

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg

By LUDWIG LORE

We are all of us prone to judge men and women by their individual deeds and actions, without examining the motives and principles that stand behind them. The hero of to-day is to-morrow's lunatic. We acclaim the man or the woman whose momentary attitude happens to agree with the position we ourselves have taken, only too often without investigating the causes that prompted their position, only to rail at them with equal enthusiasm when the same causes lead them to adopt a position of which we do not approve.

It was to be expected that the American capitalist press, with its extravagant praises of the German radical Socialist wing, would experience an immediate change of heart with the cessation of hostilities between the two nations. For there never was, nor could there be, the slightest bond of sympathy between the revolutionary Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the servants of American imperialism, beyond a momentary opposition to the German government.

But the same holds true, though, of course, to a lesser degree, of some of our comrades in the Socialist movement. Here, too, we found enthusiastic admiration for the courageous stand taken by the minority group, which has changed, in many individual cases, to bewilderment and opposition to the course this group has adopted since the revolution has put an end to the war. And yet, did these comrades know

the history of this movement within the German party, and the position taken by its leaders, not only during the war but for two decades in the past, they would be forced to admit that Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht did not act "madly" and "rashly," but consistently, in absolute agreement with standards that they have always upheld in the past.

Karl Liebknecht Born a Revolutionist

Karl Liebknecht was born to a revolutionary heritage. He was the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the founders of the Socialist movement of Germany, who, side by side with August Bebel, led the young and undeveloped party through a period of the stormiest struggles against public sentiment and governmental autocracy. He was one of a family of five children, three sons and two daughters, all of whom have faithfully carried on the great work that their splendid father began.

One of the daughters became the wife of Bruno Geiser, a Socialist deputy to the Reichstag, who was expelled from the Social-Democratic Party of Germany together with Viereck, the father of the gentleman who has won for himself a rather undesirable reputation in this country, for cowardice, because they refused to sign an appeal for the forbidden party convention to be held at St. Gallen, under the notorious anti-Socialist laws of 1878-1890. Geiser was later readmitted to the party, upon a motion by Bebel, Liebknecht's most intimate friend, against the vehement protests of Wilhelm Liebknecht himself.

Recently it was reported in the American press that the sisters of Karl Liebknecht were arrested in connection with the Spartacus uprising. Whether they were actually directly connected with the revolutionary movement, or were simply arrested because of their relationship to the troublesome revolutionist, did not appear from the news that was received in this country.

In their early youth, the three sons of Wilhelm Liebknecht completely vanished from the public eye. It was a common

thing in the editorial rooms of Socialist papers to receive letters from comrades far and wide asking to know what had become of the three sons of the staunch old fighter, whether they had deserted the cause for which their father had made such enormous sacrifices. These questions invariably remained unanswered, for a public avowal of allegiance to the Socialist cause in Germany at that time would have made it impossible for the three young students, (two of whom were studying law, while the youngest had chosen the medical profession) to complete their university courses or to obtain their degrees. It is true, Karl Liebknecht founded a "Social-Wissenschaftlicher Verein" among the students of his Alma Mater. But this organization remained always simply a medium for more or less radical discussion of social political topics without a definite party allegiance.

Liebknecht Becomes a Public Figure

When Karl Liebknecht was admitted to the bar, however, he immediately threw off all restraint and threw himself whole-heartedly into the movement. His appearance was greeted everywhere with open delight, and the welcome that was accorded to the son of the beloved old fighter was enough to have turned the head of many an older and wiser man. But the young Liebknecht at once won the sympathy of the masses for himself as well. His fearless radicalism, his untiring zeal and devotion to the cause and his undoubted gift of public speaking and his great personal magnetism captured his audiences wherever he went.

His first efforts were directed toward the building up of a radical and militant Young People's Movement, which at that time was just beginning to gain a foothold in Germany. At this period in his career Liebknecht already evidenced the intense anti-militaristic spirit that runs, like a red thread, through his whole life in the Socialist movement. He foresaw that militarism in Germany was fast becoming the dominant factor in German political life. He insisted that the struggle against capitalism in Germany must go hand in hand with an intense, determined agitation against armaments, against

military service, against war. He was among the first to recognize that militarism in Germany was more than the tool of the capitalist class, that it was becoming the spirit that dominated and controlled the very destinies of the nation.

