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

In its issue of November 5, four days before the Revolution. The Verwaltungs, the official organ of the majority Socialists, printed the following proclamation from the government which was then made up of Max von Baden, von Payer, Dr. Self, Philipp Scheidemann, etc.: To the German People! The trouble of the times lies heavy on the world and on the German people. We must overcome these hard days and their consequences. Already we must begin to work for happier times. The new government has undertaken steps to bring about this result. Important things have been accomplished.

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

The "Volksetz" (The People's Voice), Chemnitz, Saxony, November 9, carries the following manifesto in a special edition issued at 2 a.m.: On with the struggle for Freedom, Bread and Peace! Workers and Soldiers in the industrial districts of the country. The undersigned Council of the Workers and Soldiers is this night taken in its hands the Long live Peace! . . . .

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

The foundation upon which the new government rests is that the entire lawgiving, directing, managing and judicial power lies entirely in the hands of the representatives of the workers and soldiers. To elect these representatives is your first practical task. Therefore, Soldiers! Brothers! meet together today at 10 o'clock in the barracks and hospitals and choose your representatives on the basis of one delegate to each battalion, one to each smaller independent formation and one to each hospital.

On the following proclamation:

"Die Internationale," formerly "Die Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Sunday, November 10, prints the following proclamation: Workers! Soldiers! Comrades! Brothers! The great, long expected day has appeared. Since November 9, the German people have the power in their hands. Since November 9, Germany is a Republic; a Socialist Republic of the Workers and Soldiers. Our hearts are full of joy. But we have no time to give way to our joy. Now it is necessary to erect the organized foundation for the new Commonwealth. Enormous tasks lie ahead of us. Before all we must form a new government which will express our ideals and which will be equal to the vital problems before us.

The foundation upon which the new government rests is that the entire lawgiving, directing, managing and judicial power lies entirely in the hands of the representatives of the workers and soldiers. To elect these representatives is your first practical task. Therefore, Soldiers! Brothers! meet together today at 10 o'clock in the barracks and hospitals and choose your representatives on the basis of one delegate to each battalion, one to each smaller independent formation and one to each hospital.

Proclamation of the Spartacus Group issued a few days before the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils made the following demands: Disarmament of all police officers, non-proletarian soldiers and all members of the ruling class. Confiscation by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils of arms, munitions and armament plants. Arming of all adult male proletarians and the formation of a Workers' Militia. The formation of a proletarian Red Guard, abolition of the ranks of officers and non-commissioned officers, removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils. Abolition of all parliaments and municipal and other councils. The election of a General Council which will elect and control the Executive Council of the Soldiers and Workers. Proclamation of all state and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscriptions. Expulsion of all landed estates, banks, coal mines and large industrial works. Confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount.

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

To the troops of the land army and the fleet and also to their leaders our special thanks due. Through their death-defying courage and their discipline they have saved the Fatherland. The more important and immediate tasks are: The building up again of our agriculture in order that the returning soldiers and sailors now at the front may find in regulated conditions the assurance of a little existence for themselves and their families. All large associations have declared their readiness to reengage their former workers. The assistance of these out of work, care for housing conditions and other men in the same direction are partly in preparation, partly already carried out.

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

German Men and Women! Combat and peace are our common task. State and kingdom are our common future. Your confidence which is indispensable in the hour of danger is in truth nothing more than the confidence of the German people in themselves and their future. The assured future of Germany is our guiding star.
They Are Still There!

REPORTS from Paris state that the Allies have decided against sending a large force to Russia but these accounts of the reported future policy of the Associated Powers with regard to Russia are so vague and contradictory that little confidence can be placed in them. The same papers that carried the reported decision of the Allies also carry the story that General Sherapianoff, the deposed pro-German hetman of the Ukraine, is advancing from Odessa re-enforced by French troops while the French foreign minister is quoted as urging that support be given to countries committed to open diplomacy, the peoples of the Allied countries for the war just ended. And the Associated are keeping in step with the newspapers.

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

Besides the general assumptions the facts are not lacking. The degree of guilt fastened upon each of the "responsible persons" is being carefully weighed and discussed: a great deal of attention is being devoted to the discussion of the question of whether the Allies can, in the light of "precedents," and trends of international law demand Wilhelm's surrender: not forgotten either is the question of how to proceed during the "secretary-punishment" which the former Kaiser should be subjected to: some share the view that, be it as in the case of Napoleon, should the present Kaiser be hunted down; some insist that further discussion is necessary to clear up the "comparative geographical" analysis of all islands suitable for this purpose; others insist on the necessity of impinging upon him a sentence of life imprisonment while recent newspapers printed a report to the effect that the British Minister of Ammunition, Godlitz, resolutely and unambiguously stated that the only exemplary form of punishment for the guilty monarch is a death sentence.

