

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

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They are not Dead, O Comrades!

By Louis C. Fraina

THE assassination of Karl Liebkecht and Rosa Luxemburg by hirelings of the old regime, and characteristic of the regime, was a brutal act. But the American press, which hysterically condemns the "terror" in Russia, indicates its delight, after perfunctory expressions of regret, purely formal, by smug variations upon the theme—they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. The sword, used in the corrupting service of Capitalism, evokes approval and applause; the sword, used in the liberating service of Socialism, evokes condemnation and moral attitudes—they that take the sword shall perish by the sword, . . .



Rosa Luxemburg

Imperialism in Germany and in Russia, in Austria and in Britain, France and Italy, took up the sword of reaction and plunged the world into a war of slaves—war that disintegrates the mind and the body of man. But in the flames of this universal war there was forged a new sword, tempered, glorious, irresistible,—the sword of the proletarian revolution, of the armed revolutionary proletariat. And when this sword was invoked by the oppressed masses in Germany and in Russia, there was a unanimous protest from those who had justified the war, whose hands were dripping with the blood of slaughtered millions,—protest, moreover, from the infamous Ebert-Scheidemann majority "Socialists" of Germany, who during four and a half years approved and supported the reactionary war waged by Imperial Germany, and who, through their "Socialist" government, are responsible for the assassination of Karl Liebkecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

While this man and woman heroically waged war against German Imperialism and Kaiserism, their official murderers were fawning upon and sustaining Imperialism and Kaiserism.

While this man and woman were loyal to Socialism, their official murderers were betraying and befouling Socialism.

While this man and woman will secure the reverence of revolutionary Socialism and of history, their official murderers will be scourged as traitors, murderers, scoundrels.

The Ebert-Scheidemann "Socialist" gangsters—their government for the suppression of Socialism—are responsible for the assassination. They concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the worst elements of the old regime—against Socialism and the proletarian revolution; they retained in authority and protected Marshal Hindenburg and the counter-revolutionary general staff; they demobilized and disarmed revolutionary troops, retained reactionary army units and brought these to Berlin to crush the revolutionary masses. And these reactionary troops, coldly brutally, assassinated our great comrades.

This is the responsibility of Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. This is their crime of crimes.

The crime is done. What do the apologists of the Ebert-Scheidemann Government say?—They that

use the sword shall perish by the sword. What does the Government say?—Force to the utmost will be used to "maintain order," that is to say, order over and against the revolutionary masses. What does the Government's military director, Noske,—also "a Socialist"—say?—We shall investigate!

* * *

Our tribute to the dead comrades is not comprised in tears. The dead did not cry at the moment of dying; nor shall the living cry in sorrow. They died the death supreme, our comrades Karl and Rosa, they died as they had lived, glorious, courageous, inspiring; and what finer death is there, O comrades?

No; our tribute is not tears, nor sorrow. Glorious in life, our comrades are still more glorious in death; they are still of us, their struggle and their ideals, terminating in the blood and the agony of their death. Theirs was a life of service to revolutionary Socialism and their death may yet constitute the supreme service. They cannot still the spirit. O comrades.

No; our tribute is a revolutionary tribute—out of their death shall we snatch new life, new energy and courage. We shall avenge their death—not in Germany, it is true, but Germany is merely one part of the international field of battle; we shall avenge their death by a new and more intense struggle for the Social Revolution.

We shall not say farewell, O comrades, for you are still of us; you are still struggling, and you are still an inspiration and a source of life; though your bodies are in death. Accept our homage, great comrades; accept as the final tribute, you who contributed the final service—our determination to struggle uncompromisingly and unflinchingly for the Social Revolution.

The flaming beauty of their death is a challenge. It is a challenge to each of us; it is a challenge to Socialism. But the beauty of their death is not all: there have been martyrs in every cause, good and bad.

It is easier to die greatly than to live greatly. The beauty of their death is in this, that it was the final measure in the full cup of their devotion to revolutionary Socialism.

Not in their death, but in their life—not in their martyrs' end but in their principles—shall we garner their real offering to our cause.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebkecht—the Lenin and Trotzky of Germany—flamed in revolt against the war; but they equally flamed in revolt against the "Socialist" apologists of the war. They flamed in revolt against Capitalism and Imperialism; but they equally flamed in revolt against the petty bourgeois, "majority" Socialism that sustains Capitalism and Imperialism.

War against moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism is a necessary phase of the war against Capitalism; our Karl and Rosa waged this war—war on two fronts; and they were assassinated by the hirelings of Capitalism protected by the government of moderate, petty bourgeois "Socialism."

While moderate "Socialism" in Germany fawned upon the bourgeoisie and Woodrow Wilson, our Rosa and Karl struggled to complete the proletarian revolution in Russia by spreading it in Germany and Europe.

While moderate "Socialism," in Bourbon fashion, learnt nothing and forgot nothing, our Rosa and Karl were in tune with the new rhythm of the Revolution.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebkecht were representatives of revolutionary Socialism. They had seen the older Socialism enter the service of Imperialism; they had seen it crumble, and then become mud; and they refused to let this mud swallow them.

There is one real tribute we can pay our martyred dead—not only our Karl and Rosa, but our other comrades, who have met death in the great struggle—and that is to recognize that their spirit and policy are the policy and spirit of the new Socialism, of the new International, of the final struggle, and victory: *war against Capitalism and Imperialisms war against moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism; on with the great struggle by means of revolutionary mass action and the dictatorship of the proletariat!*

Except in Russia, in Italy and in Norway, moder-

ate, petty bourgeois "Socialism," actual or potential betrayer of our revolutionary cause, is dominant. It is, officially at least, dominant in our own country, in our own party.

The New York Call pays its tribute to our Karl and Rosa, *in words*. But it says that time alone will tell whether our two comrades were "right" or whether Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. were "right."

Blasphemy! The attitude of the compromiser, of the potential betrayer of Socialism!

Our Karl and Rosa waged the struggle for the proletarian revolution, precisely as it was waged in Russia; Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. acted against the



Karl Liebkecht

proletarian revolution, at a time when the fate of the proletarian revolution in Russia and the world depended largely upon the revolutionary proletariat in Germany. And the *Call*, in a style characteristic of its Menshevik, compromising, petty bourgeois ideology, says with monstrous complacency that time alone will tell who was "right."

The *Call's* "tribute" is really an insult to our martyred dead. . . .

Their tribute shall not be words of honey, no! *but deeds of iron shall be their tribute*—the new revolutionary reconstruction of Socialism is the indispensable preliminary to the international proletarian revolution.

* * *

I am in my prison cell. Beyond the iron bars of my cell loom, starkly, the iron bars of my tier, and still beyond, are the windows, with *their* iron bars. It is night, and I am imprisoned.

But I know that, to-morrow, day will flame forth in all its fiery, inspiring beauty.

But I know that the iron bars that now imprison me will yield, and I shall emerge into the world of action. . . .

It is night in the world of International Socialism; but look, there is the rising sun of the Revolution in Russia, irradiating Germany, about to irradiate the world.

Night *must* yield to day.

There are iron bars that now imprison Socialism and the revolutionary proletariat; iron bars of fears, of traditions, of deceptive policy and purposes; but these iron bars will yet be snapt asunder.

Socialism and the proletariat *must* emerge into the world of revolutionary action.

And then, in us and through us, O my comrade Karl and my comrade Rosa, will flame your ardent spirit and your great ideals.

They cannot still the spirit, O comrades! . . .

The flaming Rosa and the passionate Karl are now among the myriad martyred dead of the struggle to fill the mind and the soul of man.

They died greatly, gloriously.

Let us live their ideals greatly, gloriously. If needs must, let us die as they did.

To die in the cause of Life is not death, but life everlasting.

The Revolutionary Age

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LOUIS C. FRAINA Editor
EADMONN MACALPINE Associate Editor

Contributing Editors

SCOTT NEARING LUDWIG LORE
JOHN REED SEN KATAYAMA
N. I. HOURWICH G. WEINSTEIN

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Saturday, February 1, 1919

The Future Belongs to the People

THE future belongs to the people," declared Liebknecht when he was liberated from prison by the German junkers in a frantic effort to stay the Revolution that a few days later flamed throughout Germany. And today, awakened to the truth of his words by his brutal murder and the savage lynching of Rosa Luxemburg, the proletariat of Germany are moving to action and the ultimate conquest of power that will ensure the future for the people.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht have fallen, victims of the desperate savagery of the bourgeois classes, who feel that their power is on the wain. Although they have succeeded in striking down these two valiant fighters, in a physical sense, they have not succeeded in killing their ideas or their words. On the contrary, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg speak with voices that now echo round the world.