"Since we are not in a position," he said at the National Party Convention at Bremen, in 1904, "to carry on our agitation in the barracks, as is being done in other countries, let us then carry on our agitation while we can still do so within the law. . . . Let us systematically spread our ideas among the young people of the proletariat, laying particular emphasis upon the character of militarism; social-democratic recruits will know what to do when once they are drafted into military service. . . . But we must see to it that the powers that be, when once they come into actual conflict with the organized proletariat, cannot feel itself as invincible as it does at the present time, that it will no longer be able to rely absolutely upon the obedience of its army, even for illegal purposes."

The persistent anti-militaristic propaganda that was carried on under the direction and influence of Liebknecht and his followers was not without its effect. It is a fact that at the outbreak of the war the Young People's Organizations in many parts of Germany were in open revolt against the position adopted by the party, and that in Hamburg and other localities, their organizations were summarily dissolved by the official party organization. The same radical anti-war position was adopted by the Young People's International, which was founded chiefly by Liebknecht's efforts, and which, in the early part of the war, actually furnished the only channel for international communication at the disposal of the radical anti-war minorities in the belligerent countries.

Liebknecht Becomes More and More Unpopular with the Official Party Leaders

Karl Liebknecht soon enjoyed the whole-hearted dislike of the party officials of the German Socialist Party movement. They attributed his radical speeches and actions to a natural desire to be something more than simply the son of a famous father and refused to take him seriously. Their bureaucratic souls were completely out of sympathy with the whole-hearted disregard for petty considerations that characterized his every action, and regarded him with ill-concealed con-

tempt. Even in later years, after he had served a four-year sentence in a military prison for his anti-militarist agitation, even after he had won international fame in 1913-1914 by his celebrated Krupp revelations, he was looked upon as an irresponsible troublemaker by the more "solid" elements in the party.

"He makes himself absolutely ridiculous," said Scheide-mann of Liebknecht during his American visit. "Whenever you see him he is in a tremendous hurry, with a package of books and notes under his arm. He rushes from one meeting to another; in the morning he speaks in the Landtag, in the afternoon he has an important commission meeting. Then he runs into the Reichstag to deliver a speech there before the session closes. It is impossible to get him to attend to his law business. If it were not for his brother William, he would not earn the salt for his bread."

The first Russian Revolution in 1905 and the period of black reaction that followed made a deep impression on the intense personality of Karl Liebknecht. He threw himself heart and soul into the propagation of revolutionary tactics in Germany, and, together with Rosa Luxemburg, launched a campaign against the pacific, purely political tendency that was taking root in the Social-Democracy. At the National Convention of Magdeburg (1910) he bitterly assailed the party authorities for failing to arouse the whole country to a determined protest against the visit of the Bloody Czar to Germany.

"The Czar has dared to appear openly, as if he were a citizen, before the public in a number of German cities. He is moving through Germany at the present time more freely than he has ever dared to move in Russia. The thought is unbearable that he may dare to do in Germany what he could not think of doing in Italy or in France, or anywhere else, that Germany, of all nations should have been the one to give this man, who must flee from place to place in his own country, who must hide everywhere, like a robber, can appear before the German people like one who has a right to command the respect of his fellow-men."

Rosa Luxemburg

Liebknecht was by no means alone in his demands for a spiritual and revolutionary revival in the party. For years he fought for the realization of these ideas side by side with some of the finest men and women that the International has produced. Klara Zetkin, Franz Mehring and the heroic Rosa

Luxemburg were chief among the supporters of this more radical trend in the movement, and every party conference, every great party movement found them at their post, staunchly braving the ridicule and the misunderstanding of the party leaders. Among them all, none was braver and more courageous, none more ready to carry out her ideas to the last bitter consequence, none more far-seeing and theoretically sound in her opinions than Rosa Luxemburg.

Rosa Luxemburg was born fifty-four years ago in Warsaw, Russian Poland. As a very young girl she came to Germany as a student, and immediately became so active in the revolutionary movement that she was forced to flee to Switzerland in order to escape deportation into the land of the Czar. She continued her studies in Switzerland, but remained in constant communication with her German comrades. In order to be able to return to Germany she entered upon one of those political marriages that were very common in those days among young Russian women who had been driven from Russia and desired to acquire German citizenship. She married a young German student, thus, as his legal wife, acquiring German citizenship, and returned to Germany where she immediately became one of the most promising agitators and writers the movement had at that time.

