

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

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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 the hiring 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 world 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 joyously, 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 still expressing, joy and happiness at the coming of

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 allies 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 damning 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 hirelings 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 strangler 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 problem of the workers at this moment. Think! Act!

The German Revolution

The Revolution in Germany is only incidentally a revolution against the Kaiser. It is a revolution against Capitalism and Imperialism, a revolution against that system of industrial and financial brigandage of which the Kaiser was simply the autocrat—symbol and the braggart expression.

The capitalist press has for four and a half years fooled the world into believing that Germany was what it was because of the Kaiser and the Junkers. This is an error of the first magnitude. The autocracy in Germany was not a Junker autocracy, it was primarily an autocracy of industry and finance, of capitalist Imperialism. The autocracy persisted in Germany because Capitalism and Imperialism found it profitable to use the autocracy as an instrument for conquest and against Socialism. The industrial and financial Kaisers united with Kaiser Wilhelm in plots of plunder and aggression. Kaiserism would have been overwhelmed if it had not converted itself into an instrument of Capitalism and Imperialism in Germany.

During the war, the magnates of industry and finance enthusiastically supported the war and were the most aggressive of all in proposing annexations. The National Liberal Party three years ago presented a memorandum to the government urging the annexation of Belgium and Northern France; and the National Liberal Party is the party of big capital financed by the steel barons. It was the capitalist and the financier who formulated plans for the economic subjugation of Russia, and the world; it was the capitalist and the financier who plunged Germany into disaster; and it is the capitalist and the financier who must be overthrown, and pay the penalty of their crimes.

Capitalist Imperialism, of which German Imperialism was the complete and final expression, thrives upon aggression, upon conquest, upon increasing its own economic opportunity by limiting the economic

opportunity of other nations; and it is this Imperialism that is being annihilated in Germany, as it was annihilated in Russia.

The simple abdication of the Kaiser would alter nothing; his system—the unity of autocracy with imperialistic finance—would still retain control, still oppress the proletariat, clash with other Imperialisms, produce new wars.

This unity of autocracy and Imperialism in Germany, of autocrat and capitalist, is proven by the fact that the Revolution, once in action, immediately develops into a revolution against Capitalism. The abdication of the Kaiser becomes simply an incident, comparatively trivial and unimportant. As in Russia the downfall of the Czar was the signal of the new revolutionary struggle against the Czars of industry and finance, so in Germany the abdication of the Kaiser flares up into the revolutionary struggle against the Kaisers of finance and industry.

That the German Revolution is a developing proletarian revolution is evident in the general organization of Councils (Soviets) of Workmen, Soldiers and Peasants as instruments of revolutionary action, and the arising demand that all government power should be vested in these Councils. This development characterized the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Out of the terror and agony of the war, and out of defeat, is coming the revolution against Imperialism in Germany.

It is this revolution that was the chief factor in the coming of peace—Bolshevism that conquered.

The break came first in Bulgaria, where Bolshevism was rampant, compelling Czar Ferdinand to make a counter-revolutionary peace in a desperate attempt to save his throne. But he went into oblivion, then his son, and now Bulgaria is a republic.

Then Bolshevism flared up in Austria-Hungary, demoralized the army, organized Councils of Workmen

and Soldiers. A provisional government was organized, after declaring the monarchy abolished, and peace negotiations started.

Six weeks ago, it was admitted generally that the German army was still intact, could still fight on; today, Germany is making peace—why? Because Bolshevism and the Revolution decreed the end of the war. Without this revolutionary activity, the troops of the Central Powers could not have maintained a victorious offensive, but they could still have maintained a victorious defensive for some time to come.

The ideological impulse of Bolshevism, uniting with the terrible agony and mass misery, flared up into the Revolution. The great event that the Bolsheviks, that the Russian workers and Peasants, had struggled and starved and died for came into being. And as German Imperialism naturally acted against Soviet Russia, German revolutionary Socialism acts together with Soviet Russia.