"Socialism does not mean the conveying of Parliaments and the enactment of laws; it means the overthrow of the ruling classes by the proletariat," said Rosa Luxemburg on her release from prison which took place about the same time as Liebknecht was freed. They both threw themselves into the struggle and around them centered the revolutionary proletariat, and the fight against majority Socialism, which having acted ever since the outbreak of the war to prevent the revolution, now sought to divert it into the blind alley of bourgeois democracy. They both fell, victims to the rage of the reactionary forces, but in so falling they sealed the fate of the bourgeoisie and its apologist, majority Socialism.

The Constituent Assembly, the instrument of reaction, has proved true to its mission and Germany faces a bourgeois capitalist government, as both Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg foretold. The bourgeoisie and Majority Socialism have triumphed—at the polls. But the proletariat is massing for action. . . . "The future belongs to the people!"

All over Germany the workers are conducting mass strikes, strikes against the bourgeoisie and against the majority Socialists. Already these strikes are taking on the character of mass demonstrations; tomorrow these demonstrations will become mass uprisings—these are the revolutionary movements of the proletariat—and then the ballot-box triumph will become ignominious defeat.

At Bremen, Cruxhaven, Dusseldorf, Hamm, Breslau, Remscheid, throughout the coal-mining regions and the big industrial districts the workers are bringing their economic might to bear, and before this might the proclamations of governments, the ballot-box victories, "the convening of Parliaments and the enactment of laws" are helpless. In revolutions as in peace, or during imperialistic wars the bourgeoisie is helpless once the workers realize their power and decide to use it. The mighty Hindenburg line—which Allied generals pronounced as almost impregnable—crumbled before the will of the proletariat, almost

over night. The unnatural alliance of "Socialists" with the bourgeois imperialists cannot stand before the workers once they see clearly. In the first days of the revolution majority Socialism succeeded in deluding the masses. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg fearlessly devoted themselves to the task of awakening the proletariat to the real situation. But such a task takes time. In Russia where the bourgeoisie was comparatively weak and unorganized this task took over six months. How well Liebknecht, Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, Klara Zetkin and the Spartacans generally, succeeded, can be judged from the extent of the fighting in Berlin a few weeks ago and by the number of towns throughout Germany, particularly in the north, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is actually in operation. But those sections of the workers which were not reached by the Spartacus Group while Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were alive, are now rallying to the standard of revolutionary Socialism, awakened to the realities of the situation by their deaths.

The press reports: "Strikes of miners on a great scale have broken out in Germany, extending to nearly every colliery district in Germany. The movement, which originated as a protest against the killing of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, is of a political character, directed against the Ebert-Scheidemann Government. In Upper Silesia fresh strikes have broken out and nearly 150,000 miners are idle. . . . The employees of the famous Deutsche Kaiser mine have issued a declaration that their action is a demonstration against the government. . . . At Remscheid there is a general strike as a protest against the killing of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. In Berlin the electrical workers, the bank clerks, the street car and subway employes, the telephone operators, the waiters, the gas and municipal workers, and various others are on strike with the result that the city is completely tied up. The German proletariat is beginning to move. . . . "The future belongs to the people."

But it is not alone in Germany that the workers are awakening. Britain has over 150,000 workers on strike, with the railroad workers threatening to stop work at any moment; while in Ireland, the biggest industrial center in the country, Belfast, is paralyzed; over 100,000 men and women are out, the city is in darkness and clashes between the strikers and the police and military are of daily occurrence. In Italy the situation is admittedly critical; in France mass strikes are looming ahead; in Austria, the press reports that over 150,000 are idle in and around Vienna, while in Rumania the peasants are openly in revolt against the landed classes. . . . If these strikes were solely confined to demands for higher wages or shorter hours the situation would not be remarkable, but even the bourgeois press admits that the underlying causes of the unrest is dissatisfaction with the various governments. There is no doubt that all these strikes are the aftermath of the war and are symbolical of the awakening of the working masses of a realization of the truth of Karl Liebknecht's words, "The future belongs to the people." This in itself is encouraging, but signs are not wanting that the masses are going beyond the words of Liebknecht's phrase, are catching the inference—the inference that if the future belongs to the people, the people must conquer power in order to ensure that they will control what belongs to them.

In 1915 Liebknecht replied to John Reed's query regarding the chances of world Revolution by saying: "To my mind nothing else can come out of the war." He saw clearly then and his vision was not dimmed when he was released from prison. But, unlike many others who foresaw revolution as the result of the war, Liebknecht had a very clear idea of how the revolution would operate. He called for a revolt against the government while the war was at its height, and was sent to prison as a result. Released from prison by the approach of the revolution he had called for, he sounded the call to further action by his words: "The future belongs to the people."

Liebknecht's words were not so much a statement of fact based on the recognition of the trend of events; they were and are a slogan, a call to action to the workers to take over the power and mould the future to their desires.

Bolshevikjabs

WE cull the following from the press:

"When the body of Francis Joseph was carried to the Chapel of the Capuchins in Vienna for internment, the commanding officer of the Life Guards, clad in black and steel, thundered with his mailed fist at the barred gate, asking for the body to be admitted. A monk within, according to the rite, asked in Latin: 'Who is it?' Thereupon the officer answered: 'Franciscus Josephus primus, Austriae Imperator, Rex Hungariae, Bohemiae, Illyriae,' etc.

" 'I know him not,' the monk answered. 'Speak again.' Then another officer said in a low voice: 'Franciscus Josephus, a poor erring wanderer, is seeking rest.' Throwing open the gates the monk replied: 'Bring him in.' " Fake humility.

* * *

After evacuating Petrograd last week the Bolsheviks have now returned, but it is reported that this time they have not unpacked their baggage, as they expect to evacuate again shortly.

* * *

Trotsky is reported to be in flight once more, but we are glad to see that he took enough time to liberate Lenin, who is reported to be conquering all before him in the north. The rest in prison apparently did him a lot of good.

* * *

With Lloyd-George keeping one eye on the strike bulletins and the other on the Sinn Feiners it's no wonder that the Peace Conference is going by the board.

* * *

We think that some kind-hearted person should bring him the recent election returns to relieve his mind and show how solidly the country is behind him.

* * *

The Massachusetts legislature has appropriated \$10,000 in order to find jobs for the discharged soldiers, according to press reports. Why not make the appropriation larger and employ all the soldiers to get jobs for one another? It would be quite in line with our present ways of doing things and at least the soldiers would get something more out of it than the pleasure of advertising how much politicians are interested in them.

* * *

Moscow, January 30,—Lenin has returned to Russia from a two week's vacation in Spain. He was very much surprised to hear that during his absence Trotsky had arrested him.

The news of the two billion roubles printed in the United States by the "Russian Embassy" at Washington and shipped to Siberia was received here with the greatest enthusiasm. Since the Soviet government now owns all property this money will eventually be received in the form of taxes. It is reported that it will be used to redeem the French bonds.

No answer has been returned to the invitation of the Peace Conference to send delegates to Princes Island because the Soviet government realizes that every 10 miles the Allies are forced to retreat in Russia will bring the conference between the Russian delegates and the Allied representatives 10 miles nearer Moscow, and as the Soviet government has spent quite a lot of money in railroad fares when Trotsky and Lenin were gadding about the country and even visiting remote parts of the world, it has decided to wait and put the burden of expense on the Allies.

* * *

It is rumored that Sir Edward Carson is opposed to the establishment of a Soviet in Belfast.

* * *

To the list of our special colored Terrors we have now added the Orange Terror—they are breaking windows in Belfast.

* * *

Arising out of the Peace Conference this interesting query presents itself to us: Does five constitute a dictatorship?

The Class Struggle During the War

By Rosa Luxemburg

THE German Social Democracy handed in its political resignation on August 4, 1914. On the same day the Socialist International collapsed. All attempts to deny this fact or to conceal it merely to serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about.

This collapse is without a parallel in history. Socialism or Imperialism—this is the alternative which summed up the political life of the various labor parties of the world during the past decade. In Germany especially it has formed the basis of countless programs, discussions and publications. One of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy has been the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

With the outbreak of the war the word became flesh; the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with this alternative as a fact the Social Democracy, which had been the first to recognize it and bring it to the consciousness of the working class, struck its sails and without a struggle conceded the victory to Imperialism. Never before, since there have been a class struggle and political parties, has there existed a party which, after fifty years of uninterrupted growth after the attainment of a pre-eminent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map.