Her personal appearance was exceedingly unprepossessing; she was slightly humpbacked and her features unattractive. But nature had compensated her with a personality and a mental brilliancy that led even her most apathetic listeners to forget her outward appearance after the first five minutes. She was one of the most profound students of Marxian philosophy in a movement that was rich of theoreticians. She possessed a remarkable memory for facts, and her speeches were full of references, quotations and examples from the most diversified sources. In repartee she was unexcelled, she gave no quarter, and her attacks were feared by her opponents as much for their merciless clearness, as for the logical brilliancy with which they were presented. An accomplished linguist, she was equally at home in Russian or

German, in Polish as in French, and was well known in most countries of Europe as a fascinating and thoroughly learned speaker.

In Poland she became a member of the Polish Social-Democratic Party, the strictly Socialist, anti-national wing of the Polish Socialist movement, and led the fight against the nationalistic P. P. S. (Polish Party Socialista). Although always at variance with the majority of the German party, she was unalterably opposed to all separatist tendencies, opposed to all outside organizations and propaganda to such a degree that she refused steadfastly to countenance any kind of separate organization or agitation even for propaganda among women.

The Fight in the Party for Revolutionary Methods

During the last two decades, every Party Congress, every important discussion of party tactics found Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht together in the radical minority. Political conditions in Germany, the unparalleled success of the party on the political field, the enormous membership, the power and strength of the trade union and co-operative movements, the extraordinary development of its educational institutions,—all of these factors encouraged the growth of a distinctly conservative spirit in its membership, but especially in its leaders. Strikes and labor struggles in Germany had become the exception rather than the rule, because the labor organizations, backed up by the Social-Democracy, were too formidable an opponent to be lightly alienated, even by a powerful capitalist class. Success on the political field had made it possible for the Socialist movement to achieve the passage of important reforms and social legislation, achievements that were naturally stressed and pushed into the foreground in the propaganda work of the party, thus acquiring undue importance and influence upon the tactical program of the party. In consequence the party bureaucracy met every suggestion in favor of more radical measures with active resentment, because they honestly feared that such measures

might alienate its voters, that the failure of such revolutionary demonstrations might shake the confidence of the masses in the party and strengthen the power of the capitalist class. Years of success had bred in the bureaucrats of the party a holy horror of failure. They were desperately opposed to any action that did not, at the outset, bear assurance of a successful outcome.

The radical minority waged constant war upon this deadening conservatism. In Prussia it demanded the adoption of a policy of active opposition to the three-class election system, against which the party had used its political weapons in vain. In 1904, at Bremen, Karl Liebknecht moved that the question of the general political strike against the unequal suffrage laws of Prussia be discussed. At the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, in 1907, Rosa Luxemburg called out to the delegates who had adopted a resolution celebrating the martyrs of the Russian counter-revolution: "If they could speak they would cry out to you, 'We do not need your praises. Learn, rather, from our example.'" In 1913, at the celebrated Party Convention of Jena, the unceasing agitation of this small group of revolutionists had so far borne fruit that they succeeded in securing the adoption of the following resolution, against the vehement opposition of David, Bernstein, Scheidemann, and others:

"The Party Congress of Jena, 1913, sees in the general application of mass cessation of labor, under certain circumstances, one of the most effective methods, not only against proposed attacks upon existing political rights, but also for the conquest of new political reforms and rights.

"The achievement of general, equal, direct and secret suffrage for all public offices is a necessary condition for the liberation of the proletariat. The existing three-class suffrage system not only deprives the propertyless class of its political liberties, but hampers them in every movement for the improvement of their standard of life; it makes the worst enemies of labor-union activity and social progress, the Junker caste, the controllers of all legislation.

"The Party Congress, therefore, calls upon the politically enslaved masses to use all their powers in the fight against the three-class election system, realizing that this struggle cannot be carried out without great sacrifices to a victorious conclusion.

"While the Party Congress opposes the use of the general strike as an unfailing weapon that may be used at all times for

the abolition of social wrongs in the anarchistic sense, it is of the conviction that the proletariat must be prepared to use its whole power for the achievement of political equality. The political mass strike can be successful only with the united effort of all organs of the labor movement, by class-conscious masses, inspired by the ultimate aims of Socialism, prepared for all sacrifices. The Congress pledges every comrade, therefore, to work tirelessly for the political and labor union organizations of the working class."