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

We are passing through a great epoch, a threatening epoch of a People's judgment on all their conscientious oppressors, on all guilt of casting the peoples' misery, sufferings, and tears, over all those who had plunged them into the present world war. Country by country, people by people, rise now, and recognize, give their account of the deeds of their former masters.

And the revolution which we are witnessing does not merely concern itself with crowned masters. No! The rising people, the press introduce recrimination measures, they attempt to deal a blow at the very heart of every form of exploitation and every form of oppression. Getting rid of the crown beards they go still farther: depriving the rulers "blessed by divine power" they ranch out for the rulers of the "Golden Calv" (announced by the Golden Calv)—for capitalists, manufacturers, merchants and estate owners. They wage war against the entire capitalist system.

In vain are the assurances and prayers of various classes of the Vrso-Veslav "science" magicians or "jurists" who are capable of combining evoc Calvarian with "fighting for democracy"; in vain are their tearful assurances that with "tremendous hatred of the former nazi regime" the entire people will vote for the party of the revolution and the destruction of the old order. In vain are the calculating and expectant cunningly devided in the silence of the study rooms, expectations which prove with mathematical certainty the "comparative geographical" and the "secretary punishment" of the Socialist revolution at the present moment.

The proletarians mass continuously pass by all this Menshevik recalcitrant-scientific nonsense, continuing to perform their revolutionary task, their severe revolutionary judgment of the past, in the name of the future. . .

And this formidably and unhesitatingly resolution of the peoples' will, which has come into the hearts of the exploiters and oppressors not yet brought to account, in despair they try to stare off from them the people's wrath, to direct it into another channel. Into the stormy crowd of those people's wrath they throw down Wilhelm in an attempt to cover up this offering, the "god of the revolution" and to save their sinking capitalist ship.

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

They are attempting to turn the great Socialist revolu­tion into the "proper channels" and cramp it into the prosy constitution of bourgeois capitalist revolu­tion—of the sweeping away the "remnants of feni­dism," to introduce "enlightened capitalism." In place of feudal monarchy . . .

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

Bolshevikjabs

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

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

Young 1909 is in for a tougher job than many people imagine.

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

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

We suppose that Spain after hearing so much about the war for "to top a joke by the bourgeois press but one thing is certain—she can't make a worse job of it than have many of the "old women" who have func­tioned in this capacity in the governments of the world.

"Senate asks for copies of Cred Bureau matter," the newspapers ask us. We had ventured to express the opinion that the Senate has quite enough mis­information already.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The committee on publication has full authority to dispose of the money put forth by private societies or individuals whenever those publications are of national usefulness; the first printing of the titles of such publications, however, shall be applied to reimbursing the government for the subsidy received.

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

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

A. V. LUNACHARSKY
Commissioner of Education
Educational Activities
To the American Workers

By N. Lenin

A Message from the Soviet Republic

Moscow, August 20, 1918

OMRADES: A Russian Belahevskii who par-
ticipated in the Revolution of 1905 and for
many years lived in your country, has
offered to transmit this letter to you. I have
graped this opportunity joyfully for the revolution-
ary proletariat of America—insofar as it is the ene-
my of American imperialism—is destined to per-
form an important task at this time.

The history of modern civilized America opens
with the triumph of the Socialists, who, in 1848,
drew us into the whirlpool of that epoch, the
American Civil War. This was the war of the
American bourgeois class against the Negro and
against the American working class who were
organizing for freedom. It was a war of the
American working class against the American
bourgeoisie, despoiling the latter of its "acquired"
land. The country, which had been occupied by
the English as well as the German, has been
playing false. The four years of war have shown
in their effect the law of capitalism in all wars:
that he who is richest and mightiest profits the
most, takes the greatest share of the spoils, while
he who is weak is exploited, martyred, oppressed and
outraged to the utmost.