The apologists for this act, Kautsky among them, maintain that the whole duty of Socialists in time of war is to remain silent. Socialism, they say in effect, is a power for peace, not against war. But there is a logic of events none can elude. The moment Socialists ceased to oppose war they became, by the stern logic of events, its supporters. The labor unionists who have discontinued their struggle for improved conditions, the women who have withdrawn from Socialist agitation in order to help minimize the horrors of war, and the Socialist party leaders who spend their time in the press and on the platform securing support for the government and suppressing every effort at criticism—all these are not merely maintaining silence. They are supporting the war as heartily as any Conservative or Centrist. When and where was there ever a war which could exhibit a similar spectacle?

Where and when was the disregard of all constitutional rights accepted with such submissiveness? Where was there ever such glorification by an opposition party of the strictest censorship of the press? Never before did a political party sacrifice its last drop of blood. The mighty organization of the Social Democracy, its much praised discipline, gave the best proof of themselves in the fact that four millions of human beings allowed themselves to be hitched to the war chariot at the command of a handful of parliamentarians. The half century of preparation on the part of the Socialist party comes to fruition now in this war. All our education of the masses make them now the obedient and effective servants of the imperialist state. Marx, Engels and Lassalle, Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer trained the German proletariat in order that Hindenburg might lead it.

Our official theorists are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. They are perfectly willing to explain the slight disagreement between their actions of to-day and their words of yesterday. Their apology is that "although the Social Democracy has concerned itself much with the question as to what should be done to prevent the war it has never concerned itself with the problem as to what should be done after the beginning of hostilities." Ready to do everybody's bidding, this theory assures us that the present practice of our party is in the most beautiful harmony with

Before she could finish this article, Rosa Luxemburg was sent in to prison to serve a sentence for anti-militarist agitation. It appeared in The International, a magazine started by Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, and suppressed by the censor upon the appearance of the first issue.

our past theories. The delightfully adaptable theory is likewise ready and willing to justify the present position of International Socialism in reference to its past. The International treated only the question of the prevention of war. But now, "war is a fact," and, as it turns out, after the outbreak of war Socialists are to be guided by entirely new principles. After war has actually begun the great question for each proletariat is: Victory or defeat? Or, as an "Austro-Marxist" explains, a nation, like any other organism, must preserve its existence. In plain language this means: The proletariat has not one fundamental principle as scientific Socialism heretofore maintained, but two, one for peace and another for war. In time of peace, we are to suppose, the workers are to take cognizance of the class struggle within the nation and of international solidarity in relation to other countries; in time of war, on the other hand, class solidarity becomes the dominant feature of international affairs and the struggle against the workers of other countries dominates the proletarian view of foreign relations. To the great historic appeal of the Communist Manifesto is added an important amendment and it reads now, according to this revision: "Workers of all lands unite in peace and cut one another's throats in war!" To-day, "Down with Russians and French!" to-morrow, "We are brothers all!"

This convenient theory introduces an entirely novel revision of the economic interpretation of history. Proletarian tactics before the outbreak of war and after must be based on exactly opposite principles. This presupposes that social conditions, the bases of our tactics are fundamentally different in war from what they are in peace. According to the economic interpretation of history as Marx established it, all history is the history of the class struggles. According to the new revision, we must add: except in times of war. Now human development has been periodi-

cally marked by wars. Therefore, according to this new theory, social development has gone on according to the following formula: a period of class struggles, marked by class solidarity and conflicts within the nations; then a period of national solidarity and international conflicts—and so on indefinitely. Periodically the foundations of social life as they exist during peace change in time of war. And again, at the moment of the signing of a treaty of peace, they are restored. This is not, evidently, progress by means of successive "catastrophes"; it is rather progress by means of a series of somersaults. Society develops, we are to suppose, like an iceberg floating down a warm current; its lower portion is melted away, it turns over, and continues this process indefinitely.

Now all the known facts of human history run straight counter to this new theory. They show that there is a necessary and dialectic relation between the class struggle and the war. The class struggle develops into war and war develops into the class struggle; and thus their essential unity is proved. It was so in the medieval cities, in the wars of the Reformation, in the Flemish wars of liberation, in the French Revolution, in the American Rebellion, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian uprising in 1905. [And now in 1917, in Russia, again.]

Moreover, theoretically this new idea leaves not one stone of the Marxian doctrine on another. If, as Marx supposes, neither war nor the class struggle falls from heaven, but both arise from deep social-economic causes, then they cannot disappear periodically unless their causes also go up in vapor. Now the proletarian class struggle is a necessary aspect of the wage system. But during war the wage system does not tend to disappear. On the contrary, the aspects of it which give rise to the struggle of the class become especially prominent. Speculation, the founding of new companies to carry on war industries, military dictatorship. If, then, the causes of the class struggle are multiplied, strengthened, during war how can their inevitable result be supposed to go out of existence? Conversely, wars are at the present time a result of the competition of various capitalist expansion. Now, these two forces are not operative only while the cannon are booming; they are active in peace as well, and it is precisely in time of peace that they influence our life in such a way as to make the outbreak of war inevitable. For war is, as Kautsky loves to quote from Clausewitz, "the continuation of politics by other means." And the imperialist phase of capitalist rule, through competition in building of armaments, has made peace illusory, for it has placed us regularly under military dictatorship and has thereby made war permanent.

Therefore our revised economic interpretation of history leads to a dilemma. Our new revisionists are between the devil and the sea. Either the class struggle persists in war as the chief life-condition of the proletariat and the declaration of class harmony by Socialist leaders is a crime against the working class; or carrying on the class struggle in time of peace is a crime against the "interests of the nation" and the "security of the fatherland." Either the International must remain a heap of ruins after the war or its resurrection will take place on the basis of the class struggle from which it took its rise in the first place. It will not reappear by magic at the playing over of the old tunes which hypnotized the world before August 4. Only by definitely recognizing and disowning our own weaknesses and failures since August 4, by giving up the tactics introduced since that time, can we begin the rebuilding of the International. An first step in this direction is agitation for the ending of the war and the securing of peace on the basis of the common interests of the international proletariat.

Liebknecht - Luxemburg

MEMORIAL

MASS MEETING

—in—

Grand Opera House
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Sunday, February 2, 1919

at 2 p. m.

Speakers

Jim Larkin

Fred Biedenkapp

Gen. Sec. Brotherhood of Metal Workers

Gregory Weinstein

Eadmonn MacAlpine

All Speakers Will Positively Appear

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The Communist Party of Germany

IN No. 229 of the Moscow *Pravda*, Karl Radek, the Bolshevik envoy to Germany, gives interesting information about the disorganization of the German Social-Democracy during the war and about the revolutionary elements which formed about the end of last year—the Spartacus party.

Radek points out that even before the war German Marxism "divided into two groups: the so-called centre, led by Kautsky, Hilferding, Ekstein, Haaze and Ledebour; and the so-called left radicals, led by Knief, Rosa Luxemburg, Pannecuk, Talheimer, Westmeier and Zetkin."

However, the line which divided the centre and the left of the German Social-Democracy before the war was not clear to the other sections of the Internationale. Many were of the opinion that there really were no serious differences on principles between the centre and the left. Many comrades thought that the left are going too far in their attacks on the centre.

But then the war broke out and "the majority of the German Social-Democracy openly deserted to German Imperialism, covering up the attack of German Imperialism by the slogan of national defense. Nine tenths of the parliamentary representatives of the so-called centre were among the traitors. A handful remained formally true to the old principles, but in reality they did not oppose Imperialism, defending their policy by the necessity of saving the unity of the party, although unity with betrayers of Socialism is nothing else than treason. The German Social-Democracy failed, and with it failed the centre, whose political leader, deputy Haaze, read on the 4th of August the famous declaration in the Reichstag about the defense of the fatherland. And the ideological leader of the centre, Kautsky, in his first message to the workers after this collapse of German Socialism found only words of justification for what had happened and urged unity.