On this occasion Rosa Luxemburg delivered a half hour speech that has become famous in the annals of the Socialist movement of Germany:

..... "We declare that in Germany, as in all other countries, it is not necessary to wait with the eventual application of the general-strike weapon until the last man and the last woman have paid their dues as organized members of a Socialist local, when we call attention to the fact that where a revolutionary situation has arisen, when we face great historical tasks, the organization of the party will exert a moral and spiritual influence that will sweep the unorganized masses into our movement, when we declare that the policies and tactics of the party must be such that will awaken enthusiasm and the self-sacrificing spirit outside of the organization, for only in this way can we carry the masses with us,—then the Executive Committee protests, and says that we are preparing to disrupt the organization. That means lack of discipline, that is sowing suspicion against the party functionaries! They have spoken of our lack of responsibility, of our unscrupulousness. I will not use such expressions, but allow me to say that such methods in the discussion of party questions border on demagoguery..... We have been accused of being direct actionists, and conspirators. We here declare that they are the conspirators who would apply the typical tactics of the conspirators to the strike because they believe that the outbreak of a mass strike must be a surprise, that it must be worked out and prepared secretly, behind closed doors, by a handful of officials..... Can you not understand that the masses themselves must become familiar with this new weapon? After all, we here are not speaking to the masses, we are merely formulating propositions that must be thought out, digested and accepted by the comrades outside..... The mass strike in Germany, as in all countries, to be sure, must come from the masses, and that is the reason why we say in our resolution that the mass strike cannot be ordered, from one day to another, by party and union leaders, as our party authorities seem to assume. Nor can it be stopped once it has reached the historic stage of ripeness. But this does not, by any means take from us the responsibility for the conduct of the mass strike if it is to be successful, if it is to bring us the maximum of positive results and advantages, in the political and socialist awakening of the masses. The party must stand at the head of the movement, but in order to be at its head when it comes, it must not wait patiently until the revolutionary situation has become a fact, to be dragged along by the masses, no, it must prepare the masses, by a complete re-orientation of its tactics and methods toward a revolutionary tendency,

to take the offensive, that the masses may follow us with full confidence in our powers."

In this connection, and because both Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht, and in fact all supporters of a more general adoption of mass action in Germany, and other countries, have been accused of anarchistic and syndicalistic ideas and aspirations, it is of interest to know that both at all times fought against anarchistic and syndicalistic tactics. They consistently opposed the anarchic syndicalist movement in Germany that was organized in the so-called "Lokale Gewerkschaften." In 1910, at Magdeburg, Comrade Luxemburg expressed this in a speech on the same subject:

"A political mass strike can only arise out of historic conditions, out of the ripeness of the political and industrial situation.

"If anything could prove that one may talk indefinitely of mass strikes without the slightest practical result, so long as the initial conditions for its outbreak are not given, it is the history of the idea of the mass strike itself. You know that anarchists, of the type of Nieuwenhuis, propagated the idea of the mass strike for decades, as a panacea against all evils in society and against war as a means of bringing about the social revolution within 24 hours. And today, who talks more of the general strike than the French Syndicalists of the anarchistic school? . . . And yet the country where the general strike has been least put into practice is France, where the Syndicalists are forever mouthing its phrases."

During the War

The position taken by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg from the beginning of the outbreak of the war, their struggle not only against the power of a war-mad government, but, what was far harder to bear, against a deluded people, need not be repeated here. Only those who understand what party discipline means in Germany, only those who know what the Social Democratic Party as the expression of the political and social aspirations of the working class meant to Karl Liebknecht can appreciate the inner struggle that he and his comrades that later formed the Independent Social Democratic Party had to undergo before they took the step that separated them irrevocably from the movement that had been the end and aim of their very existence. In the caucus that preceded the vote in the Reichstag on the first war loan, Liebknecht, Haase, Ruehle and a few others stood alone against

an overwhelming opposition. And so strong was the hold of the party upon them that not even Liebknecht voted against the first loan in the Reichstag, that Hugo Haase, the chairman of the Socialist Reichstag group, delivered the declaration explaining the action of the majority, although every word he uttered seared his very soul.

