There Shall Not Be A New War—Against Socialism!

In these most glorious of all glorious days in history, when thrones and Capitalism are crumbling and the workers determining to become the masters of the world, the glory of it all is the despair and the gloom of the tyrants of capital and industry, everywhere, who feel their supremacy tottering to its end.

With the coming of peace come new and mightier problems, new and mightier social struggles. With the coming of peace comes the threat of a new war against Socialism in Germany and in Russia.

The buccaneers of Capitalism have for one year been proposing that Socialism in Russia should be crushed. They have been proposing that a huge army should be sent to Russia to crush the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, the greatest event in the history of the world, the first time that the common people, the producers, were the conscious masters of industry, of government, of society.

These very same buccaneers, through the newspapers, are now mobilizing public opinion for a new war should Socialism, revolutionary Socialism, conquer definitely in Germany.

For in spite of slanders and lies, in spite of abuse about "anarchy," it is Socialism that conquered in Russia, and it is Socialism that is conquering in Germany. It is this Socialism that is the hitherto press of Capitalism objects to, and it is against this Socialism that it proposes to wage war.

If these proposals overwhelm the government, if a new war is started, the world will plunge into greater disaster than during the past four and a half years. If Socialism is conquered in Germany and Russia, it will mean black reaction conquering; it will mean that instead of the workers re-organizing on the just and human basis of peace and fraternity, of the workers' mastery of their own destiny, the world will re-organize on the basis of imperialistic Capitalism, of more intense oppression of the workers, and produce an era of new and bloodier wars.

Should the reactionary press succeed in promoting a new war, the 40,000 American mothers, wives and sisters of the dead would become 400,000, and more. The lives of sons, brothers and husbands would be lost in a reactionary cause, the joy and happiness of our people become gloom and sorrow overwhelming.

The American people are happy. They celebrated joyfully, spontaneously, irresistibly, the day the false news of the armistice came; and they celebrated again on Monday and Tuesday as people in this country have never celebrated before. And their joy and happiness was not simply because Kaiserism had been beaten, but because the war, with all its agony and terror, was at an end. They celebrated peace, the opportunity again to devote one's self to the human tasks of life.

And while the American people were expressing, are peace, the black crows of American journalism united in a chorus against the Revolution in Germany and Austria, united in infamous proposals for a new war to maintain "order" in Russia and Germany, which means to assist the Junkers and the capitalists against the workers and Socialism.

Where these men should have a heart, they have a dollar mark. Where these men should have a brain to use for humanity and progress, they have a brain to use for Capitalism and reaction. Where these men should use the pen for the people, they use the pen for the masters of the people.

Two days before the abdication of the Kaiser, the Boston "Post" suggested that it might be necessary to keep autocracy in Germany in control for some time longer!

Four days before the Kaiser's abdication, the New York "Evening Sun" declared that it might be necessary for the Allies and the United States to become an ally of the German Government to crush "disorder" and "anarchy" in Germany!

These proposals are general.

This mobilization of public opinion is active and general. The men who write, but do not fight, are eager for a new war to protect Capitalism in Germany, to restore Capitalism in Russia.

For four and a half years, these newspapers have been damming the Kaiser; now many openly suggest while others insinuate that Kaiserism would be preferable to Socialism. And it is precisely these newspapers that branded the Socialist as pro-Kaiser; but it is precisely the Socialist who is glad that the Kaiser is gone; and it is precisely the Socialist who objects to a restoration of Kaiserism in order to overwhelm Socialism.

Men and women of the working class: Do you realize what a new war would mean? Do you realize that your present joy would become terror and sorrow? Do not forget what war means!

A new war would not alone plunge Europe into disaster, it would plunge the world into disaster. Upon the American workers would fall the largest share of the burden. And upon the American workers depends the prevention of the sinister purposes of the newspaper hirings of reaction. If these sinister purposes triumph, the United States would become the centre of reaction, with terrible consequences to our own people and the world.

German imperialism thought it had conquered Socialism at Brest-Litovsk; but Socialism is now conquering in Germany. Socialism is the irresistible maker of a new world. Workers: shall you become the stranger of the new freedom in Europe?

The war is dead—may it rot in peace. But there shall not be a new war against Socialism! This is the great
The German Revolution

To Citizen Romain Roland:

At the hour when Republicans of the whole world, cell by cell, are watching the fall of the Barristas, paying homage to the French Revolution and declaring their indescribable faith in an early realization of a life of brotherhood, the Telegraphs informs us that the governments of the Entente Allies have resolved to crush the Russian Revolution.

