had followed the urban proletariat passively in the November Revolution. This passivity of theirs had—aside from the unripeness of the city revolution itself—enabled the bourgeoisie to win its isolated counter-revolutionary victories in revolutionary centers—in Berlin, in Bremen, in the Ruhr region, in Central Germany, in Munich. Not only did the passivity of the country permit the bourgeoisie to throw itself undivided upon the revolutionary centers; the military power of the counter-revolution, the volunteer troops were recruited largely from the ranks of the land proletariat and the small farmers. In the re-establishment of militarism in the shape of the volunteer system the political passivity and revolutionary immaturity of the rural workers was revealed.

As long as the rural working class itself sat quiet, as long as the

country itself did not bring up the land question, the Scheidemann servants of the bourgeoisie and the Junkers had no cause for grasping this hot iron. Some of the medieval rubbish, such as the rules for servants, was abolished—on paper—the estate districts were abolished—likewise on paper—and finally the settlement law was accepted—which also leads a quiet existence on paper, which never has harmed the hair of a Junker's head, and never intended to. It was really no more the inheritance of the Hindenburg-Ludendorff plans of colonization in the Baltic region than the Ebert-Scheidemann Government was executing through this innocent legislation, which on its own account fitted perfectly into the Junker settlement policy. The purpose of the move in both cases was the settlement of the land with squatters, as a reservoir for the labor needs of the large landowners, only with the difference that to some extent the settlement plans of Hindenburg were meant seriously, being at the same time intended for a "dependable" border protection, military and political, in the east, while the land settlement law of Ebert-Scheidemann was from the start nothing but demagogic trick.

The former passivity of the country is revealed drastically in another phenomenon, in the peasants' councils. While the workers' and soldiers' councils were crystallized directly from the revolutionary movement of the workers and soldiers, and therefor from the first bore a decided class character, in their composition, the peasants' councils were an artificial creation of the Ebert-Haase Government, that is to say, a clumsy deception. Under the name of "peasants' councils," the Farmers' League presented the country with an organization which, a brazen caricature of the soviets, coupled the Junker and large estate owner with the rural workers and small farmers and gave this organization a suffrage privilege that afforded an excellent substitute for the abandoned three-class voting system. It is characteristic that the erstwhile independent Food Minister Wurm gave official recognition to this brazen swindle and unblushingly defended it. It is clear that such a caricature of the soviet organization in the country was possible only because the country was still asleep, and that the first independent action on the part of the rural workers it must be cast aside.

The country population has thus far been the last great reservoir of the counter-revolution, both through its passivity and through its active participation in counter-revolutionary actions and organizations. The incursion of troops in East Prussian and Pommeranian land districts for the purpose of quelling the land-workers' movements is an indication that at last in the country too the Revolution is beginning in earnest. But this means that the question of militarism and Junker rule is only at this moment being attacked at the root. For militarism can be torn out by the roots only where it has gone most deep, in the Prussian "heart provinces," and the political domination of the Junkers can be torn down for good and all not in the streets of Berlin—to say nothing of a Weimar or Berlin National Assembly—but only in the 30,000 estate districts, only through the uprising of the rural workers. And only now is the land question moving out of the twilight of theory or of demagogic routine into the light of the practical revolutionary conflict.

There are two chief elements that are bringing the rural proletariat into the revolutionary arena. First, its own passivity has permitted the Junker Counter-revolution to recover from its first stupefaction and not only to hold all its positions of power in rural government but to strengthen them and to more and more boldly take the offensive in re-

establishing the pre-revolutionary despotism of the Junker domain. The land-proletariat, which saw the chains that had enclosed its limbs loosen without any effort on its own part, now struggles with all its might against a return to the conditions previous to November 9th. The second factor is the effect of the increasing economic and financial disorder upon the rural workers and the small farmers: the growing depreciation of money which forces the agricultural workers into mass strikes. The small farmers still try to make up for this condition by raising prices, but these attempts are becoming constantly less satisfactory, and the pressure of direct taxation imposed by native and foreign capital must stir them to action completely. The small peasants before the revolution followed the Junkers in politics because they were attached to them economically. The bankruptcy of capital and state finances is breaking this economic union. Necessarily it must also sooner or later break the political band.

Thus the Agrarian Program of the Communist Party of Germany comes at exactly the right moment. The program itself is the product of the first independent movements of the rural proletariat, leading to the founding of the Communist Agricultural Workers' and Small Peasants' League in Central Silesia. The Agrarian program was worked out in common by the Party Headquarters and officers of the League. And its appearance coincides with the first great mass movement of the agricultural workers. Thus it will soon be more than a piece of paper. Soon it will be the battle-cry of millions of country proletarians when they attack the Junker strongholds.

For not until this standard is carried before the country folk, will the ranks of the Revolution close, then only will the Revolution be irresistible. Therefor let the city proletarians with all their strength carry the revolutionary message to the farmlands. The rural and urban proletariat divided cannot gain the victory, only their union will be their triumph.