When the second war loan vote was taken, Liebknecht alone voted against it, and was condemned by the Executive Committee of the party, by a vote of 65 to 26.

On Christmas, 1914, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg sent letters of greeting to their comrades in England:

"Confusion reigns in the ranks of the Socialist movement," writes Liebknecht. "Many Socialists make our principles responsible for our present failure. The failure is due, not to our principles, but to the representatives of our principles.

"All such phrases as 'national defence' and 'freedom of the people,' with which imperialism decorates its instruments of murder, are lying pretense. The emancipation of each nation must be the result of its own efforts. Only blindness can demand the continuation of murder until its opponents are crushed.

"The welfare of all nations are inseparably interwoven. The world war that destroyed the International will surely teach the world a mighty lesson. It will bring a new International, an International with a power greater and more unshaking than that which fell last August before the blows of the capitalist powers. In the cooperation of the working classes of all nations alone in war and in peace, lies the salvation of mankind."

The greeting sent by Rosa Luxemburg breathes this same confidence in the victory of the Socialist ideal, in spite of the downfall of the Socialist movement:

"It is necessary that we express the bitter truth, not to encourage futile despair and resignation, but, on the contrary, to learn from the mistakes we have committed in the past and the facts of the existing situation, valuable lessons for the future."

In the second year of the war Liebknecht was sent to the front as a non-combatant soldier, where he was shortly afterward seriously hurt by a falling tree trunk. In March of the same year Rosa Luxemburg was sentenced to a year in prison for alleged libels of officers' corps and the Crown Prince, in a speech in which she protested against the ill-treatment of the soldiery.

During 1916 Liebknecht was sentenced to 30 months in prison for a speech delivered in a soldier's uniform, at a peace demonstration held on the Potsdamer Platz, Berlin. This sentence was increased to four years on an appeal to a higher court. Various after that there came to this country reports of Liebknecht's illness and death in prison, until he was released, a few weeks before the German revolution broke out, by the Coalition-Socialist-Liberal-Ministry that had been created in Germany as a last desperate attempt to pacify a nation already in the throes of revolution.

The German Revolution

In the few weeks that preceded the German revolutionary uprising Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were in the forefront of events. They addressed gigantic demonstrations. Liebknecht was met with tremendous ovations whenever he appeared in public. The memory of the meetings he addressed from the portico of the Embassy of the revolutionary Russian government will be unforgettable in the memory of those who witnessed them.

And yet, by the strange irony of fate, the very men who had always vehemently opposed revolutionary tactics in the German proletariat, the very men who, up to the last day of the coming of the revolution tried with all means to stem the rising tide that threatened the overthrow of the German military autocracy, assumed the reigns of government upon the Emperor's abdication. Ebert and Scheidemann became the rulers of the new German Republic. But even though majority Socialists stood at the head of the government, the spirit that filled the masses was undeniably revolutionary. Soldiers'

and Workmen's Councils everywhere took over the reigns of government in the cities, and proclamations and orders were usually signed in the name of the "Socialist Republic of Germany." Even the "Vorwärts," the organ of the majority group, spoke of "the social revolution."

The control of the government was placed in the hands of a council made up of three supporters of the Social Democratic Party and three Independents. But at the outset there were radical differences of opinion between the two groups, that were only with difficulty overcome. True to their old theory that Germany would grow into the Socialist state by a process of gradual evolution, the Social Democratic Party remained, as it has always been, opposed to any action that might precipitate the working class of Germany into an active conflict, either within the nation or without. To a proposal made by the Executive Committee of the Independent Social Democratic Party, on November 8th, as a basis for united action, that "in this Republic the entire executive, legislative and judicial power shall rest exclusively in the hands of representatives of the entire laboring population and the soldiers," the Executive of the Social Democratic Party replied: "If this demand means the dictatorship of a part of a class that has not the support of the majority of the people, we must decline it, because it is not in accord with our democratic principles." Street demonstrations everywhere breathed the most revolutionary spirit. The decisions and decrees of the different Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils showed a radicalism and firmness toward the Socialist goal that was refreshing and promising.