"Precisely at this time it became clear that the work of the left radicals and their struggle against the decayed Kautskianism was not in vain, although

before the war they could not convince the labor masses of the menace of Imperialism and of the necessity of revolutionary struggle. But they have created a group of workers who at the moment of the most distressing disappointment clearly saw ahead of them the road of the struggle, understood the causes of the collapse and knew the way out of it. Already at the end of August, 1914, the Berlin left radicals as well as the Bremen and Hamburg groups had become active.

"Liebknecht's vote against war credits on November 21, 1914, was the first open call addressed to the masses. The workers hardly moved, and the centre party tried to suppress every movement, claiming that it was premature and pointing out the danger of a split. Liebknecht's action was taken by the centre as a slap directed at it. The centre tried to compromise Liebknecht in the eyes of the masses, describing him as a selfish man who wants to be in the limelight. But the masses of workers understood the significance of the act of November 21 and began to close their ranks around Karl Liebknecht. The Bremen group carried on in the *Bremen Burger Zeitung* not only a militant policy with regard to current events, but interpreted the theoretical bankruptcy of the Internationale and other events, in spite of the opposition of the centre and the strict censorship. The small *Licht Strahlen* carried on a persistent struggle for revolutionary Marxism.

"The German disconnected groups found a centre abroad in the *Berner Tagewacht* which gets all the news of the German movement. In May, 1915, Liebknecht's group managed to publish *The International*, whose appearance marked the end of the first period of the Communist Party of Germany.

"The Zimmerwald conference, however, shows that it was easier to plan correct theoretical tactics than to actually carry them out. The masses were awakening, but did not yet act, and the centrist were therefore, still dominant. The delegation of the "International" group at the Zimmerwald conference, in

spite of their criticism of the centrists, at the final vote acted together with them.

"The arrest of Liebknecht, who was opposed to this indecisive policy, who demanded relentless separation from the centrists, increased the influence of the right part of the Communists, who, being opposed to a separation from the centrists, could not give a clear slogan for a split in the German Social-Democracy.

"But in spite of its tactical mistakes the group "International" in all open acts functioned as the most resolute factor. This group was at the head of the labor masses as soon as food riots, strikes and political demonstrations began. And during this struggle this group fell under the influence of the consistent propaganda of the Bremen *Arbeiter Politik*.

"Nevertheless, the desire not to break with the Independents still won in the group "International," although in the secret letters to its organizations the group speaks of the unity with the pacifist centrists as a temporary necessity, in view of the fact that the group existed illegally, while the centrists had some legal standing. The participation of the Spartacus group in the Independent party forced out the radical elements united around the *Arbeiter Politik*."

The conference of the Spartacus group which was held in the middle of October last decided to separate from the Independents and to unite all left Socialist organizations into a Communist party, the Spartacus party.

"The German Communists began their existence as a united party. They had a sufficient number of leaders comprehending theoretically the world situation and they had a sufficient number of splendid and advanced workers who had become hardened in the illegal struggle of four years."

"In the Communist party of Germany we salute an organization with which the Russian Communists are bound by common aims, common views and by the decision to help one another. From the ranks of this Communist party will in the future come the leaders of the German labor state."

The Left Wing in the American Socialist Party

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

THE great epoch through which we are passing; an epoch of the breaking up and destruction of everything old, old foundations and forms of life, old conceptions and principles; has not spared the old Socialist parties.

The war and the consequent revolutionary events have proved to be that acid test at which the former "unity" of the Socialist parties has been broken, and those social elements and groups which so recently were observed to live peacefully and in "solidarity" under one Socialistic roof, under the guise of a common Socialist name, are found to be now in different, and at times, opposing camps.

On one hand, to the left Socialist camp have gone those real revolutionary elements which during the long years of preliminary "peaceful" activity have not lost their proletarian banners, for whom the great principles and slogans, which know no compromises or reconciliations in the struggle of the working class for the ultimate emancipation, have not changed into a decorative adjunct without any sense or practical significance. On the other hand, to the right, were found those traitors to Socialism who have gone over to serve the bourgeoisie, who for the pottage of imaginary fleeting successes and gains sold out the birth-right of the ultimate aspirations and aims of the working class, who concluded "a civil peace" with the bourgeoisie thereby declaring war against the working class. . . .

This process of internal decomposition which inevitably leads, and in many cases has already brought about an open split, touched all Socialist parties without exception. In Russia and Germany, for instance, the elements thus split, elements which had hitherto

"united" in the social democratic parties, stand now arrayed against each other on opposite sides of the barricades, arms in hands,—one part defending the revolutionary gains already obtained by the proletariat and clearing, as it were, the road to further victories over world Imperialism; while the others function in the inglorious and shameless role of the defenders of Imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

And, precisely the fact, that in the two countries where the revolution is in action, where the proleta-

riat have dealt an especially strong blow at the domination of the bourgeoisie,—the split between the "left" and the "right" phalanxes of the at one time united Socialist parties has reached the stage of open war,—is deeply significant. This fact destroys the fetish that a "united" Socialist Party was the all important necessity and on the contrary proves that such an "unlawful union" of elements fundamentally different in an "united" party is the chief weakness of the Socialist movement and is a continual burden on the revolutionary wing of the party. The split in the Socialist parties of Russia and Germany, did not weaken, but on the contrary, strengthened the left wing and made it capable of revolutionary actions. The same applies to the other Socialist parties.

The war has dealt the first mighty blow at the structure of the Second International. Now before the social builders and architects of the future lies the hard, but nevertheless inevitable, task of completing the process of destruction and building upon the ruins the firmer and more stable structure of the Third International.

The same task lies before the American Socialist Party, and as the first step towards the realization of this task I heartily greet the creation within its ranks the bearer of the revolutionary message—the left wing of the party.

The timely creation of this wing and its successful growth will be the guarantee that at the proper moment the party will be enabled to reach the accomplishment of the task imposed upon it by history and will not be tied hand and foot by the old, rust-eaten opportunism or the collaboration of elements which are no longer Socialist.

To Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg

By Maximilian Cohen

*They slew you in their beastly rage,
Because you dared the struggle wage
With tyrants and with traitors too—
The traitors feared and so they slew.
Deluded knaves! Your lifeless tongues
More potent now in martyr songs
Will trumpet forth the truth until,
The very earth will rock and thrill
And thrones and states will crash and fall—
And labor triumphs over all.*

* * *

*So comrades sleep—your work is done;
Sleep on! The battle will be won.*

Karl Liebknecht and the International

(Extracts from an article on International Socialism written in April 1917)

By Nicholai Lenin

The following article gives a glimpse of how Liebknecht was viewed by his great contemporary in the Revolutionary Socialist movement. Writing of the tendencies evinced in the different countries during the war and of the people who were the spokesmen of these tendencies Lenin reviews the movement the world over and divides it into three groups. It is in connection with these groups that he speaks of Liebknecht.

THE international Socialist and working class movements the world over have in the course of the war split into three groups. Whoever understands their tendencies, has analyzed them closely and still deserts the fight for real active internationalism, is a weakling and a fraud.

1.—Social-patriots, that is, Socialists in words and chauvinists in fact, who agree to defend their fatherland in an imperialistic war and particularly in this imperialistic war. These men are our class enemies. They have gone over to the bourgeois camp. They count among their numbers the majority of Socialist leaders in every nation. Plekhanov & Co. in Russia, Scheidemann in Germany, Renaudel, Guesde and Sembat in France, Bissolati & Co. in Italy, Hyndman, the Fabians and the Laborites in England, Branting & Co. in Sweden, Troelstra and his party in Holland, Stauning and his party in Denmark.

2.—The second group, that might be called the center, is hesitating between social-patriotism and actual internationalism. These people swear by all that is holy that they are Marxists, that they are internationalists, that they are for peace, for exerting pressure upon the government, for presenting all sorts of demands that show the desire of the nation for peace, they are peace propagandists and want a peace without annexations and they want peace with the social-patriots. The center is for union and against any sort of schism. The center is the heaven of petty bourgeois phrases of lip internationalism, of cowardly opportunism, of compromise with the social-patriots. The fact is that the center is not convinced of the necessity of a revolution against the government of its own country: it does not preach that kind of revolution; it does not wage an incessant fight for the revolution, and it resorts to the lowest, super-Marxist dodges to get out of the difficulty.

The social patriots are the enemies of our class, they are bourgeois in the midst of the labor movement. They represent layers of groups of the working class which have been practically bought by the bourgeoisie through better wages, positions of honor, etc., and which help their bourgeoisie to exploit and oppress smaller and weaker nations, and take part in the division of capitalistic spoils.