In the number of its colonial possessions, English imperialism has always been more powerful than any of its European competitors, because it has built up its "acquired" land. On the other hand it has acquired
capitalist countries in Africa, has occupied Latin
America, and in the East has upheld its own bourgeoi-

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

American plutocrats are wealthier than those of
any other country partly because they are geograph-
ically more fortunate during the war. And every dollar
is stained with the blood that was shed by millions
of murdered and crippled men, shed in the high,
honorable and holy war of freedom.

Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeois
accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace
negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Rus-
ia to the mercy of Germany, which was only too
happy to use the chance to put down rebellion
without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon
complete equality could have been forced upon Ger-
many, and millions of lives might have been saved.
Because they hoped to reestablish the Eastern Front
by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of war-
fare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and
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The workers of the whole world, in whatever
country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize
with us, applies of the law of imperialism of which
there have been so few compared with the enormous
number of wars of conquest that were started by a
handful of brutal millionaires who are stagnating in
the Eastern Front. This is an international agreement,
in the interests of the Russian proletarian workers, and
broadcast the news of this agreement to the American
workers.

The power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Li-
tovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace
It ill becomes them to throw the blame for the
Russo-German peace upon our shoulders!

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workers.
It was when it was still a bloody war that the bourgeoise revolutionaries and proletariat threw into the world the three great achievements of the American Civil War of 1860-1865.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understood very well of the overthrow of every bourgeois dictatorship that the world of three years of Civil War, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accomplishment. But these same gentlemen and the reformer Socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, may not see, the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie and the propertarians of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the first loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, when he said on the occasion of 1917: "I am a socialist" at the same moment when it was still a Socialist paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" that he would rather be lynched than support the pawns of criminal and reactionary war, that he knows only one war that is sanctified and justified from the standpoint of the proletariat: the war against the capitalist dictatorship of mankind from wage slavery. I am not surprised that this fearless man was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie and then released, because he is the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they show, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie of this same bourgeoiseie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our Revolution than that of the American bourgeoisie that built up the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just, is this bourgeoisie!

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

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 million, in crippling 20 million in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and exploited, be so oppressed and exploited as to cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoise would still maintain that the war is only a war of extermination, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletarian, even now, in the midst of the horror of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconsolable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the power of state it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it, at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decisiveness.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie and the socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know, too, that with the development of this revolution, not only will the proletariat break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletarian revolution will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeoisie press trumpet every mistake that is made by our Revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working classes who have been exploited and forcibly thrown down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeoisie society cannot simply be put to a coffin and replaced. If we do not carry through our revolution we are either simply and unpretentious, because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true,—I know, of course, that this is not so— but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. It is because the working masses, almost without any self-discipline, have placed practically all of the larger factories and workshops into a combination, that the working classes not only were able to throw out our revolution, but that we have the power! We only regret that we did not understand the dictatorship of the proletariat, that we have not taken into our hands the management of entire industries, to conduct the business of the state, to conduct the business of the world.

The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democratic and the semi-proletariat, with which Socialism is not to be thought of. Let incorruptible pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democratic and the semi-proletariat, with which Socialism is not to be thought of. The real masses, the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which the revolution could not be.

We know that it may take a long time for us to establish the actual dictatorship of the proletariat, the mode of life that is to be the system of communist farming on a large scale. We know that it may take a long time for us to establish the actual dictatorship of the proletariat, the mode of life that is to be.

We are the bearers of the principles of the Social Revolution. Our revolution, whether it is slow or rapid, is not to be thought of. It is the revolution of the future, the revolution of the world's salvation. It is the revolution of the enriching of all human beings. When the bourgeoisie repudiates and buries the revolution, it takes the form of a political depression. But for every hundred of our mistakes that are made, the working masses, the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, with which Socialism is not to be thought of. They are making a new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unattacked strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that we will come to a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Workmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how could it be otherwise)? We know full well that the outburst of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is opening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we can be anywhere at all, anywhere, anywhere for the arrangement of our revolution.

We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions cannot come without a long, very long preparation, of the arrangement of our revolution. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions cannot come without a long, very long preparation, of the arrangement of our revolution.

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The Constituent Assembly
By N. I. Hourwich

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

Reformists who believe that all countries are striving to cover up their counter-revolutionary aims and "imminent hopes" with this slogan, are not rhythmically advanced by international capitalism protecting its "rights and sanctities" from proletarian aggressions; under the cover of this slogan, finally, have taken refuge all "bad bears" from the camp of the social-traitors and social-patriots, who have gone over to serve capitalism.