A.th.

Here follows the text of the Agrarian Program. It should be remarked that it is yet to be presented for ratification at a party conference.

The immense economic work of destruction of the World War has undermined the foundations of Capitalism in Germany. In this hell-fire the apparatus of production has melted. Labor power, machinery, raw material, auxiliary materials, currency, all have been decimated. And in the same degree that these values of use were destroyed the war debt rose, and with it rose the demands of the capitalist class upon the fruits of labor. In the same degree anarchy in production increased. Capital, whose historic role was the widest development of the forces of production has itself developed into a pure parasite upon the body of society, into a force of destruction and confusion. Its historical hour has struck. The proletariat is called upon to execute the sentence of history on pain of the decay of production.

The military collapse of German imperialism on the fields of France gave the impetus to this conflict which has been lying ready in the womb of society. Its signal was the Revolution of November 9th. But this revolution, although carried on by war-weary and disappointed soldiers and the workers, has left the foundations of the capitalistic system untouched. It attacked only the outer state-form. It transformed the monarchistic military state into a bourgeois republic, with the traitors of So-

cialism as officers of the firm. The political form of the dominion of capital was reformed, given a new base.

But the political revolution was at the same time the point of departure of the conflict between Capital and Labor which swept over Germany in a series of violent strike waves and armed uprisings and the result of which can be only the overthrow of a capitalist rule. The industrial proletariat introduced the rebellion of wage labor against capital. In its steps followed the employes of commercial and financial capital.

It is obvious that the conflict between capital and labor cannot be restricted to the cities. More severely than upon the urban proletariat, the domination of Capital weighs down the proletariat of the country. Its collapse threatens also the petite bourgeoisie with destruction.

The rural proletariat and the small farmers are hindered in their fight against Capital by territorial division and rural isolation. These obstacles can be overcome only by the closest co-operation with the proletariat of the cities.

II.

In agriculture on a large scale socialistic production is prepared for by Capital itself. All that is needed is to break the restrictions of private ownership, to appropriate the land and the means of labor for society, and to establish a close co-operation with socialized industry and commerce, so that here, too, the socialistic mode of labor may develop. The class of small farmers and the tenant farmers on the large estates suffer no less than the agricultural proletariat under the pressure of the capitalistic mode of labor. But its system of management is not yet developed to the point where it could pass over into a socialistic system. The latter cannot be put through by force. Bourgeois management has undermined bourgeois petty ownership by applying for centuries a violent process of economic uprooting and of fraud which simply hurls the small farmer down into the proletariat or causes him to lead a hybrid existence between the industrial proletariat and the agricultural proletariat, separating him from the soil and from his implements of labor, and placing him under the domination of the landlord or the industrial employer. Very frequently, he has been converted into an agricultural day-laborer or an industrial wage worker. Else his farm has been so dwarfed or mortgaged as to become a drag upon him, forcing him down into the position of a bondsman of landlordism and industrial capital. On the other hand, the attitude of the working class in power toward the small farmer can be only that of assistance and education, so that he may find the way to Socialism. The idea is to lighten the economic burden of the small farmer in his position as a small farmer by means of every possible support from socialized industry and commerce. It is our purpose to free the small farmer from the bureaucratic clerical gang that has been running his affairs, and to open to him the way to the independent management of his own business; it is our purpose finally to extend the beginnings of the small farmer's co-operatives so that he may step by step attain to co-operative production on a large scale. In order to accomplish the end of freeing the small farmer from capitalistic exploitation and to establish the socialistic mode of production in agriculture, the Communist Party sets up the following demands:

1.

Large-scale agricultural enterprises are such as constantly employ outside labor for wages, for the purpose of obtaining capitalistic profits. Small-scale enterprises are farms which do not employ outside labor at all, or else under such conditions that these workers form an integral part of the farm-household like the owner and his family.

Management of Large Estates.

2.

All large estates worked on a large scale, together with all live stock and equipment, as well as all the auxiliary industrial plants and their working capital, shall be confiscated without compensation by the Socialist State. They shall become the common property of socialistic society.

3.

Landlord rights and titles (landlord hunting and fishing rights, tax exemptions, police rights, etc.), as well as all rights of entailed property, shall be cut off without compensation.

4.

On every large estate, the steadily employed farm hands, mechanics, employees, and domestics form an Estate Council.

5.

The Estate Council shall take over the co-operative management of the estate under the central administrative organization, which shall be uniform for all the large agricultural enterprises.

6.

The Estate Council, within the bounds of the regulations of the central organization, shall take over:

1. Employment and discharge of workers.
2. Determination of working hours and wages.
3. Cultivation and use of the fields and the supervision of the industrial plants connected with the estate.
4. The distribution of the agricultural products in excess of the needs of the estate itself.
5. The determination of the needs of the estate in the way of agricultural accessories which it does not itself produce (seeds, cattle for slaughter, dairy cattle, breeding stock, agricultural machines and implements, fertilizers, feeds, chemicals, building materials, etc.).
6. The determination and distribution of the necessary industrial products, articles for individual use (food, furniture and domestic equipment, clothing) and of the products of literature and art.
7. The determination of the necessary working capital.