And yet, prompted probably by the fear of renewed warfare of the Allies against Germany should the spirit of unrest grow, the leaders of the Independents in the end acquiesced and abandoned their opposition to the National Assembly. For a time even closer affiliation with the Social Democratic Party was under consideration. But the lengths to which the Ebert-Scheidemann group went in their concessions to the capitalists and militaristic clique of Germany, the boldness with which military leaders like Hindenburg and officers of

all ranks came out with counter-revolutionary sentiments and proposals under the spiritual protection of the government that retained them in power in spite of all protests, showed the hopelessness of such an alliance, and finally led the representatives of the Independents to resign from the Socialist Cabinet.

During the entire period of indecision and concessions Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and with them the Spartacus group, remained in the Independent Social Democratic Party. On the Sunday before Christmas the Independents held a convention at Berlin in response to a demand made by the Spartacus group for a clarification of its position. At this conference Haase defended the action taken by the Independent leaders in trying to come to some kind of an understanding with the majority Socialists. The position of the Spartacus group was defended by Rosa Luxemburg, who attacked the government (at that time the Independents were still in office) and maintained that the present rulers of Germany were doing nothing to prevent the growth of a counter-revolutionary movement. The Spartacus group then presented a resolution containing the following demands:

1. The immediate resignation of the Independent representatives from the government.
2. That the conference repudiate the calling of a National Assembly which can only strengthen the counter-revolution and cheat the revolution of its Socialist aims.
3. The immediate assumption of all political power by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, disarmament of the social revolution, armament of the working-class population, the creation of a Red Guard for the protection of the revolution, dissolution of the Ebert Council of People's Plenipotentiaries and the placing of full political control into the hands of an Executive Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

A resolution by Hilferding was finally adopted with 485 against 195 votes.

The most important task of the I. S. P. at the present time is the organization of the campaign for the National Assembly. We must now muster the supreme power of the proletariat to assure the victory of Socialism over the bourgeoisie.

On the 30th of December a National Conference of the Spartacus group was then held that finally severed all connection with the Independents and organized its forces into the "Revolutionary Communist Labor Party" by an unanimous vote.

From this we see that Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacus group by no means rushed rashly and madly into the revolutionary uprising that followed. They left no stone unturned to secure the support of their comrades of the Independents, and far from being prompted by motives of self-aggrandizement, actually remained in the background of events until the situation showed that only by independent action could they hope to prevent the overthrow of the proletarian revolution that threatened. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg made one mistake. But they erred, not on the side of rashness, but, on the contrary, on the side of the great hopefulness, to create confidence in the steadfastness of principle of the Independent Social Democracy. Had they struck at once, while the whole country was still aglow with the excitement of the first revolutionary uprising, had they taken advantage of the socialistic spirit that dominated the first days and weeks of the revolution to firmly establish the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, the German proletariat would not be facing to-day a National Assembly in which the combined bourgeoisie can and will wrest from the hands of the Socialist movement the power to control the destinies of the new Republic.

The Martyrdom of Liebknecht and Luxemburg

When the Spartacus revolt set in, the proletariat of Germany had already accepted the new conditions, and resented the reawakening of the revolutionary excitement that, in the

first days of the revolution, had driven everything before it. The Majority Socialists left nothing untried to fan this resentment into an open flame. Not only did the government make use of notoriously monarchistic regiments to quell the uprising, its press was filled with scurrilous attacks against the Spartacus followers. In one of its articles the "Vorwärts" declared that it would henceforward refuse to take Liebknecht seriously until he had been examined and declared sane by at least three reputable alienists. But their attacks reached the climax of virulence in the whole-page appeal to the working class that appeared in the "Vorwärts" of December 23, that we have reproduced on the opposite page.

BOLSHEVISM, THE MILITARISM OF THE LAZY

Hunger has forced the Russian people under the yoke of militarism. Labor in Russia struck, and by premature socialization of Russian industries, robbed itself of its means of existence for the sake of demands that cannot possibly be realized, sacrificed its freedom to militarism. Bolshevik militarism is the autocratic rule of force by a clique, is the dictatorship of those who refuse to work, of the lazy. To-day the Russian army, the great mass of its unemployed labor, is again engaged in a bloody war.

Let the example of Russia be a warning to us.

Do we want another war? Do we want terror or the bloody rule of a caste? NO!

We want no more bloodshed, no more militarism. We want peace through labor. We want peace, that we may not fall under the rule of militarism, under the dictatorship of the unemployed. Bolshevik loafers are calling the masses to arms into the streets. Armed masses, prepared to use force are militarism incarnate. But we want no militarism, neither from the right nor from the left.