The members of the center group are routine worshippers, eaten up by the gangrene of legality, corrupted by the parliamentary comedy, bureaucrats accustomed to nice sinecures and steady jobs. Histo-

rically and economically, they do not represent any special stratum of society; they only represent the transition from the old fashioned labor movement as it was from 1871 to 1914, which rendered inestimable services to the proletariat through its slow, continued, systematic work of organization in a large, very large field, to the new movement which was objectively necessary at the time of the first world-wide war of Imperialism, and which has inaugurated the social-revolutionary era.

The main leader and representative of the center is Karl Kautsky who dominated the Second International (from 1889 to 1914), who has been responsible for the complete downfall of Marxism, who has showed an unheard-of lack of principles and the most pitiful hesitancy and betrayed the cause since August, 1914.

Among the centrists are Kautsky, Haase, Ledebour, and the so-called labor group in the Reichstag; in France, Longuet, Pressman and the so-called minority; in England, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald and other leaders of the Independent Labor Party, and a part of the British Socialist Party; Morris Hillquit and many others in the United States; Turati, Treves, Modigliani and others in Italy, Robert Grimm and others in Switzerland; Victor Adler & Co. in Austria; the Mensheviks, Axelrod, Martov, Cheidse, Tseretelli and others in Russia.

It goes without saying that some individual members of those groups go unconsciously from social-patriotism to centerism, and *vice versa*. Every Marxist knows, however, that classes retain their character regardless of the free migration of people from one group to another, in spite of all the efforts which are made to blend class or harmonize tendencies.

3.—The third, truly internationalist, is most accur-

ately represented by the so called "Zimmerwald Left."

It is characterized by its complete schism from the social-patriots and the centrists. It has been waging a relentless war against its own imperialistic government and its own imperialistic bourgeoisie. Its motto is: "Our worst enemy is at home." It has fought ruthlessly the nice and respectable social pacifists' phraseology, for those people who are social pacifists in words are bourgeois pacifists in deeds: bourgeois pacifists dream of an everlasting peace which shall not be preceded by the overthrow of capitalist domination. They have been employing every form of sophistry to demonstrate the impossibility, the inopportunities of keeping up the proletarian class struggle or of starting a proletarian Social Revolution in connection with the present war.

The members of this group in Germany are known as the Spartacus or International Group, to which Karl Liebknecht belongs. Karl Liebknecht is the best known representative of that tendency and of the new real, proletarian international.

Karl Liebknecht called upon the workingmen and soldiers of Germany to turn their guns upon their own government. Karl Liebknecht did that openly from the tribune of parliament, the Reichstag. Then he went out on Potsdamer Platz, one of the largest public squares in Berlin, with a batch of unlawfully printed proclamations to head a demonstration that shouted: "Down with the government." He was arrested and sentenced to hard labor. He is now serving his term in a German jail, like hundreds if not thousands of other real Socialists of Germany who have been jailed for waging war against war.

Karl Liebknecht attacked mercilessly in his speeches and his writings not only the Plekhanovs and the Potresofs of Germany (Scheidemann, Legien, David, etc.), but also the centrists of Germany, the German Cheidsees and Tseretellis, men like Kautsky, Haase, Ledebour and others.

Karl Liebknecht and his friend, Otto Ruhle, alone among 110 Socialist deputies in the Reichstag, disregarded the party discipline, destroyed the harmonious union with the centrists and the chauvinists, and fought everybody. Liebknecht alone really represents Socialism, the proletarian cause, the proletarian revolution. The rest of the German Social Democracy, to quote the apt words of Rosa Luxemburg, also a member and leader of the Spartacus Group, is "a stinking carrion."

A Tribute from the Far East

By Sen Katayama

This tribute to the man and woman who have died that the toiling masses of the world may realize life in its fulness, is perhaps one of the reddest of the many flowers that are strewn on their graves from all over the world, for it comes from one embodying in his being the reality of the International, one who in a long life of struggle against great odds has always remained true to revolutionary Socialism. It is the new soul of the East crying to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as they pass on that their sacrifice has not been in vain. It is the voice of the Oriental races pledging solidarity with the Caucasian and is prophetic of the new era of the Brotherhood of the Workers of the World.

ment. This being the case we can understand why they were mobbed.

We mourn our loss the more that these two brave comrades were murdered at the very moment that the power and influence of the revolutionary movement is about to sweep all over the European continent. The loss may temporarily set back the revolution, at least in Berlin, but henceforth these two stalwarts, murdered by Scheidemann, Ebert & Co., will live in the very life of the world's proletariat and lead, even more successfully to the final victory of the prole-

tarian Socialist Revolution. We, the left wing Socialists, will never cease our protest against the crime of majority Socialism in Germany in murdering our two comrades after they were arrested.

I, personally feel infinite sorrow at the death of Rosa Luxemburg, because I knew her intimately, stayed in the Hotel Posen at Amsterdam in 1904 when she was there, often took our meals at the same table and talked together as we were, then, the left wing. She interpreted my English speech at the Congress, as did her comrade and co-worker in Germany Klara Zetkin. She translated my words into French while Klara Zetkin translated into German.

The Ebert government may think that murdering the opposing leaders, together with the support of the "loyal" army and the bourgeois classes, will keep it in power, but these very murders seal its fate and reveal it as the arch enemy of Socialism and the toiling masses. They are bound to fall before the oncoming Social Revolution directed by the mighty spirit of Bolshevism.

We sorrow at the loss of our great international comrades, but at the same time we are sure of our success in the coming Social Revolution that will establish temporarily in every nation a labor dictatorship. In this great work our comrades Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in their mighty personalities will do ever greater and wider service.

THE international Socialist movement has lost two of its greatest figures in Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The loss to our movement is greatest in that it comes just at this moment. Scheidemann & Co. killed the Second International by supporting Kaiserism and its war, they betrayed the cause of Socialism and the proletariat, but now they have committed their greatest crime by murdering two of our foremost leaders of the Third International.

Varied reports concerning the death of our two comrades reach us through the bourgeois press, which has endeavored to discredit them, but it cannot be denied that they both were completely in the hands of Scheidemann, Ebert & Co., and we can easily imagine both were wilfully murdered by these "Socialists," through their so-called loyalists. The Independent Socialists of Berlin assert that Liebknecht did not attempt to escape but was killed by the soldiers escorting him. "Liebknecht," the New York Times reports, "cool in facing death, smiled derisively as he heard the howls of the Berlin mob, remarking to the soldiers on guard: 'They would kill Jesus Christ, Himself.' He was very pale but otherwise showed no fear."

The hotel near where Rosa Luxemburg was lynched and Karl Liebknecht mobbed is located in the most fashionable quarter of the city, populated by the classes who feared most the "Red" Socialist move-

Tchitcherin's Report to the Fifth Soviet Congress, July, 1918

Translated from the *De Nieuwe Tijd*, the Dutch left wing Socialist magazine, by B. Auerhaan.

II

THE relations of Russia to the states of Central Europe were determined by the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the principal part of our policy in relation to Germany was to execute this treaty. The indistinctness, the as yet undecided agreements and the imperfection of the treaty of Brest encouraged the exponent of the annexationist policy to develop this policy still further, with regard to Russia.

The treaty of Brest is not distinct as to the boundaries of the territory occupied by Germany, and yet it determined that at the moment of the signing of the treaty all further progress should cease. The treaty leaves the situation of territories occupied by Germany an open question. The territory of the Ukraine is not defined, and the question of the boundaries of the Ukraine, together with the uncertainty of where the German troops would stop, was an extremely dangerous one. The indistinct, contradictory, and somewhat impracticable stipulations concerning the Russian ships creates the possibility for new demands from Germany and the Ukraine upon Russia. Besides there was the possibility of going still further than the stipulations, under the pretext of "self-determination."

The simplest method was to accept a fictitious "right of self-determination" in the regions occupied by Germany. In fact, we had already received a report concerning the "self-determination" of Dwinsk (on the railroad from Warsaw to Petrograd and from Riga to Moscow, Warsaw in Poland and Riga in Courland being under German control) who desired to become part of Courland. We also heard from the delegation in the White Ruthenian regions (the governments of Grodno, Vilna, Vitebsk, Smolensk, Mohilef and Minsk—the region between Warsaw to a short distance from Moscow) that they wished to withdraw from the sovereignty of Russia.