The amount of the agricultural and industrial products of the estate that are necessary for home use shall be determined by the central organization, the excess shall be delivered to local centers, likewise the needs of the estates in the way of agricultural, industrial, and commercial articles shall be referred to the local assembling and distributing centers.

7.

The excess products of the estate shall be credited to the co-operative of the estate as delivered.

The financing of the estate shall be vested in central banks.

8.

The forests and hunting preserves shall be managed centrally through the co-operatively organized forest workers and officials who shall also form councils.

9.

The right of exploitation of forests hitherto owned by peasant communities shall be retained by these communities within the limits of their local needs. They shall be centrally managed like all the other forests.

10.

The water courses shall be uniformly managed according to river systems.

11.

During the busy seasons, in agricultural work requiring completion within definite periods (sowing, harvesting), gangs of agricultural workers shall be formed, their local distribution to be determined by the central organization.

12.

In order to make up the quota of agricultural workers in the busy seasons at all times, it is necessary that also the industrial workers shall be trained from their earliest youth in the elements of agriculture.

On the other hand it is necessary that the resident agricultural workers should be trained in the elements of agricultural and industrial mechanics, in the interest of the technical development of agriculture itself as well as to enable those who cannot be employed in agriculture to transfer to industry without friction.

13.

Instruction, study materials, and means of subsistence at the general as well as technical and agricultural schools shall be free.

14.

For agricultural reclamation work on a large scale (clearing of waste lands, irrigation, drainage, road building, animal and plant experimentation, etc.) the State shall place means and labor power at the disposal of the Estate Councils.

15.

Estates not being worked on a large scale but parcelled out in small rent farms shall be confiscated, like the large enterprises, without compensation. As much of this land as was formerly worked on a small scale shall be given over to the local Agricultural Workers' and Small Farmers' Councils, which shall regulate their manner of exploitation and management with a view to the interests of the former managers, the small farmers.

16.

Government lands, in as far as they have not been divided into small rent farms, shall be made into model and experimental farms under the immediate direction of the provincial or state central organizations. In connection with these lands, agricultural schools and colleges shall be established.

17.

The State shall attempt to equalize the cultural differences between city and country by making all the elements of city culture available to the rural population, through the development of an

extensive rapid transit system and other means of transportation; also, in the interests of production itself, by supplying the country adequately with electric power, gas, etc., and finally through the systematic unification of the agricultural with the industrial establishments.

Small Farm Management.

18.

The private property of the small farmer shall remain untouched. The land hitherto under his cultivation may be disposed of by him as he sees fit.

19.

The small farmer shall manage his economic and administrative affairs himself in accordance with the Soviet Constitution. This self-management is to take the place of the system of bureaucratic tutelage under the capitalist state.

20.

The farm hands working on the small farms, as well as the female domestic workers shall organize into local Small Farm Councils.

The membership of the Small Farm Councils shall include the resident village craftsmen and small merchants who do not employ outside labor.

The local Small Farm Councils in turn join with the Estate Councils of the large estates within the township to form Village Councils together with any industrial workers that may be resident in the village.

The Small Farm Councils shall manage the economic affairs of the group of small farmers in common. The Village Councils shall manage the economic affairs and the administration of the village in common.

21.

The Small Farm Councils shall care for the common purchasing of fertilizers, feed, seeds, breeding cattle, agricultural implements, machinery, and the various necessities of life.

In conjunction with the local Estate Councils and Workers' Councils, they shall manage the delivery of their excess agricultural products to the local assembling and distributing centers.

22.

The socialistically organized industries shall supply the small farmers with industrial necessities of life. They shall encourage the formation of co-operatives out of the small enterprises through the extension of a finely woven net of electrical power systems, by supplying machinery and buildings to be used co-operatively, by encouraging the growth of existing agricultural co-operatives, by the extension of general and technical education, by supplying specialists gratis to manage technical undertakings, etc.

23.

The transition to large-scale co-operative agricultural production shall be the combination of the small farms of the township into a common enterprise, the District Co-operative, to be worked in common by all the members of the township.

A Township Co-operative may be formed by the free decision of the small-farm inhabitants of the township.

The beginnings of a Township Co-operative may be formed through the free organization of any number of small farmers who combine for co-operative work.

24.

The socialized industries shall aid the Township Co-operatives by the construction of township barns, township stables, and other township buildings, by supplying geometricians, technicians, agricultural experts, and gangs of workers for sowing and harvesting time, as well as capital for stock and upkeep.

25.

Education, including general and technical training, school supplies, and subsistence during the school year shall be free.

26.