Some weeks ago, upon the appearance of the crisis in Germany, the Soviet Government offered and pledged help to the German workers in their revolution. Lenin, from a sick bed, wrote a letter to the Central Executive Committee, saying: "The crisis in Germany shows either a revolution begun or a revolution inevitable in the near future. Placing Scheidemann & Co. in the government will simply hasten the revolutionary explosion. We had decided to have an army of a million men by spring, but we shall now need three million."

The situation in Germany, in Europe, is still fluid, events rapidly follow each other, still in process of development. The task of the revolution in Germany is to become definitely a proletarian revolution, to conquer all power for the Socialist proletariat.

Only a definite proletarian revolution in Germany can make a clean sweep of the old reactionary system, and assure the coming of universal Socialism.

Against Intervention in Russia

To Citizen Romain Rolland:

At the hour when Republicans of the whole world, celebrating the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, pay homage to the French Revolution and declare their indelible faith in an early realization of a life of brotherhood, the Telegraphs inform us that the governments of the Entente Allies have resolved to crush the Russian Revolution.

Widened through the fight against the dispossessed classes, a hostile aristocracy, against a bourgeoisie anxious above all to reconquer their privileges and their capital, more than half strangled through German Imperialism, the power of the Soviets is in danger of annihilation to-day through the offensive begun by the Entente.

Senseless are those who do not see that this armed intervention—persistently demanded for some time by certain Russian circles which have lost all political influence—will have the result of awakening the indignation of the invaded nation. Irrespective of what is being said, and without showing any partisanship for the Soviets, the fact is that this intervention is against the entire Russian people, against their will for peace, and their ideal of social justice. The day will come, when through the uprising of this nation, which is still capable of great things, the invaders who have violated it, will be expelled. That day, Frenchmen and Germans, Austrians and English, will all equally be the object of hatred in Russia.

The free men of Europe, those who through the turmoil have conserved their opinions honestly, and who know, or at least guess the immense value to humanity of the Communist experiment which is being tried out by the Russian proletariat, will they allow the accomplishment of this detestable injustice?

What is the Bolshevik Revolution? What did it want? What has it done up to today? What will it be able to realize to-morrow? Is it worth being defended? The documents which I am sending you will contribute, I feel sure, to make known the truth. I happen to be in a position nearer than anybody else, to the events which have taken place in Russia during the past nine months. I have taken daily, short notes of my impressions. They were written in a hurry—necessarily incomplete, sketchy, and often contradict-

ory. I send you enclosed a copy of the notes which I could find, that is nearly all those which I have sent to France.

I am not a Bolshevik.

I know the great mistakes that have been committed by the Maximalists.

But I also know that before signing the treaty of Brest, the Commissaries of the people did not cease to solicit the Allies for military help which would have permitted the Bolsheviks to resist the abominable demands of the Central Empires, and have saved them from having to submit to a shameful peace of which they knew the dangers.

I also know that since Brest, Trotzky and Lenin have multiplied their efforts to induce the powers of the Entente to collaborate loyally in the economic and military reorganization of Russia.

Finally, I know that these desperate appeals to the Allies, contrary to their best interests, have been opposed by a non possumus—disdainful indifference.

Forgetting the teachings of history, and erring to the point of believing that the dismembered parts of Russia would continue the war abandoned by Russia, they have created the Ukraine, to the great benefit of Austria and Germany; they have pushed with all their might the separatist tendencies of Finland, Poland, Lithuania and the Caucasus, and with a Rumanian army they have fought the Russian army. These states as soon as created, have fallen into the arms of our enemies, as it was easy for me to predict, while the Russian government, although weakened, lost in the conferences of Brest, a great part of its authority and prestige. In the Interior where the Allies have played the game of counter-revolution, they have aggravated the general disorder and precipitated the disorganization of this unfortunate country.

Before Brest, their indifference made Russia defenceless against the ignoble appetites of the Pan-Germans. After Brest, the hostility of the Allies is bound to push this nation, which does not want to die, into the camp of the enemy of yesterday who knows admirably well how to take advantage of our numerous errors. The Conservatives approached with enthusiasm the Austro-German governments from

which they rightly expect the restoration of the old regime. The parties of the extreme Left, with a heavy heart, have to consent to this provisional reconciliation which necessarily must bring about their destruction, but which prolonging their agony, maintains their hope for existence.