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

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

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

The struggle between these two slogans and the social forces rallying around each of them, represented in fact, the substance of all that colossal, in truth, the epochal struggle between the two slogans and the so-called "revolutionary hydra," calls for help her yesterday's "Foreign foe"—the Allied troops. And the Allies, on their part, very hastily removed their "democratic" armor and spoke to the German people in a language far from being democratic. All this cannot but influence the working masses in the sense of sobering them to a large extent. And the indications of such a change are already on the surface.

Rather significant is the report of the Berlin correspondent of the Times, whose sympathies are, of course, wholly on the side of Socialism, telling us about the "organs of the proletariat" of Germany, the "mixed group "Sparks" and "Lichtenburg" (Socialists).

Thus, as in Russia, this struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat has assumed in Germany the characteristics of an aspect of a struggle between "two factions of the Social Revolution" between social-patriots and revolutionary Socialists (Bolsheviks).

And, as in Russia, this struggle between two factions at first brings "victory" to the socialist-opportunist elements in the labor movement. Judging from the newspaper reports, the predominant majority in the All-German Congress of Socialists of Germany's Working's and Soldiers' Soviets have to a large extent gone in Berlin at present appeared to be on the side of the Liebknecht-Scheidemann group. Liebknecht has not succeeded in attending the congress. The congress rejected a resolution recommending to "be the bourgeoisie from participation in the political life," i.e., plainly speaking, deprive the bourgeoisie of its political rights.

The bourgeoisie as a whole has expressed itself for the calling of the Constituent Assembly. Socialist-opportunist during, were in Germany the official delegates to the Social Revolution, i.e., those who under the name of Social Revolutionists have become "intellectual masters of the proletarian revolution," their claim is to be a part of the world's struggle for the realization of Socialism.

The Blind Leading the Blind

By Scott Nearing

To try to pass the Peter-Pauls—"leading us to a precipice—was an exercise in futility and to act as "shepherds of the flock" were unworthy of trust.

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

They told us that the system of society under which we live could continue, with its monopolies of poverty, prostitution, child labor, unemployment and monotonous, endless, grinding toil. It was possible, they said, to continue a scheme that enabled the few who were favored and reared to ride the many, whose sad and blinded—gouging us for our coal and wheat; robbing us for the rent and plundering us for the dividends on our stock certificates. Such a society, they said, would hold together—even if the hand of every man was raised against his neighbor.

The preponderate majority has expressed itself for the calling of the Constituent Assembly. The preponderate majority has expressed itself for the calling of the Constituent Assembly.
Concerning the Russian Revolution

By Romain Rolland

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

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

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

To the American Workers

(Continued from page 5)

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

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as any other international socialist revolution comes to our aid and with it bolshevism, for they are stronger than ours, they grow, they thrive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its bureaucratic continuance. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Schiedamens. Inevitably labor is approaching communist bolshevist tactics, it is preparing for the day when that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

We are invincible, for invincible is the Proletarian Revolution.

Questions

It is generally known that President Wilson had an excellent idea that the end of the coming peace should be the principle of justice and an equal non-partisan attitude towards all peoples—big and small, strong and weak—and he has found the most complete and bright expression in the famous formula proclaimed by the Russian Revolution: "peace with no annexations or contributions and on the basis of international guarantees of peace."

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

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

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

The Soviet Government, in its communication, states that it accepts the Wilson condition regarding evacuation and is ready to conclude an armistice with the Allies in case they clearly from the troops the parts of Russian territory occupied by them.

Will the Allies take into consideration this statement? Doubtful. Indeed, they interpret, do they not interpret, the peace which exists, and therefore, there can be no talk in this case about an armistice.

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

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

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

Education in Russia

(Continued from page 6)

Demonstrative Arts: 7, Musical-Vocal: 8, Artistic-Ethnographical: 9, Cinematographic.

These sections are proceeding to create in Petrograd:

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

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

Honorary Chairman of the Central Committee, A. V. Lunacharsky.
Chairman of the Executive Bureau, F. Kalinn.

...and the revolutionaries. I have more than once pointed out the fact, with details, to some of the leading Switzers.

They did not deny it, but no change was made in their behavior, and one never hears anything but the cry of one side. "Altem adherers parties."

Isauch in as much as the two sides will not be heard before the bar of the Swiss press, I deny to the readers of that press the right to judge of the affairs in Russia.