All schools in city and country shall be equipped by the State with appropriate means for the practical training of the pupils in the main branches of agricultural work.

27.

Mortgages and real estate titles shall be taken over by the State. They may not be broken, though the State shall have the right to declare them void.

Economic and Political Structure of the Estate, Small Farm, and Village Councils.

28.

The Estate, Small Farm, and Village Councils shall be united according to economic districts and finally for the entire State.

Each of these council organizations shall elect from among its members an executive committee, which shall conduct ordinary business and have the right to enlist the services of experts. The supreme economic soviet body for agriculture shall be the Central Congress of Agricultural Workers' and Small Farmers' Councils. The Congress shall elect from among its members as its executive organ the Central Agricultural Council. This body shall belong to the Central Economic Bureau and in common with the latter decides the general rules for the management of agriculture.

29.

The village communities shall govern themselves through the Village Councils. Current business shall be conducted by the Executive Committee of the Village Council.

The members of the Executive Committee, as also those of the Village Council may at any time be recalled by their constituents. The Village Councils shall send their delegates to the Precinct Workers' and Peasants' Councils, these to the District Workers' and Peasants' Councils, etc., which together with the other councils shall wield the political power in their respective territories.

The former tutelage of the agricultural population by the bureaucrats shall be replaced by their self-government.

АНГЛИЙСКАЯ.

PARLIAMENT OR SOVIET

To American and British Soldiers.

You are told that you are fighting for democracy. But what kind of democracy are you fighting for? On one side is the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on the other side the capitalist "democracies" of England, France and the United States.

The fact is clear, and you have to choose between two existing systems of management of public life — by the workers for the workers; or by the workers and the capitalist for the capitalists. The political system under which you live appears to give the right to control public affairs to the people. But who actually controls affairs in your countries? Is it not the Morgans and Rockefellers, the Davenports, Rhondas or men like these? big business men capitalists and financiers. At elections they make fine promises, but when they are returned do nothing, and when some petty reform is demanded they wonder where the money is to come from. If the workers get more insistent in their demands these so called representatives of the people will sail out troops to shoot the people down, as they did at Ludlow, Colorado, Tonypandy, Wales, and Dublin.

In our democracy only the workers have a voice, only those that produce the useful things decide how to enjoy the results of their common efforts. We are a commonwealth of fellow-workers and we don't want parasites and their supporters to interfere with our affairs.

This kind of democracy is not the liking of those who wish to live upon the labour of others. Being a minority they want a democracy that secures the rule of the few over the many and you are made to fight for this kind of "democracy".

You may argue: since we have general suffrage it is our own stupidity if we elect the wrong representatives to Parliament and we are going to change this gradually.

But even if it was possible to secure a majority of the right people in Parliament,

this would not help you out since Parliament is only one of the institutions of capitalist power and not the most important either. There is the Government with its bureaucratic machinery, the police, the judges, the army. In the Parliaments the representatives are allowed to talk, but it is the executive power, the Government that acts. And this Government in all countries is becoming more and more powerful, whereas the influence of the Parliament is on the decline. It would be absurd to believe that it will be possible to vote the capitalists out of power, out of their privileges. Parliament is a capitalist institution to further capitalist interests and if it ceases to further those interests, it will be simply reorganised or abolished altogether.

More than that, political control is useless if it does not carry with it control of the means of life. In your country Parliament has only a very limited control of industry. The means of production are owned and controlled almost exclusively by capitalists. Those who own the means of life, own every thing. In Russia the means of life are owned by the whole nation, and the control is vested in the local and National Soviets. The Soviets are elected from the workers in the factories mines or railroads as the case may be. We have thus direct and exclusive labour representation. Ours is a real Labour Republic, and when you come against us to overthrow the Soviets and establish the kind of democracy that exists in your countries, you are attempting to overthrow the rule the workers and re-establish the rule of kings and capitalists.

Fellow workmen refuse to be the suppressors of your own class. Strive rather to establish your rule in your countries. Form Soldiers Councils in your regiments. Send your representative to your officers and demand to be sent home. And when you get home remove the sham Capitalist democracy reigning there, and establish true Republics of Labour as we have done in Russia.

The Group of English speaking Communists.

Editorials

The Socialist Publication Society decided at a Special Meeting to give over *THE CLASS STRUGGLE* with all the pamphlets and books published during its existence to the Communist Labor Party of the U. S. of America.

The Nat. Executive Committee of the C.L.P. accepted the offer gladly and elected Ludwig Lore, Editor. Jack Carney, editor of "Truth," Duluth, Minn.; Gregory Weinstein, N. Y., formerly the editor of "Novy Mir," were elected his Associates.

Orders, payments, etc. are to be sent until further notice to: The Socialist Publication Society, 15 Spruce St., N. Y. C.