In spite of the modifications imposed by the censor you will find in the pages which I send you, abundant proof of what I say here.

These notes have been sent from Petrograd and from Moscow. Given to the care of the official 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 to other friends, to the Deputy Pressemane, to Pierre Hamp, 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 Military Mission in Russia. 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 extracts of my conversations with leaders of Bolshevism and of the Opposition, which I could not pass by 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 men, to the philosophers and to the thinkers of France who in your opinion will be interested in reading them. Men such as Aulard, Gabriel Seailles, Maeterlinck 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 French Revolution from

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THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

The Soviet Commissaire of Foreign Affairs Tchicherin on October 24 sent a note to President Wilson saying:

"As a condition of the armistice, during which peace negotiations shall be begun, you in your note to Germany demanded evacuation of occupied territories. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on this condition, and request you to inform us when you intend to withdraw your troops from Murman, Archangel and Siberia."

There has been absolutely no official answer to this request. The newspapers have jeered Tchicherin as "cheeky," while proposing an invasion of Russia by way of Constantinople and the Black Sea.

The Boston "American," in its issue of November 14 published a Washington dispatch which declared among other things:

"It can be stated authoritatively that American troops now in Russia, both in Siberia and in the Archangel territory, will remain for an indefinite period. In addition, as soon as conditions in Germany make certain the release of thousands of troops, the expedition in Russia will be reinforced. It will be the intention of the Allied governments and the United States to win Russia back to her senses through sympathy and not further bloodshed."

Sympathy, and not further bloodshed? Then why keep the troops in Russia, and reinforce them? Bullets are peculiar agents of sympathy.

Withdraw from Russia!

AT THE "KERENSKY" STAGE

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 definitely into revolutionary action, the German bourgeoisie attempted to prevent a collapse of its rule by calling upon the Kaiser to abdicate, and by placing in the cabinet Scheidemann and two other Socialists of his traitorous type. Instead of averting revolution, this action simply hastened the revolution, which rushed onward with a speed positively feverish.

The bourgeois-"Socialist" coalition government was intended to halt the onward march of the proletarian revolution—precisely the purpose of the bourgeois-"Socialist" coalition government organized in Russia on May 19, 1917. Government coalition between the bourgeoisie and the moderate Socialists everywhere is used by a desperate bourgeoisie to deceive the militant proletariat,—in France, England, Russia, and now in Germany. The awakening proletariat, at first, does not distinguish between moderate, "government" Socialism and revolutionary Socialism; but the inevitable logic of the developing class struggle compels the proletariat to distinguish between the real and the false.

The bourgeois-"Socialist" coalition government, formed by Imperial Chancellor Max, was shattered into bits by the impact of revolutionary action. It could not reconcile the Revolution with the bourgeois government, nor the bourgeois government with the Revolution. The proletariat refused to be appeased by giving Scheidemann a seat of honor in the government,—the same seat which had ruthlessly oppressed the proletariat and waged an infamous war of conquest against the same Scheidemann who had mobilized the proletariat and workers in support of the coalition.

This government, the bastard product of an illegitimate union of Capitalism and "Socialism" could not secure the confidence of the masses. The revolts of the masses, instead of being ended, were multiplied, and the bourgeois-"Socialist" government collapsed. The new government, with Ebert as Chancellor, appointed by grace of Imperial Chancellor Max, now marched upon the stage of events.

What is this Ebert government? Ebert is a moderate Socialist of the Scheidemann persuasion, an influential member of the Social Democratic Party. The Social Democratic Party during four and one half years of war supported the government and the war, declared that the proletariat owed a duty to the state, and was consistently counter-revolutionary,—acting equally against the oncoming proletarian revolution in Germany and the accomplished proletarian revolution in Russia. In tendency, and as an historical category, the Ebert government corresponds to the Kerensky "Socialist" government in Russia.