I deplore the attitude which the Allied governments have persistently maintained toward the Russian revolution from its beginning. They have done every thing possible to add to its difficulties, to provoke violence on its part and in short to force it into the arms of Germany, their worst enemy. That is what Capt-...
The National Congress of Councils of Workers and Soldiers, which convened in Berlin on November 16, was dominated by the moderates, marked the end of the first stage of the German Revolution.

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

The days preceding the convening of the Congress were marked by rumors of counter-revolution, even actual paroxysms, by the feverish activity of the reaction, by the Socialists, by ministerial crises and a refusal of J. Solf to resign (which he subsequently did, however, being succeeded by another head of the old regime), and by the German workers engaging in huge strikes and preparing to interfere in the processes of industry. This economic activity of the masses is vital, for unless the masses develop a consciousness of their economic interests and exercise real control over the industry, the revolution will remain political, and become a wasted opportunity.

The days prior to the Congress, a few days before the Congress met, promulgated a program wholly in accord with the revolutionary requirements of the situation:

- Disarmament of all police officers, non-proletarian soldiers and all deputies, with the exception of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, from the small committee of the Executive Committee and the Workers' and Soldiers' Militia;
- Abolition of the ranks of officers and non-commissioned officers, removal of all military officers from the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils;
- Abolition of all Parliaments and municipal and other councils;
- The election of a General Council which will elect and control the Executive Council of the soldiers and workers; repudiation of all state and other public debts, including war loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscriptions; expropriation of all landed estates, banks, coal mines and large industrial works; confiscation of all fortunes above a certain amount.

This program, an immediate, practical program of action, may yet rally the revolutionary masses and would imply the dictatorship of the proletariat a great stride onward to Socialism, and the preparation of the revolutionary German proletariat for the decisive international revolutionary events that are coming.

The Congress of Councils met on December 16, with a clear majority for the policy of the Russian Socialists. It dodged every actual problem of the revolution, being intimidated alike by the enormity of these problems and the threat of what the Allies might do under certain conditions. The Congress allowed itself, perhaps willingly, to be brow-beaten by Ebert and Scheidemann—while outside in the streets of Berlin raged the revolutionary masses who repeatedly invaded the Congress. By a vote of five to one, the Congress refused to allow Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to address it with advisory function. But the representatives of counter-revolutionary speakers were listened to and often applauded. The Revolution had been accomplished by the uncomprehending bourgeois and Bolshevik, and Bolshevik slogans, which the Congress now rejected in favor of petty bourgeois democracy.

The reactionist character of the Congress was indicated in the repeated attacks on the old Executive Committee which, heaven knows, was moderate enough. The old executive was too radical for the Congress. Barth attacked Ebert and the Government for its food policy but the Congress sustained Ebert. Leberdor, the left Independent Socialist, who still hesitates, however, accused Ebert of furthering counter-revolutionary propaganda, and stigmatized him as "a shameful smith on the Government," amid scenes of protest and disorder. But the Congress approved of the Ebert ministry—and the right Independent, Haase & Co. in spite of all, retained their membership in the government of the counter-revolution. The Congress climax its reactionary attitude by the election of a moderate Executive Committee in accord with the Government, giving this committee power to "control" the Government—until the next event, perhaps revolutionary.—Repealed, during the sessions, delegations of workers and soldiers insisted upon being allowed to present demands, a right they insisted upon in spite of the Government's opposition to a Constituent Congress. A delegation of soldiers demanded the dismissal of all officers and military control for the Councils. A delegation of workers was allowed to speak only after violent protests, presented the following demands:

- That all Germany be constituted as one single republic; that all government power be vested in the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils; that the supreme executive power be exercised by the Executive Council; the abolition of the existing government measures for the protection of the Revolution; disarmament of the counter-revolutionaries; arming of the proletariat; propaganda for the establishment of a Socialistic World Republic.

In spite of these revolutionary proposals, they were decisively rejected, the Congress adopting a hesitant, compromising, petty bourgeois policy.

The Congress was stamped into existence by an early convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the data being set for January 19 by a vote of 400 to 70, amidst cries from the gallery of "Shame! Shame!" and towards, we shall teach you a lesson yet! You are robbing the people of the fruits of the Revolution. The counter-revolutionary character of this stampede in favor of the Constituent Assembly was have split the revolutionary proposals, they were decisively rejected, the Congress adopting a hesitant, compromising, petty bourgeois policy.

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