The Communist Labor Party

With this issue the Communist Labor Party, henceforth the owner and publisher of the *CLASS STRUGGLE*, makes its bow to our readers and to the American working-class. It serves notice upon them and upon the ruling class that it is determined to become the Party of Revolutionary Communism in the United States, the clear expression and fearless representative of the class-conscious revolutionary American proletariat.

Its coming, no difference under what name, has been a foregone conclusion for months past. There was but one alternative. Either the Socialist Party must be forced to abdicate its advocacy of pure and simple politics; either it must resolve to become the exponent and the leader of the fighting vanguard of the American working-class upon the economic and the political field, or an organization would have to be created to take its place, more in accord with the trend of our revolutionary period than the S. P. has been. For at least three years the present writer has held the conviction that the Socialist Party, together with most of the European working-class parties, has outlived its usefulness if it persists in its adherence to the old tactics and methods in the future, and our journal, from its first to its last issue, is witness to this fact. On the question, however, as to when and under what circumstances the inevitable must happen, that is, at what time the decision must be forced—on that score and only on that score, there existed serious differences of opinion. These, recent events have set aside, but by no means

have they been solved. For the question, whether this was the most favorable time for the separation of forces, is still an open one. Many sincere Communists are of the opinion that the split came too early; that the period of education and enlightenment for the membership was too short and that, therefore, good revolutionary material, that could have been converted into useful activity for a genuine revolutionary movement, will, on account of lack of understanding, continue to cast its lot with the old Party and its outworn, reactionary tactics and conservative methods.

But today the situation exists, and has to be met as it is and not as some of us would wish it to be. The C.L.P. is in the field and is here to stay. It is founded upon the principles as evolved by those revolutionary working-class parties and elements of Europe that constitute the Third International, the principles of Marx and Engels, of Lenin, Trotzky, Bucharin, Rakowski, of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, of Loriot, Serrati, McLean, Platten, etc. Its existence is a challenge to the capitalist system, toward whose destruction it will endeavor with all energy and strength of which it is capable by uniting the American workers into powerful political and industrial organizations, based upon the class struggle and the revolutionary understanding of the proletariat.

The C.L.P. recognizes that the emancipation of the working-class must be the work of the workers themselves and that no set of leaders can achieve it for them. But it also knows that revolutionary changes in society are not brought about by the masses, but by a determined and clear thinking minority, by the most advanced and trustworthy element in the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat will, therefore, always be the preliminary condition for the final victory of the working-class, because it will permit the advanced working-class elements to socialize the important and fundamental industries without interference from the capitalist classes on one hand, and from that unwieldy, unthinking mass of the workers, whose mental make-up is still being contaminated from the poisoned wells of the bourgeois press. Whether this transitory stage in the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society will be of short or long duration, will, of course, be determined by the degree of understanding which the workers of a given country possess. We do not doubt that some of the S. P. leaders and a good many of its membership also believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. But they dare not confess it for fear of frightening away the middle-class voter to whom they are cater-

ing, of losing their respectability in the eyes of the "general public." Since bitter experience in the German and Austrian Revolutions has taught us the necessity of educating the workers to the right kind of revolutionary methods, unless this is done the American worker will be just as unready and unable to take care of its interests as were the workers of those countries. This lack of understanding—or shall we call it cowardice—on the side of the Socialist Party is of utmost importance. A working-class movement whose slogan is not: all power to the workers and to the workers' government, can never be anything else but pseudo-proletarian and distinctly anti-working-class.

The question of affiliation with the Second or Third International is therefore of the greatest importance. Parties which do not stand squarely upon the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot and, of course, will not be admitted to the International formed at Moscow. The S. P. of the U. S. says that it cannot remain in the Second International and will not join the Third. It claims that a new alignment of socialist elements must take place to unite "all forces of revolutionary Socialism" and invites these forces to form a Fourth International. But so long as the leaders of the S. P. count among the Revolutionists of their new order Socialists of such decidedly moderate, yes anti-revolutionary conceptions as Karl Kautsky, who has just published a book attacking the "unsocialistic theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat," the courageous but purely pacifist MacDonald, who is still an opponent of the philosophy of the class-struggle, the Social-Patriot Henderson, and many more of that type, their wish for a "unification of all the forces of revolutionary Socialism must remain a dream, and not a beautiful one. It is true, the Independent Social-Democrat Party of Germany hailed the American idea with great joy; but since this party is also hopelessly divided on this issue, its support is rather of doubtful value.

We have already touched upon another vital difference between the S. P. and the C. L. P.; the different attitude toward political action. The political action of the S. P. is pure and simple parliamentarism, identical in character with that of the capitalist parties. Both use the machinery of the bourgeois state for the achievement of their political end. The C. L. P. has no such illusions. It knows that the ballot will never open the door to Socialism and that the petty reforms which may be attained by many long and weary struggles and compromises with corrupt politicians of the old parties can be of no considerable benefit to the workers. We, therefore, will use the parliamentary

platform for propaganda purposes only. The representatives elected upon the C. L. P. ticket will go to the legislative halls not to "legislate," not as "statesman," to fritter away their time with dickering and bargaining. They will be charged with the important task of showing up the forces of law and order, the society of godliness and morality, in all their ugly nakedness and hypocrisy. They go there as educators of the masses, as teachers of the working-class, and for no other purpose.