Section 7 of the treaty of Brest provides that a special commission determine the boundaries of those regions that withdrew from Russia. When this commission convened at Pakov (between Dwinsk and Petrograd) it was empowered, by the consent of both governments to determine definitely the boundaries of the regions occupied by Germany. However, after the first session of this commission, their work was interrupted, and has not been continued since.

The following proposition was submitted by the Germans: *that the basis for the right of self-determination be established on the boundaries of German occupation; that every landowner whose land was bounded by the German line of occupation should have the privilege of deciding to which side (Germany or our side) his property should belong in the future.* The solution of this question of principle was referred to Berlin, where the Political Commission (a mixed commission of Soviet representatives and Germans) will be occupied with it.

The position of the occupied regions is not as yet clear. The German government informed us that the railroad employees would retain their former wages, and enjoy all advantages as to the division of the necessities of life, and that malicious agitators were spreading rumor amongst the employees that all those who continued their work under German occupation would lose their employment, their pension, and all their savings when later the now occupied territories were restored to Russia. Therefore, the German government requested us to send a public notice to the occupied districts containing the information that these rumors were baseless and that the Russian government recommended that the railroad employees continue with their work. However, we found upon direct information that the wages of the railroad employees were reduced fifty per cent, and that these employees and all other officers were subjected to all kinds of persecution and that they did not enjoy any advantage in regard to the necessities of life.

We informed the German government that we could

not take any part in the responsibility of the administration of the occupied district as long as the German government insisted upon deposing all Soviets and continued to destroy traces of the Soviet system. The question of the internal administration of the occupied sections had also to be referred to the Political Commission in Berlin.

The military advance of the Germans after the treaty of Brest-Litovsk occurred in two directions: in Finland and in the Ukraine. After the Russian Republic had submitted to the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk and had recalled her troops from Finland, there remained in Finland but few Russian citizens who, upon their own responsibility, took part in the struggle of the Finnish working class. At the moment of the invasion of German troops into Finland, and thereafter, we received continual threatening notes from the German government claiming that we had sent troops and munitions to Finland. But every time when the occupations complained of in the notes were investigated we found that in reality they did not exist. They merely served the Germans as a motive for delaying the cessation of military measures. The notes served to justify the government of the Finnish White Guards when they refused to liberate the Russian citizens, Kamjenes, Sawitski and Wolf, who were returning from Sweden and were arrested at the Aland Islands. The Finns pointed to our violations of the Brest-Litovsk treaty when bands of White Guards invaded Karelie and the Murman regions, the southwest half of the former having been a part of Russia for two hundred years, and the latter being wholly Russian.

The German government constantly reminded us that we are compelled, according to the treaty of Brest, to reach an agreement with Finland, and the Russian Soviet Government declared their willingness time and again, despite the extreme provocative acts of the Finnish White Guards. I remind you of the shooting of thousands of Russians in Wyborg, of the many executions of Russian citizens, even of official members of the Soviets in Finland. I remind you of the arrest of Kowanko, the commander of Sweaborg, the Russian fortress on the Island of Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, of whose appointment Finland was duly informed through our representative ad interim and the agency of the German government. Kowanko was arrested immediately afterwards and had to submit to an investigation, and up to this date, July 19, 1918, has not yet been liberated. I remind you also of the violent seizure of the Russian ships by the Finns, of the seizure of the hospital ships, also of the enormous sums of money, amounting to many billions, taken from the safes of the fortress and the vaults of the Russian exchequer. Notwithstanding, the Russian government declared itself willing time and time again to negotiate, not only as an answer to the German demands, but the Russian government addressed itself directly to Finland with a proposition which was never answered.

The question of our relations to Finland was especially acute when an important German-Finnish army on one side advanced towards the Russian frontier near Bielovstrov (directly northwest of Petrograd) and the German government on the other side questioned us concerning the presence of English troops in the Murman district (which territory, as mentioned above, the German-Finnish White Guards had invaded) in this inquiry, the number of English troops was grossly exaggerated by the German government. In May, the question of Fort Ino became the most prominent, when the German government followed the example set by the Finnish High Commander and demanded the surrender of this Russian fort to Finland. This took place in the general critical period of the advance of the Germans, after the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, when the German troops advanced into the governments of Worenesj and Koersk (in which governments the rivers Donetz and Don enter the Azov Sea) and the end of this advance could not be foreseen. Our notes to the German government at

the latter part of April and the beginning of May, containing pressing inquiries as to their exact intentions in relation to Fort Ino, resulted in the commencement of negotiations to reach a compromise. (Note: Fort Ino is one of those forts which threaten Petrograd).

When, despite the negotiations, the Finnish troops demanded the immediate surrender of Fort Ino, and the Fort was destroyed by the retreating Russian troops, the German government at last proposed as a basis for an agreement with Finland: the return of the town of Ino, upon the condition that this place and the district Ravoli (on the railroad, exactly N. W. of Petrograd) in the vicinity of Bjetvostrof should not be enforced by the Russians, and upon the condition that we abandon the western part of the Murman regions, which the Germans and Finns had invaded, to Finland. Our acceptance of this as a basis for an agreement led to the discontinuation of the critical situation of May. However, notwithstanding this, Finland still continued to refuse to answer our proposal to enter into mutual negotiations.

The separation of Esthonia and of the northern part of Courland from Russia is in no way the result of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, because this treaty only provided for the temporary occupation by Germany of these parts. Already on the 28th of January there was delivered to our representative Worofski in Stockholm a declaration from the land owners and barons of Esthonia and Courland concerning the independence of these provinces. After that, meetings of the landowners and barons were held in Esthonia and Courland, and in Riga, the capital of Courland, on March 22, and at Reval, the capital of Esthonia, on March 28, they decided on the convocation of congresses, These congresses were held in Riga and Reval on April 9-10, and they accepted the declaration as to the separation from Russia. On the 19th of May, our representative Joffe received notice to that effect through the office of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In this note of May 28th, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joffe called attention to the fact that the action taken in Riga and Reval was in reality but the expression of a comparatively small part of the people of Courland and Esthonia and that only by a real and general unhampered expression of all the people, under the condition of the withdrawal of the army of occupation, could the basis of self determination and separation be decided.

The Russian Government was but lately confronted with the question of its relations to Poland, when the representative of the Polish Council of Regents, Mr. Lednitzki, came to Moscow, and in his position as representative of Poland, desired to enter into relation with the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. On his first visit, we found his credentials unintelligible, but when he came the second time, he came with the formal authority of the Council of Regents to negotiate with us, concerning matters regarding Poland. However, we do not recognize the present situation in Poland as politically independent, and therefore cannot consider the Polish government as expressing the will of the people.

We entered therefore into relations with Mr. Lednitzki, but, as is self explanatory, only in essential, not in diplomatic relations, and then only when Count Mirbach, who was at that time the German ambassador in Moscow, informed us that by maintaining such relations we would gratify an expressed wish of the German government.

A more intense German offensive on the Ukraine side would have been more threatening than the advance upon the side of Finland. Directly after the conclusion of the treaty of Brest the troops of the Central Soviet government were ordered to withdraw from the Ukraine. The Soviet government was maintained within the borders of the Ukraine, which, after the second congress formed itself into the government

of the independent Soviet Republic of Ukraine. After the German troops had occupied all points belonging to the Ukraine, they continued to advance still further in the direction of Moscow and even occupied the southern part of the Russian governments of Tversk and Woronesj.

Therefore, the question of determining a line of demarkation on the Ukrainian front, which would determine the limits of the German advance, was quite acute, especially on the front near Woronesj, where Germany first demanded the occupation of some districts, but later only the occupation of the Waloeiki district, with the important strategic railroad junction of Woronesj. The question of the line of demarkation was closely connected with the question of cessation of hostilities, and this was the beginning of negotiations with the Ukraine.

On March 30, the Ukrainian Rada addressed us with the proposition to commence negotiations, and the German government repeatedly pointed to our obligations as laid out in the treaty of Brest to conclude a peace with the Ukraine. From our side, we proposed opening negotiations at Smolensk (between Moscow and Brest). Although we sent our proposition directly to the Rada in Kief, and also to Berlin, our proposition did not reach the Rada in Kief soon enough, and it was not until April 16th that the Rada sent us a courier with a note proposing to conduct the negotiations at Tversk (halfway between Moscow and Kief), whereto our delegates rapidly departed.