The Kerensky government was a "Socialist" government, but it retained the fundamental bourgeois relations of government, of industry, and of society. A "Socialist" government, the Kerensky government played the miserable farce of "unity of all the 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 desperate manoeuvres of the Russian bourgeoisie to retain its supremacy by using the camouflage of Socialism. It marked a period of transition, when the final forces of the class struggle prepared for action. It was impotent to act, deprived of all real power. The most important feature of the Kerensky period was the decision to convoke an All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which when it convened decreed all power to the Soviets.

In Germany, the Kerensky-Ebert government occupies the stage of events, but the actual destiny of the Revolution is being determined by the organization and policy of the Councils of Workers and Soldiers, the instrument of the revolutionary masses. The division is now clearly apparent, as in Russia,—the moderates demand support of the Provisional Government and the Constituent Assembly, while the radicals demand all power to the Councils. It is this division and the struggle it provokes that will determine the course of events.

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 dragging Kaiserism down in ruins. The instrument of action of the revolutionary masses is the Council of Workers, of Soldiers, of Peasants. These Councils are necessarily determined in a struggle for an economic and social revolution, while the provisional government wants to tinker with political forms.

The moderates are united in favor of the Constituent Assembly, the radicals are uniting in favor of the immediate convocation of a National Congress of Councils.

There is no revolution unless it is a mass revolution; not simply in the sense that the masses make the revolution, but in the sense that the masses definitely march up on the stage of administrative events, consciously become the government. This can be accomplished only by the German Councils of Workers and Soldiers being transformed from instruments of revolutionary action into organs of revolutionary government.

Bourgeois democracy has been conquered in Germany; the capitalists and the parliamentary republic are in power. Should the revolution cease now, it will have proven a failure, since the revolution will be a success only if it establishes a Socialist Republic by overthrowing the bourgeois parliamentary forms of government and erecting the new Socialist "state" of the organized producers—a government of the Councils.

The Revolution will conquer by means of the economic and social revolutionary tendency of the masses conquering 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 & Co. This party is petty bourgeois in tendency and policy, aspiring simply after bourgeois democracy. At its Wuertzburg Convention last year, Scheidemann expressed the policy of the party by declaring that, in spite of all conflicts with the bourgeois state, the proletariat in bound to it, and that the coming of Socialism is a process of all the classes and not of the proletariat alone. This group represents petty bourgeois democracy, and is counter-revolutionary.

2.—The Independent Socialist Party, the party of Haase, Ledebour & Co. This party, organized in the spring of 1917, represents a secession from the Social-Democratic Party on the issue of support of the government and the war. It is not a 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, one faction going over to Ebert & Co., the other faction going over to the revolutionary Socialists.

3.—The revolutionary Socialists, not, until recently at least, organized into a political party, but represented by the Spartacus Group and the Group Internationale, the movement of Karl Liebknecht, Otto Ruhle, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring,—the conscious, uncompromising Bolsheviks of Germany. These groups represent the tendency of the revolutionary proletariat. Their propaganda was a propaganda of Social Revolution. Three weeks ago, while Independent Socialists in the Reichstag talked of defence against the excessive demands of Poland, Ruhle declared: "Only Social Revolution can settle these problems of peace." These Socialists are in favor of the government of Councils, and have unreservedly and enthusiastically greeted the Russian Soviet Republic.

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; it took the Russians three months to overthrow their Kerensky; how long will it take the Germans to overthrow their Kerensky government and place all power in the Councils of the revolutionary proletariat?

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 problems of reconstruction; that union labor shall participate in the work of reconstruction; that an international Socialist Congress be held and labor represented at the Peace Conference. These are moderate demands; the proletariat and Socialism in France will yet speak in more aggressive and decisive terms.

The National Civic Federation warns against "anarchistic agitation," and proposes that using the Red Flag shall be prohibited, and that the emergency espionage laws shall be retained. By "anarchist" the Federation means any person who does not thank God three times a day for a system that produces Morgans and Rockefeller, corrupting wealth and degrading poverty. The espionage laws are stranglers of freedom of expression; they should end as the war ends. Repeat the espionage laws!