In place of the all important parliamentary-political action, as understood by the old-line Socialists, will come political mass action. Strikes, general strikes, heretofore used in this country exclusively as working-class weapons on the industrial field, will be just as effectively employed on the political field for the enforcement of political demands, such as the liberation of class-war prisoners (Mooney, Debs, etc.), against the abrogation of working-class rights (abolition of the right to strike and boycott, freedom of press, assemblage and free speech). For while we all recognize that the ruling classes cannot be forced into granting working-class demands as long as the workers are only insufficiently organized, we also appreciate the possibility of frightening the powers that be into submission by the show of great numerical strength. Here again the Socialist Party politician tells us, that he also is in favor of mass-action as soon as the masses are ready for it. But he ridicules the idea of propagating mass-action "without the masses." It never enters his mind that mass-action like all other weapons of the working-class necessitates education and training on the part of the proletariat and that unless this preparatory work is done the "time" and especially the working-class will never be "ready" for it. The last Convention that the Social-Democratic Party of Germany held before the outbreak of the war, resolved unanimously in favor of political mass-action as one of the weapons to be employed by the German workers. It was the glorious end of a fight carried on for almost a decade by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and others. But the victory of the revolutionary Socialists in the German Party came too late. The masses of the German proletariat stood behind the Party, the organizations were there to organize and lead such a fight. But the time was too short for the training and education of the masses to prepare them for their new role in the class struggle before the world-war started, and the Socialists of Germany submitted without even showing fight. What might have happened had the Jena resolution been adopted ten years earlier, is, of course, open to conjecture. But this much seems certain, the more de-

terminated part of the organized workers of Germany at least would have begun open warfare upon the imperialistic-militarist clique a few years earlier than actually was the case.

To prepare and arrange for such political mass action a close unity of industrial and political bodies as well as a thorough and militant organization of the workers is necessary. This is one of the reasons why the C. L. P. not only declares for revolutionary industrial unionism, but also makes it the duty of all its members to join the forces of industrial unionism already in existence in this country and to work actively in their ranks. Here, once more, the S. P. may claim a close similarity of views, inasmuch as the Chicago Convention of the old Party likewise went on record in favor of industrial unionism, as opposed to craft unionism. But on this question, too, the S. P. is like the platonic lover who entertains friendly relations with several ladies at the same time. Great care was taken not to offend the sensibilities of the American Federation of Labor. And this is only natural. A Party whose main object in life is the gathering in of votes must be careful not to estrange the sympathies of so large a body of voters as the A. F. of L. actually includes. If we recognize the absolute necessity of the industrial form of labor organization for the effective enforcement of the workers' demands, we cannot be content to advise our class concerning the proper method and form, but must assist and co-operate with it in the actual work. But the "actual work" means not only the upbuilding of the union movement on industrial lines but also the destruction of craft unionism. You, comrades of the Socialist Party, cannot, therefore favor industrial unionism and the A. F. of L. at the same time. You must know that the A. F. of L., as fundamentally constituted today, is a hot-bed of reaction and a bulwark of capitalism, and you must say so. In its double-faced treatment of the question of unionism the Socialist Party reflects the attitude taken by important groups among its supporters, the United Hebrew Trades of New York for instance, and similar bodies. The question of industrial unionism has become too big an issue to allow it to be the plaything of clever politicians.

The communist movement in the United States has at present two branches—the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party. This chapter of disunion of the revolutionary political forces in America is the saddest of all, and shall not be extensively treated at this time. But this must be said, that the formation of two parties became a necessity after it was evident that the Communist Convention would not admit those of Left

Wing delegates who had no credentials for the Convention called for September 1st. The consequence of a submission to the demands of the Communist Party Convention would have been to estrange a goodly number of earnest and sincere revolutionary Socialists from the Communist movement, Socialists who at this time when the American born workers are still conservative, are doubly valuable on account of their American nativity.

The C. L. P. is convinced that eventually there must and will be only one communist political organization in this country and it did everything in its power during and after the Chicago Conventions to bring about the needed unity of forces. But without avail the latest attempt of the C. L. P., a plea for an informal meeting of the two National Executive Committees for the discussion of a basis for unity, has also been refused by the N. E. C. (the Central Committee) of the Communist Party. The C. P. demands unconditional surrender and surrender is impossible. Thus in spite of unity of purpose and principles, the struggle for supremacy between the communist organizations must continue until the membership forces the end of this suicidal warfare.

The C. L. P. feels sure of its ground and is determined to live up to its revolutionary principles. It is certain to survive, for its spirit is that of the undefeated, unconquered, class conscious revolutionary working-class. L.