The peace delegation of the Ukraine came but to Worosjby (half way between Tversk and Kief), but the constant hostilities made it impossible for the delegates to meet. At this time, the Kief Rada was displaced by the government of Skoropadski, and Germany insisted that the negotiations be transferred to Kief, here they commenced on May 22nd.

The first question to be acted upon was the question of an armistice. The most important question, however, was the determination of a line of demarkation. We had repeatedly in the past made the question of determination of the boundaries of the Ukraine a topic for discussion, as we considered this matter as most important, having to reckon with far reaching consequences in case of an unfavorable conclusion.

On March 29, we received a telegram from the German assistant secretary Busche, in answer to our queries, explaining that the circumference of the Ukraine was temporarily determined upon, nine governments being added to the Ukraine.

When the negotiations concerning an armistice started, the Ukrainians demanded much more. They demanded that the line of demarkation be extended further to the North and to the East, so that they occupy eight more districts. They wanted especially the government of Woronesj, making fourteen districts, with a population of three million, to be given them.

The extreme moment in the negotiations occurred simultaneously with the critical moment in the South, with the critical moment upon the Black Sea, when Germany demanded that the Russian fleet near Noworossisk return to Sebastopol. The Germans did not limit their military forces to the nine governments added to the Ukraine on March 29th, but occupied Tegenrog and Rostof, on the Don (both of the Sea of Azof) on May 6. Their further advance came to a halt at the important railroad junction Batarsk (opposite Rostof on the Don), which was occupied by a Soviet army.

On April 22, the German troops had already invaded the Crimea and had more extensively occupied the peninsula of Tauri, while a certain part of our Black Sea fleet had time to live for Noworossisk. We received a number of notes from Germany, wherein she complained of hostile treatment in different places upon the Black Sea, where ships belonging to our Black Sea fleet were destroyed.

On the South, the Turkish army advanced into the Caucasian regions, occupied Alexandropol (south of Tiflis) and threatened Baku, while southern Trans Caucasia sent troops against Soviet Russia, against the adherents of the Soviet movement in the vicinity of Sackhum (in South Caucasia on the Black Sea).

and in the entire Abchasie (South Caucasian Mountain region). The advance of the Germans and their allies in the Kuban regions (the western part of North Caucasia) had already started.

And in this critical moment the demand was made of us to order the return of the Black Sea fleet from Noworossisk to Sebastopol.

As a result of further negotiations, we received the guarantee from Germany that ships would not be used during the war and that after the conclusion of a general peace they would be returned to Russia. At the same time, the troops would not advance further upon the entire line of demarkation on the Ukrainian front, which was similar to the real position of the occupation at the beginning of the Ukrainian negotiations, which did not extend beyond Walveki upon the Woronesj frontier and stopped at Batsjck (opposite Rostof) upon the Southwestern frontier. In case we refused, the advance to Koeban would continue, and besides we were told that the possibility of economic and political agreements, the order to cease all advances upon the Ukrainian frontier, and even the beginning of the work of the joint commission in Berlin, depended upon our consent to the return of the Black Sea fleet from Noworossisk to Sebastopol.

The question of the return of the fleet thus became the centre of the whole German diplomacy against us, so that they might influence the whole further progress of our relations. The return of a part of the fleet to Sebastopol on June 18 and the sinking of the rest on June 19 made an end of this critical event.

Quickly upon this, the commission in Berlin, which had not convened for a long time, began to hold sessions, and the advance of the German troops upon the Ukrainian front ceased. The negotiations progressed even more rapidly. Three days after our consent was obtained for the return of our fleet, on June 12, a general armistice with the Ukraine was concluded. On June 17, an agreement concerning the line of demarkation of the Northern Ukrainian front was arrived at, and representatives were sent to Vitebsk to determine upon this line of demarkation. The most important point in the peace negotiations was the question of the boundaries of the Ukraine. It was agreed that the fate of those parts over which no agreement could be reached should be decided by a referendum, held under conditions that would guarantee the free and unhampered expression of the people.

The advance of the Turks, and later, of the Germans, in the South, was made easy through the policy of the Trans-Caucasian government (Social Revolutionary and Menshevik) a government supported by the privileged classes of the population, who had adopted a hostile attitude against Soviet Russia. After the attempts of the Russian Soviet government to enter into communications with the Trans-Caucasian government did not materialize, Germany offered her mediation for "regulating" the relations between us. After we had agreed to this, Count Mirback proposed that we send our delegation to Kief for the negotiations with the Trans-Caucasian government. However, we proposed that we meet in Vladikavkas (in Caucasia) and we insisted that the negotiations be directly between the Russian Soviet Republic and the Trans Caucasian government. Finally Count Mirback informed us that the representatives of the Trans-Caucasian government, Vatshabelli and Tseretelli, were on their way to Moscow, and that the German government cherished the urgent wish that the negotiations between us commence.

But the Trans-Caucasian government collapsed. The Georgian National Council, which took the place of the government of Tseretelli, sent a representative, Mr. Khvendadste, to Moscow, with whom, however, we did not start negotiations. We knew that the government of the independent Georgians represented only the privileged class and that the masses did not wish nor recognize the separation from Russia. We also received the report that fictitious representatives of the Mussalman of Askhabatz (the Trans-Caucasian region bounded by Persia) represented themselves as an independent government, while we knew very well that the masses of the people did not wish to separate from Russia. The German government also informed us of the contents of a manifesto of a government

of the Union of Mountain Tribes of North Caucasia, with the proclamation of their independence, while in reality, North Caucasia was in the hands of the adherents of Soviet Russia, who rejected the proposition

The independent Georgians permitted Germany to transport her troops over the Georgian railroad, which opened the way to Baku, on the Caspian Sea, for Germany.

The Turkish troops were, as we know, in the Armenian regions, in the beginning of July, 1918, where a strong Armenian movement was operating against them.

The question of the Caucasus was placed upon the order of the day of the Political Commission convened at Berlin (German and Soviet representatives). The question of economic relations between Germany and Russia was determined on one side by the necessity of the liquidation of losses through Czaristic war measures and through the social legislation of the October revolution in regard to German property in Russia, and on the other side by the necessity for the creation of mutual economic relations in both countries. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk obligated us to pay indemnity for the losses of German citizens during the war through the liquidation of their undertakings, or through the cessation of payments of dividends and interest on loans. The execution of these obligations demanded from us the creation of a department that should investigate the German claims. This department is now in existence as the Liquidation Department of the Peoples Commissariat of Trade and Industries, and functions with success.

If, therefore, the settlement of such obligations, caused by the Czaristic war measures, occurs less rapidly than we wish, which gives the German government occasion for constant complaints, then this is not caused by the partial defects of our department alone (these defects are now eliminated), but by the fact that the Russian bourgeoisie strives to take advantage of our obligations to the Central Powers, and endeavors by all kinds of fictitious contracts to make demands upon us. The question of payments of interest on old loans, dividends, etc., cannot be separated from the question of our other obligations, caused by social legislation, and, likewise cannot be separated from our duty to support our prisoners of war in Germany.

Our social legislation endeavors to unite the principal sources of the economic life of the country and place them in the hands of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet. Many of these sources are in the hands of foreign subjects. If we nationalize these branches of industry, then we are compelled to compensate the German subjects for their losses. Our local Soviets do not always understand that the interests of the State of Workers and Peasants does not demand the indiscriminate confiscation of everything that happens to be there, but a suitable nationalization of such industries as are necessary for us, from the standpoint of the general economic plans of the state.

The indiscriminate nationalization of all possible kinds of moving picture houses and apothecaries, the requisition of foreign property without plan, without a direct necessity, caused the State of Workers and Peasants to pay damages which run into hundreds of millions.

To Be Continued

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Prospects of the Proletarian Dictatorship

By Richard Hansen

MANY people honestly believe that the German Revolution received a decisive reverse when the City Hall of Berlin, the Post and Wireless offices and a number of other public buildings were recaptured by the bourgeoisie a week ago.

The martyr deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were heralded by the capitalist press and celebrated by Capitalism the world over as the end of Bolshevism in Germany.

And the moderate Socialists are becoming loud with their pity and morals and wise advice. "Didn't we warn you"—they lament—"that the Proletarian Dictatorship won't work in Germany. . . Didn't we prove that it is a purely Russian affair and very harmful at that . . . Didn't we insist that Bolshevism is no good in a developed country . . . and that every nation has to make its revolution in its own peculiar way, that . . ." and so on! This "peculiar" way being, of course, the same old uniform and very unpeculiar way of compromise and opportunism for all the countries on earth.