Bolshevism, the militarism of the lazy, knows neither freedom nor equality. It is vandalism, terror at the hands of a small mob that has arrogated itself to power. Therefore, refuse to follow the Spartacides, the Bolsheviki of Germany, lest you destroy our industries and our commerce.

For the downfall of German industries and commerce means

The Ruin of the German People.

Therefore, no terror, no militarist rule, no loafers and deserters.

Not Militarism, but Freedom!

Not Bolshevism, but Labor!

General Secretariat, Antibol.

Bolschewismus, der Militarismus der Faulenzer

Der Hunger hat das russische Volk ins Joch des Militarismus gezwungen. Russlands Arbeiter streikten, zerstörten durch überhastete Vergesellschaftung das Wirtschaftsleben, beraubten sich selbst durch unerfüllbare Forderungen der Existenzmöglichkeit, und opferten ihre Freiheit dadurch dem Militarismus. Der bolschewistische Militarismus ist die willkürliche Gewaltherrschaft einer Clique, ist die Diktatur der Arbeitsunwilligen, der Faulenzer. Heute führt Russlands Armee (die Masse der arbeitslosen Arbeiter) bereits wieder blutigen Krieg.

Das russische Beispiel diene als Warnung.

Wollen wir auch wieder Krieg? Wollen wir Terror oder Blutherrschaft einer Kaste? **Nein!**

Wir wollen kein neues Blutvergießen und keinen Militarismus. Wir wollen durch Arbeit zum Frieden kommen. Wir wollen Frieden, um nicht, wie Russland, dem von den Arbeitslosen diktierten Militarismus zu verfallen. Bolschewistische Faulenzer fordern die Massen bewaffnet auf die Strassen, bewaffnete zur Gewalt entschlossene Massen verkörpern den Militarismus. Wir aber wollen keinen Militarismus, weder von rechts noch von links.

Bolschewismus, der Militarismus der Faulenzer, kennt keine Freiheit und Gleichheit. Er ist der Vandalismus, der Terror einer kleinen Menge, die sich Gewalt angemast hat. Drum folgt nicht Spartakus, den deutschen Bolschewisten, wenn ihr nicht unser Wirtschaftsleben, unseren Handel vernichten wollt.

Der Zusammenbruch von Deutschlands Industrie und Handel aber bedeutet des

Deutschen Volkes Untergang

Drum keinen Terror, keine militaristische Herrschaft der Faulenzer und Deserteure.

Nicht Militarismus, sondern Freiheit!
Nicht Bolschewismus, sondern Arbeit!

Generalsekretariat Antibol.

Truly, the Socialist majority leaders bear upon their souls not a little of the responsibility for the dastardly murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

The Proletarian Revolution of Germany

The immediate future of Germany lies shrouded in darkness. But the discouraging result of the elections to the National Assembly and the increasing boldness with which the counter-revolutionary and militaristic elements are raising their heads seem to indicate that the people of Germany are still far from the peaceful era of "development into the Socialist state" that this National Assembly was to usher in. There will be no peace in Germany, there can be no peace until the revolutionary proletariat, realizing the futility of "democratic" government, hand in hand with the capitalist class, will arise once more to overthrow the uncrowned kings that are preparing to take control of the nation.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht are dead. But the spirit they and their comrades have awakened will live on in the hearts and minds of the German proletariat, in the hearts and minds of the revolutionary working class of the world.

Out of their ranks new leaders will come, new leaders, who, like those honored dead, have confidence and faith in the destiny and in the power of the working class.

The Labor Party

By A. DREIFUSS (Chicago)

So the founding of the so-called Independent Labor Party for Chicago has become an actual fact.

The remarkable feature of its formation is the fact that the first impetus came not from the workers, but from among the highest officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Hitherto these officials have always been democratic politicians, who used the slogan "No politics in the union" for the sole

purpose of placing difficulties in the way of Socialist propaganda, while they themselves conducted all sorts of wire pulling for their own party.

In local politics, Mayor Thompson has gradually lost his following in the Board of Aldermen, the Republicans of his own party as well as the Democrats.

That led him to seek for support in the Chicago Federation of Labor, and a consequent fraternization between him and the Federation officials ensued.