The Dynamic Class Struggle

There are no classes; consequently there can be no class-struggle. Such is the official theory of our capitalist government.

To be exact: There may be classes; there may even be what is commonly called a class-struggle. But the government does not, officially, take cognizance of the fact. Following the famous logic of the ostrich it sticks its head into the sand of a shallow theory of equality, while at the same time the hind quarters invariably kick with a dexterity of the equally famous mule Maude, never missing its object, the working-class. The head in the sand must establish the alibi of the ruling class should the workers lose patience and inquire into this disagreeable state of affairs.

But the class-struggle is there, is a fact. Just as it manifests itself through the mule-kicks of the capitalist govern-

ment against the workers in spite of all theories of equality, so it manifests itself in the incessant struggle of the workers against capital. But while the capitalist state does not admit the class-character of its own manifestations of life, disguising it under the veil of "democracy" and "equality," it does not hesitate to recognize the fight of the workers against capital as a class-war. Wherever that fight is carried on with revolutionary tendencies and a consciousness of its character the capitalist state tries to protect itself in the name of society and accuses such fighters of inciting class-hatred and of creating a class-struggle. But such tactics do not in the least prove the absence of a class-struggle but are only forms in which it is fought by the capitalist class through the state it controls.

The class-struggle is the ever present stream of life of society, is the heart that drives the fluid of life through its veins. Naturally it is also fought by those parts of the two classes that are ignorant of its existence. It is fought by the not class-conscious workers in spite of their belief in a harmony of interests between capital and labor. This struggle, though it is carried on unconsciously, has a tendency to create an understanding of its character. And that is its most dangerous aspect. As the understanding on the part of the workers grows it becomes increasingly dangerous for capitalism. The revolutionary character of the class-struggle grows, because the working-class, once conscious of the essentials of the class-struggle, tires of the endless struggle and tries to get at the root of the evil by striking at the class-character of society itself. The greatest problem of the capitalist state, therefore, is to camouflage this struggle to prevent the workers from recognizing its revolutionary character.

Such an attempt was the call for a conference between capital and labor, with a group of representatives of the "public" between them. President Wilson could never for a moment doubt the futility of the conference. On the contrary he distinctly recognized the class-character of society and indicated his readiness to strengthen the position of capital in that conference by appointing one of the biggest capitalists and employers of labor, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a representative of the public.

That the conference ended in a hopeless deadlock is due not so much to its personnel as to the insolubility of the problems it was called upon to solve. Not even the proposed six

months' truce could be carried out. It is not in the power of either side of the controversy or struggle to cease fighting. The struggle they are waging is the very essence of their existence.

The class-conscious workingman, therefore, never even for a moment doubted the outcome of this conference. Now that the inevitable end has come, let us score another point for the Marxian interpretation of Society. M. B.

One Year German Revolution

With the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the first year of the German Revolution draws to a close. Contemporary the two occurrences have been, and outgrowths of the same constellation of world political events. But further the parallel does not extend. In Russia these two years have meant a hard struggle to secure and to carry out the liberation of the productive forces of the nation. In Germany, from the very beginning the revolution was one long series of destructive compromises in the interests of the bourgeoisie; its course has been a certain and inevitable relapse into the capitalist social state. In Russia the revolution has been a consistent battle against a dethroned bourgeoisie; in Germany even in the first days of the uprising there was nothing of the determination with which a rising revolutionary class is wont to treat its vanquished exploiting class. Is it surprising therefore that in Russia, after two years of Revolution, the working-class government is more firmly established than ever before, while in Germany all that is left of the promise that the first days of last November held out to the world proletariat is that a few social patriots are left in office, as jobholders of a once more invincible bourgeoisie?

To-day we can see it more clearly than ever. The great mistake of the German Revolution lay in the uniting of the Independent Social Democratic Party with the Majority Socialists for the purpose of establishing a revolutionary government. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party were opposed to revolutionary methods during the war. Only very recently Erzberger publicly affirmed this fact to Herr Ebert. During the critical days of October again, they did everything in their power to prevent the outbreak of the revolution. When at last even they realized that its outbreak was inevitable, they gracefully placed themselves at its head. If at that time the Independents had re-

fused to co-operate with them, Scheidemann would quickly enough have vanished, completely discredited from the scene

The German people pinned their highest hopes to the government under Ebert-Haase. But the very first days of their regime showed that the ruling Social Democratic Party had lost none of its counter-revolutionary character in the revolution. Instead of pursuing a revolutionary policy, instead of arming the people and demobilizing the army of the bourgeoisie, instead of taking arms and munitions out of the possession of the Hindenburgs and the Ludendorffs, and putting them into the hands of a Red Army, instead of proceeding immediately with the expropriation of the capitalist class and overthrowing the protesting bourgeoisie, they pursued the paths of a reactionary policy. Under their supremacy the Workmen's and Soldier's Councils quickly lost influence, the old bureaucratic machine remained in action, the bourgeois press was allowed to continue its reactionary work, slandering the revolution and preparing public opinion for the counter-revolution.