"EXCESSES" AND "DISORDER" IN RUSSIA

With the fall of the ancient governments which rested like an incubus upon the peoples of the central empires has come, not merely political change, but revolution; and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and ordered form, but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves with what governments, and of what sort, are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace... Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action, if we help and do not hinder.—President Wilson, in his address to Congress, November 11.

Germany is in the midst of a developing proletarian revolution. The course of this revolution, if it definitely accomplishes its purpose is the conquest of power by the proletariat, will in large measure parallel the development and accomplishments of the proletarian revolution in Russia. An understanding of what's being done in Russia, accordingly, will assist in understanding the probable course of developments in Germany.

"Excesses" and "disorder" are simply the superficial appearance of revolutions, breaking loose in every revolution. We must penetrate beneath the surface of events, we must appreciate the real tendency and accomplishments of a revolution.

There has never been a revolution in history that was not stigmatized at the time as a process of "excesses" and "disorders;" but history has always reversed this judgment. And this equally true of the proletarian revolution in Russia, the importance of which is international and will determine the destiny of the world in the years to come.

Russia is the biggest problem of the world. More than any other problem it affects your life, your interests, your aspirations as men and women who work for a living.

The newspapers damn Russia. They lie about Russia. They try to convince you that revolutionary Russia is your enemy. Revolutionary Russia is not your enemy. Revolutionary Russia is your friend, the friend of all men and women who work for a living. The workers and peasants of Russia are suffering, are fighting, are dying, not alone in their own cause, but in the cause of the workers of the world.

The newspapers lie, but in their very lies they show what a big thing is the Russian Revolution. They confess that the Russian Revolution is a danger, the greatest danger, to the tyrants of industry and capital everywhere; and by that fact the Russian Revolution is the comrade of the men and women everywhere who are the victims of the tyranny of industry and capital.

The Russian Revolution marks the end of the old world of Capitalism and the beginning of the new world of Socialism. It is the greatest departure in the world's history, greater than the French Revolution. For the first time in all history, the common people, the workers and peasants, are in absolute control of a nation, a nation of 160,000,000 people, using the government in the interest of the workers of Russia, and of the world.

This is why the newspapers, which represent the predatory interests of capital, lie about the Russian Revolution, about the Bolsheviks, about the Soviet Republic. This is why you should not believe these lies; for these lies are against your interests as much as against the interests of the workers of Russia.

Don't be deceived. The truth—the truth about the workers' revolution in Russia—shall make you free! The important thing to remember about Russia is that there have been two revolutions there since March 1917—and that these two revolutions are absolutely different in character, and are fighting for control.

The first revolution was a revolution against the Czar. The Czar and his blood-stained government was overthrown. A new government was established—a republican government, a bourgeois republic, in which the capitalists and employers of labor governed instead of the nobility.

The government was changed, but that was all. The peasants didn't get control over the land. The

workers didn't get control over the factories. It was simply a political revolution, not an economic revolution; the rights of the Czar and the nobles had been destroyed, and in their place were established the rights of the capitalists. The workers had no industrial rights; they were still wage-slaves, still an oppressed class.

Then started a new revolution—an economic revolution against the capitalists and the employers of labor. The workers and peasants had organized into Soviets, Councils of Workers and Peasants, in which no capitalist or owner of property could be a member. These Soviets decided on November 7, 1917, that they would become the government of workers and peasants; and that the capitalists, the owners of industry, should have absolutely no share in the government. All men and women should become useful workers; if any person was not a useful worker, he was a parasite, and as such should have no share in the government. *The capitalist republic became a republic of the workers.*

The Soviet Republic represents full and fundamental democracy—democracy in government and democracy in industry.

The capitalist republic, such as in Russia under Kerensky, gives the people political democracy—that is, you have a right to vote in politics; but you have no right to vote in industry, no right to vote in the shops where you work, you have no industrial democracy. Industry is the most important thing in our lives—the world depends upon industry. If you have no democracy in industry, you are a slave, ruled by capital. Political democracy without industrial democracy is a fraud.