Above all through the fight against the dispossessed classes, a hostile aristocracy, against a bourgeois anxiety for its property, against the middle classes and their capital, more than half strangled through German Imperialism, the power of the Soviets is in danger.

The collapse of the revolutions imposed by the censor will you find in the pages which I send you, sedentary of proof of what I say here.

These notes have been sent from Petrograd and from Moscow. Given to me by the Petrograd Courier who left for France weekly, they have been addressed regularly to Albert Thomas, Jean Longuet, Ernest Laffont. Many of them have also been sent through friendly circles to the friends of the French-German friendship, Ferdinand, Henri Barbusse, etc. Some of them must have been intercepted or gone astray. The majority reached their destination. I can see this from their answers dated as late as March. Since then communication by mail with the West has become extremely precarious.

Among these notes you will not find a single line which could form an official reproach as an indiscretion against an officer and member of the French Government in Moscow. As a matter of fact they contain nothing but the personal observations of a French citizen interested in observing the facts only as an impartial, open-minded witness. They are expressed freely, without fear of offending the friends of the Opposition, which I could not pass in silence.

I have a deep conviction that in giving you these documents I am strictly doing my duty as a Socialist and a Frenchman. In doing this I have faith that you will not abuse my confidence.

I pray you to run through these notes and to communicate them to political circles. The conclusions which I have reached, and to the thinkers of France who in your opinion will be interested in reading them. Men such as Au­lard, Gabriel Scailles, Martinick and many others who after they know the truth, will be capable of en­lightening our dear country. They will know how to prevent the sons of the great Russian Revolution from
The German revolution is marching swiftly on its way, much more swiftly than the proletarian revolution in Russia. But, while compressed into a shorter period of time, its stages are paralleling the Russian revolution.

When, about five weeks ago, the revolutionary crisis developed into revolutionary action, the German bourgeoisie attempted to prevent a collapse of its rule by calling upon the Kerensky government in Russia to send a delegation to Berlin. In addition, as soon as conditions in Germany make it certain the release of thousands of troops, the ex­pedition to Freiherr von Maltzahn, a rank rear-admiral, and a man, for an indefinite period. Instead of the Russian revolution.

The Boston "America," in its issue of November 10, published a Washington dispatch which declared among other things: "It can be statistically asserted that American troops now in Russia, both in Siberia and in the Archangel territory, will remain for an indefinite period."

The Kerensky government was a "Socialist" government, but it retained the fundamental characteristics of the moderate, of industry, and of society. A "Socialist" government, the Kerensky government played the miserable farce of the majority of all parties,"—but excluding the revolutionary proletariat. The Kerensky government was a "Socialist" government, yet it acted against Socialism and the revolutionary proletariat. The Ebert government represents the identical tendency.

The Kerensky government marked the final base of the Russian bourgeoisie and their revolutionaries against the camouflaged empire of Socialism. It marked a period of transition, when the final forces of the class struggle are set in motion and the revolutionary proletariat, when the actual revolutionary proletariat. The Kerensky government represents the identical tendency.

When the Revolution in Germany, as in Russia, was made by the revolutionary mass action of the soldiers and workers, snapping asunder the fetters of authority and aristocracy down to its very roots. The instrument of the revolutionary mass action was the members and the instrument of the revolution.

The Ebert government, instead of the Provisional Government and the Constituent Assembly, while the moderates demand all power to the Councils. It is this division and the struggle it provokes that will determine the course of the revolution.

The revolution in Germany, as in Russia, was made by the revolutionary mass action of the soldiers and workers, snapping asunder the fetters of authority and aristocracy down to its very roots. The instrument of the revolution was the members and the instrument of the revolution.

The Russian proletariat, driven from Russia, and reinforced from Europe, overruns the stage of events. It will have proven a failure, since the revolution will be a success only if it establishes a Socialist Republic. By overthrowing the bourgeois Socialists, and by the formation of a government and erecting the new Socialist state of the bourgeois Socialists—a government of the Councils.

The revolution will conquer by means of the war and social revolutionary tendency. It will mean the massing all power for the proletariat, and annihilating the dominantly political tendency of the bourgeois liberals and the petty bourgeois Socialists.