As the strength of the counter-revolution visibly grew, it was only natural that the revolutionary forces within the proletariat should awake to determined opposition. From day to day, unrest among the workers increased. Mass demonstrations grew in extent and in number. The workmen formulated political and industrial demands. Strikes were ordered to force their adoption. The struggle against the capitalist class assumed more aggressive forms, reaching their climax in the famous January uprising in Berlin. At the end of December the Independents had resigned from the government. Their position had become untenable long before. They lost much of the influence they had once possessed among the masses because they hesitated so long after the policy of the government had ceased to be their own.

Now an openly counter-revolutionary period set in. The Social democratic member of the Reichstag, Noske, from Chemnitz, became its chief defender. "Volunteer Corps" and "White Guards" were enlisted which terrorized whole Germany. They were used now in Hamburg or in Leipzig, now in Munich or in Bremen, wherever the proletariat was unwilling to submit to the dictatorship of the counter-revolution.

As the Communists had foreseen from the start, the National Assembly elections resulted in the return of an anti-socialist majority. In Russia, too, after the November revolution, those who

called for the Constituent Assembly did so likewise for counter-revolutionary purposes. Just as in Germany. Under a socialist form of Government the time will come, likewise, for a general representative election by the people. But not until the power of the bourgeoisie is completely broken, not until the brains of the working-class population has been freed from mental enslavement by capitalism, when a socialist form of society is already in actual operation. Until this is so a National Assembly must always be a hindrance in the path of the revolution, a weapon in the struggle against the revolution. The National Assembly richly fulfilled what the German bourgeoisie expected from the election of this "Peoples Parliament." To-day the Workmen's and Soldier's Councils are little more than ornaments, and the Constitution differs in no way from the bourgeois democratic conception of statecraft in any other capitalist state.

In fact the German Republic is nothing more than a capitalist state. The November Revolution did not liberate the German proletariat from its capitalist class. The means of production are as securely in the possession of the capitalist class as ever before. The progress made in social legislation—the granting of the 8 hour day, of higher wages and other social legislative measures, are little more than concessions made with the assurance that they can be withdrawn when they are no longer necessary for the pacification of the masses. The German government was not called upon to face the socialization of its industries, for that is a problem that can be approached only by a victorious proletariat.

The parole given out by the new government: "Unceasing work alone can save Germany from industrial ruin"; and "Wild strikes are a detriment to the industrial life of Germany and to its working class" are plainly nothing but a device of the capitalist rulers to fix capitalism more firmly than ever before in Germany, to save the bankrupt *state* of Germany from the dissolution that threatens it since its defeat in the world war. The twenty billion marks that Germany must raise annually to pay interest on its national debt and for indemnities to the victorious Allies, can only be pressed out of the proletariat by means of the most intense exploitation of its working class. It can be accomplished only by the use of the severest measures, by accustoming the masses to unceasing labor, to sacrifices and deprivations as great if not greater than those they suffered during the war. Compulsory labor legislation is already in preparation and other measures will have to follow if the "state" is to be saved for capitalism. The German working class stands before the alternative: either

it must suffer and tolerate unspeakable exploitation and oppression in the interests of the capitalist class—or revolution.

There is no other answer to the situation as it exists today. Revolution and fraternization with the Soviet Government of Russia, or hunger, want and industrial and political slavery. A few days ago the Ebert government replied with a refusal to the proposal of the Entente to establish a blockade against Russia. Such a measure would be, in the opinion of the German government, entirely ineffective. Moreover the German Republic would, under no circumstances tolerate intercommunication with its Russian neighbor. Finally the Entente was assured that the German government was prepared, at any time to lend its full support to any effective measure against the Workmen's and Peasant's Republic of Russia. To this infamy the German working class can find but one answer—a union with the Russian revolutionary government. The capitalist counter-revolution of the golden International must be met by a united International of the revolutionary proletariat. The German working class must be taught to understand that its only salvation lies in their active support of and co-operation with the Soviet Republic. The fact that this was not generally realized at the time of the November Revolution is in a measure responsible for the failure of the German Revolution.

Our German comrades have, of late, concentrated their energies upon a campaign of education and organization. Industrial organizations—in opposition to the existing labor unions—are being organized. They are creating newspapers, organizing political units and are pursuing a course of obstruction against the capitalist system by encouraging and fomenting strikes for higher wages and shorter hours. Without paying the slightest attention to the helpless rage of capitalism and its servant, the social democracy, it is using its strongest weapon, its industrial power to fight against the counter-revolutionary actions of its rulers, and to enforce political demands. This activity is not very spectacular, it is true. But it is the surest and best way to prepare for a victory of the proletarian revolution that will have to come.

The German Revolution of 1918 is lost. The Communists of Germany are girding their loins for the final struggle. L.