It was agreed to force the Board of Education—with whose members the Mayor had been engaged in an active and lengthy controversy—into submission by appointing five labor leaders from the Federation of Labor to office. They were convinced that the Board of Aldermen would not dare to oppose the nomination of these men for fear of losing the labor vote at the next election.

But, contrary to all expectations, the Board of Aldermen took up the challenge and refused to sanction the appointment of the labor leaders to the Board of Education.

This was the immediate cause for the founding of the "Independent Labor Party."

Circulars were sent out to all parts of the country, calling upon organized labor to follow the example of Chicago. The Illinois Federation of Labor Convention greeted this new departure, in New York the Chicago example found immediate imitation.

The above shows clearly that the new-born political party owes its origin, not to an increasing clearness of understanding among the rank and file of organized labor of the class lines of our social structure, but simply to an accidental, factional fight among politicians in the course of which organized labor happened to receive a slap in the face.

Without this purely factional fight in Chicago, Fitzpatrick and his ilk would have been perfectly content to remain Democratic politicians to the end of their days, and the creation of a "Labor Party" might still rest in the lap of the future.

Undoubtedly, however, it would have come, sooner or later. It was inevitable that, at some time or another, the ruling class would be forced to tell organized labor openly: "So far and no

further." For even non-Socialist workers must live, must make new and more far-reaching demands in order to keep step with the constantly increasing cost of living, to offset the increasing intensity and the ravages of modern industry.

The organized capitalist appreciates this conflict even more keenly than his opponent of the laboring class. He realizes that time will hurt rather than improve his chances, and so takes the bull by the horns in the Board of Aldermen even at the risk of losing labor votes and provoking the founding of a labor party.

It is still too early to philosophize as to the future of the new party and to prophecy as to its fate. Let us rather look at the present, in order that we may determine upon our position as Socialists toward this new political expression of organized labor and its demands.

More than one of us has lost his bearings with the appearance of this new labor party.

It must be understood, at the outset, that we still regard the Socialist Party as the *only* party whose program and aims are in accord with the interests of the working class. The fact that prejudice, ignorance and persecution has to the present time prevented a large portion of the working class from realizing the truth of this statement, is no reason why we ourselves should doubt its actuality.

On the contrary, it should spur us on to more intensive agitation among ever widening circles of the working class.

Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that a labor party, even though it is in no sense socialistic, may be successful in catching the votes and the active support of a large part of the working class, and still be organically very different from the Democratic or Republican Parties.

The Labor Party that wishes to win the support of a considerable portion of labor must put up specific working-class demands. In so doing it will be forced into a class position against Capitalism, even though it may vigorously deny its own class character.

As a matter of fact, the demands adopted at the Convention of the new party, though some of them are utopian under a capi-

talist system, are, to a great extent, taken from the program of the Socialist Party. It is interesting, too, that the eight-hour day, minimum wage and old-age pension demands, that have been so consistently opposed by Gompers and the official American Federation of Labor, have found a prominent plan in the program of this new political party, while several of the other, more general demands are directly in line with the ultimate aims of the Socialist movement.

That does not signify, by any means, that the leaders of the I. L. P. are Socialists. It need not even mean that they are all honest radicals, although in general it is advisable to be somewhat sparing in the use of the term dishonest.

In short, an honest, consistent and determined political program of action in accordance with the fourteen points recently adopted would inevitably lead to the ultimate adoption of the Socialist political program.

Our position, therefore, must be one of "watchful waiting." The new party is not our creation. We could not prevent its coming, nor have we encouraged its formation.

But in the end we will profit by its coming, be the future of the party what it may.

Either it will eventually come to us as a whole, or we will win for our movement the more intelligent and far-seeing of its members who will shortly see the ineffectiveness of a spineless, half socialistic and yet anti-socialistic labor policy.

It is to be expected that the formation of the new party will encourage the discussion of political and social questions in labor circles. Probably the division between fundamentally sound, radical Socialists and revisionistic opportunists in our own ranks will become more marked, both eventualities much to be desired in the interests of the political education of American labor.

There will be differences between us and the Labor Party. For we are already Socialists, while they, for the first, will still be our active opponents. But we need not create these differences, we must use them, when they come, to teach from the example of a class-conscious, international Socialism, of a world labor movement, the charlatanism of a Jack-of-all-trades labor party.