Three groups are clearly apparent in the revolutionary movement in Germany:

1. The Social-Democratic Party, the party of Ebert, Scheidemann, and the petty bourgeois in tendency and policy, aspiring simply after bourgeois democracy. At its Wiertsburg Convention last year it promised the policy of the party by declaring that, in spite of all conflicts with the bourgeois state, the proletariat must fight on till the victory of the bourgeois attitude is a process of all the classes and the proletariat alone. This group represents petty bourgeois democracy, and is counter-revolutionary.

2. The Independent Socialist Party, the party of Haase, Liebknecht & Co. This party, organized in the spring of 1917, and having a secession from the Social-Democratic Party on the issue of support of the government and the war. It is not definitely uncompromisingly revolutionary party in tendency, being still dominated by the ideology of the older Socialism. But it is not a unified party: it may develop a more revolutionary policy under the pressure of events, or, more likely, it may split off, one faction going over to the revolutionary Socialists.

3. The revolutionary Socialists, not, until recently at least, organized into a political party, represented by Liebknecht, Eilhard, and the Group Internationale, the movement of Karl Liebknecht, Otto Ruhle, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring,—the conscious, uncompromising Bolshevik of Germany. These groups represent the tendency of the revolutionary proletariat. Their propaganda was a platform to the Russian revolution for Three weeks ago, while the "Independent Socialists" in the Reichstag (containing a majority of the Russian workers, Poland,Rub declared: "Only Social revolution can solve these problems.” These Socialists are in favor of the government of Councils, and love unreservedly and unreservedly greeted the Russian Social Revolutionary party in Germany.

Germany is at the "Kerensky" stage, but much more acutely developed. The Revolution in Germany, said Lenin one year and a half ago, will be slow, very slow in starting; but once it starts, it will march on with the speed of a locomotive. In two weeks, the Germans secured what it took the Russians two months to secure—a bourgeois "Socialist" government; in five weeks the Germans secured what it took the Russians five months to secure—a Kerensky government. The Kerensky government is a secession from the Social-Democratic Party, the party of Ebert, Scheidemann, and the petty bourgeois Socialists.

In its proclamation of a republic, the Schleswig-Holstein Council of Workers and Soldiers said: "The political power is in our hands. A provisional government is in process of formation. Our aim is a free, Socialist Republic along lines that will secure peace for the future."

French Socialists demand that the prevailing military administration of affairs shall end immediately; that a general election be held at once to take action on the problems of reconstruction; that union labor will participate in the work of reconstruction; that international Socialist Congress be held and labor re­presented at it; that the German war debts be paid and the national debt liquidated; that the proletariat and Socialism in France will yet speak in more aggressive and decisive terms.

The National Civic Federation warns against "anarchistic agitation," and proclaims that the Red Flag shall be prohibited, and that the emergency laws shall not be repealed. The Federation means any person who does not thank God three times a day for a system that produces revolutions andRockefellers, corrupting wealth and degrading poverty. The espionage laws are stranglers of freedom of expression: they should end as the war ends. Repeal the espionage law!
"EXCESSES" AND "DISORDER" IN RUSSIA

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

November 16, 1918

The various Factory Committees elect delegates to a district Workers' Organ of Control, which regulates industry in a particular district. Then the district Organ of Control is centralised in the All-Russian Workers' Council of Control, which regulates and has charge of all the industries of Russia.

The Council of Control decides what wages the workers are to receive, how long they shall work, what profits—if any—are to be secured by the owner—in other words, the workers through their elected representatives control industry, regulate industry, decide conditions of labor. This is industrial democracy, the first in the history of the world.

No boss can tell a Russian worker, "You can't have a job, there's no work for you"—no work, while millions starve! No boss can tell a Russian worker—"If you don't like my hours and the wages I pay, get out; there's plenty more I can get." The Russian worker is no longer an industrial slave; the Russian worker is free in every sense of the word. Have you an industrial vote? Have you a say in your factory? Your task as against the interests of the workers of Russia is to prevent the newspapers from in their country—"Russia is the greatest problem of the world. More than any other problem it affects you, your prosperity and progress. Let us see what the newspapers say about the revolution in Russia. Russia is the enemy of the world. Russia is the greatest problem of the world. The newspapers damn Russia. They lie about Russia.

The government was established—so the newspapers tell you. The government of the workers is established. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The newspapers tell you that the government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist government, but a workers' government. The government of the workers is a government of the workers, and the workers are free. The government of the workers is not a Czarist governmen...