The bourgeoisie and the moderate Socialists are leaving nothing undone in order to keep down and if possible kill the revolutionary spirit of the working class. They are and always have been unanimous in postponing the revolution; always ready to declare it off; always alert to the folly and crime and prematurity of the outbreaks.

So they were after the Paris Commune of 1871; so after the great Russian Revolution of 1905. And so they are now.

The Bolsheviki—according to them—have been nothing but outrageous trouble makers and disrupters of the peaceful and orderly process of the Russian Revolution during the last two years. Up to the present moment the Proletarian Dictatorship is being denounced and fought against as well in liberal and reactionary capitalist press as in moderate Socialist and Anarchist publications and from their platforms.

The Spartacans (German Bolsheviki) were treated in the same way as their Russian comrades. Instead of understanding, they were faced with misrepresentation and instead of support in their struggle against Capitalism they are denounced by all shades of moderate Socialists and Anarchists.

The German Bolsheviki have to face much greater odds, than their comrades in Russia.

First,—they did not have any elaborate organization of their own, having split away only recently from the old party, which turned traitor to the cause of the working class and Socialism. Consequently, they

did not have at their disposal developed means of agitation and propaganda. They found themselves unprepared and poorly equipped when the great storm burst forth. They were, comparatively, just small groups in a number of great industrial centers like Berlin, Bremen, Leipzig, Stuttgart and Hamburg, with only half a dozen nationally known leaders (beside Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg there are Clara Zetkin, Franz Mehring and a few others), all of whom were either in jail or under indictment. They did not have either press or funds.

Second,—their opponents—the German Mensheviki of the Scheidemann, Ebert and Kautsky type—were equipped with a huge modern party machine, having a hundred daily and weekly newspapers and magazines, an army of trained public speakers, organizers and writers. For four years they have enjoyed all the privileges and support, that a modern capitalist state could furnish to its faithful servants. They had also the support of the leaders of the reactionary union (the squad of German Gomperses).

Third—the German capitalists had profited by the lesson of the Russian Revolution. They armed themselves; they were quick in putting in the field regiments of "well-bred" white guards. They did everything in order to prevent the arming of the working class. The German Bourgeoisie did not insist even on having a coalition Cabinet, but intrusted all the power of state to the hands of a purely "Socialist" government. They were not disgusted at being governed by Socialists, provided that these were not Socialists at all, but flesh and bone of the bourgeoisie itself, faithfully performing the counter-revolutionary job for the bourgeoisie. Neither did they want to postpone the Constituent Assembly . . .

Having all this in mind we will not wonder at the "failure" of Bolshevism and Proletarian Dictatorship in Germany. On the contrary, we have reason to be amazed at the splendid growth, of the great progress that Bolshevism has made in the late dominion of the Hohenzollerns. We can but observe with gratification the mighty headway that the idea of Proletarian Dictatorship made in Germany during the brief space of two months.

The present situation in Germany is very much like that of Russia after the suppression of the first Bolsheviki outbreak in Petrograd, July 16, 1917.

The capitalists and traitor Socialists became awfully busy at that time in Russia, conducting an efficient election campaign to an improvised Assembly—the

Moscow Conference. So they are now in Germany, preparing for a real Constituent Assembly of the bourgeoisie.

It is interesting to note, that the Assembly is going to meet in Weimar—a small country town of about 30,000 inhabitants. The German bourgeoisie is not going to take chances. The place must be safe enough. Weimar is safe, it can be flooded with white guards to keep the working men of the town at a safe distance from the meeting hall of the Imperial Constituent Assembly! The dangers of prompt dissolution, as it took place in a great city like Petrograd, and as it could happen in Berlin or Hamburg—are greatly diminished.

The capitalists are so much pleased with the Weimar affair, that they even dream of choosing for their spokesman the well known junker Herr Nauman in place of the traitor Socialist Ebert.

The recent white guard victory in Berlin is a Phryic victory. One more like it and they are lost.

All the causes of the Revolution continue at hand. The revolutionary class is in a process of finding itself, of organizing for the final act of seizing power—for the complete and irrevocable destruction of the capitalist state, for the setting up of Proletarian Dictatorship—the only possible way of solving the great question of this decisive period of human history—transition from Capitalism to Socialism—as it was pointed out by Karl Marx and Fr. Engels after the French Revolution of 1848-51 and the Paris Commune of 1871, and as it has been accomplished in practise on a very large scale in Russia with such a glorious success.

The tragic end of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will only further the Proletarian Revolution instead of interfering with it, as the counter-revolutionists apparently expected. They were just two—most beloved, most conspicuous of a multitudinous army. Their silent lips are calling all the working men of Germany and of all countries of the world to rise up and to make an end of the capitalist regime of blood and starvation. This eloquent and solemn call is irresistible. Their uncompromising spirit, the consistency of their words and deeds will remain as a bright inspiration for millions of men.

The army of Spartacans have grown since these brutal murders took place. They have taken possession of Bremen and Cuxhaven (naval base on North Sea). They are reported to be dangerously strong and active in Berlin and Hamburg.

The world is moving on with an amazing velocity—on toward Bolshevism, toward Proletarian Dictatorship.

Karl Liebknecht's Words

By John Reed

WHEN I was in Berlin in December, 1915, I went to see Karl Liebknecht. He had an office in a district Social Democratic headquarters, in the poorer section of the city—on a street, I remember, which looked very like Washington Street in Boston. It was a large, bare room, the walls hung with pictures of Bebel and the elder Liebknecht, and memorials of historic events in the great history of the German Social Democracy.

Liebknecht sat at a table in the middle of the room, the lower half of his face faintly illuminated by a green-shaded lamp. He wore a semi-military coat buttoned up to the neck. There were dark circles under his eyes, but that was all the evidence of fatigue about him. His hand played nervously with a paper-cutter as he talked; his eyes never left mine. His face was dark and full—almost round—with a gentle expression.

The door to the inner hall had been left open. It was empty, except for two or three forlorn-looking women in widows' weeds, who were sitting sadly and motionless on chairs along the wall, waiting for some official of the branch on business connected with death-benefits . . .

"The war?" I asked, pointing toward them. Liebknecht nodded. "The best of us—" he said slowly, in halting English interlarded with German words.

I had not seen the statement which Liebknecht had

sent out to Holland, and which was even then being published all over the world, especially by the Allied capitalist press—then calling him "the bravest of the brave." So it was more or less natural that I should ask him whether his attitude of extreme hostility to the War and the Government was still the same.

"There is no other attitude for a Social Democrat to take," he said, with a faint smile of amusement. "As each problem of capitalist aggression arises, it must be met full and squarely. In spite of the prodigious influence brought to bear in all countries of the world upon their peoples, the international working class is still not convinced that this War is their War. As representative of the workers, I voice this sentiment."

"And the chances of world Revolution?"

"To my mind," he answered serenely, "nothing else can come out of the War."

This is practically all of our conversation. Other questions which I asked him, which if he had answered, might have revealed the plans and projects of the movement, or the work then being done, he refused to answer. After all, he did not know me. . . .

Rosa Luxemburg I never knew, but from talks about her with comrades who did. I have come to think of her as one of the great constructive brains of the Left Wing movement in Europe—an intellect

which, like Lenin's in Russia, would have been of incalculable value in the establishment of the new order in Germany, of which Karl Liebknecht was the flaming prophet.

Liebknecht was arrested, and while being taken in an automobile to prison by a group of "armed volunteers," (no doubt aristocratic young officers), was shot "while trying to escape" "when the automobile broke down" crossing the Tiergarten. In other words, he was taken to a quiet spot and simply murdered. Rosa Luxemburg met a more terrible fate. She was beaten to death by a "white-collar mob," and her body thrown into the canal.

It was the bourgeoisie of Berlin, of Germany, of the world—the bankers, business men, officers, "respectable people"—who actually did the killing.

But it was the Ebert-Scheidemann Government, the Kaiser Socialists, so long detested by the Allied capitalist press—who by suppressing the revolt of the German working-class with the aid of the Kaiser's troops, allowed that mob to shoot holes in Karl Liebknecht's back and trample the life out of Rosa Luxemburg. And the Allied capitalist press applauds. . . .

What the capitalist newspaper have to say about it is a matter of comparative indifference to us. We are occupied with a closer and more dangerous enemy in our own ranks—the moderate Socialists, who, to their other crimes against the workers, have now added the crime of murder.