So the Soviet government institutes a system of industrial democracy, in which the workers have control over industry, and not the employers, the owners, the capitalists. *The organized workers are the government.*

The Soviet government is a real democracy. The peasants get together in villages, the workers in their factories, and elect delegates to a local Soviet. Every three months these local Soviets elect delegates to an All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which meets in Moscow. This All-Russian Congress, elected every three months, is the supreme government authority in Russia. It elects the members of the Council of People's Commissaires, the executive organ of the government, and a Central Committee which sits permanently in Moscow during the period elapsing between sessions of the All-Russian Congress. Lenin and Trotzky and the others, including the Central Committee, make a report; if their work has been satisfactory, they are re-elected, if not, they are thrown out, and new persons elected in their place.

Is this despotism? It is real democracy, it is the workers themselves making the government. *By means of such a government the workers are able to realize freedom, industrial democracy and the control of their own lives in their own way.*

The Soviet Republic has given the land to the peasants, the factories to the workers—preparing the industrial democracy of Socialism.

Private ownership in land has been destroyed. The land belongs to all the peasants and any person fit and willing to work can secure land. But no person can own land, or employ hired labor. The peasants get together in their local Soviet, and elect a Land Committee. This Committee regulates the distribution and tilling of land in its district. It is the co-operative organ of the peasants, and all together work together to produce. All the land in Russia (including mines and forests, etc.), belongs to all the people in Russia, used to make the people prosperous and happy, and life worth living, instead of making profits and big fortunes for a few persons while the great mass of the people live in poverty and misery.

The Soviet government has introduced worker's control of industry. This means that the boss is no longer the boss, but that the workers are in control of the means of life.

This is the way this wonderful system works: All the workers in a factory elect a Factory Committee. This Factory Committee is in charge of the factory—not the owner. Everything that is done must have the approval of this Factory Committee.

The various Factory Committees elect delegates a district Workmen's Organ of Control, which regulates industry in a particular district. Then the district Organs of Control are centralized in the All-Russian Workmen's Council of Control, which regulates and has charge of all the industries of Russia.

The Organs of Control decide 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 under what conditions they shall work. 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?*

The Soviet government is the government of the workers; everything that is done is done in the interest of the workers. It is a workers' republic, not a republic of landlords and capitalists and the sweaters of labor. *And that is the kind of society that must be established in every nation, by means of Socialism—the world for the workers!*

And because there is Socialism in Russia, every brutal reactionary in the world is actively against the Soviet Republic.

That is why capitalist newspapers in this country demand military intervention in Russia—to crush the workers' republic.

That is why the workers of this country and the world must demand: "Let Russia alone! Withdraw from Russia!" If they put over reaction in Russia, they will put over reaction in every country.

AGAINST INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA

(Continued from page two)

staining their names forever with such a crime as suppressing the great Russian Revolution, which in spite of many blunders, is still an admirable force of idealism and progress.

We will not win the war by killing the Russian Revolution. By committing such a crime we shall not accomplish the task towards civilization which the Allies have set before them, and we shall not realize a democratic and just peace, the principles of which have been enunciated by our Socialist Party and so eloquently developed by Wilson.

The Ministers of the Entente, misinformed through the blindness of their Intelligence Service, were in a position to easily delude the masses of workmen, and now direct them against the power of the Soviets. But the day will come when the lies will be swept aside and the truth proclaimed. What bitter reproaches will then be addressed to the guilty governments for not having known better, or not having wanted to know better.

What resentment, what hatred will accumulate, and what terrible and unnecessary fights are in store for the future! But the crime will be irreparable! New ruins will not make old ruins look less ugly.

Men like you who have helped so forcefully in the intellectual and moral development of my generation, have the power to prevent this. It is also their duty. Accept, Citizen Romain Rolland, my fraternal and devoted sentiments.

Capt. Jacques Sadoul,

French Military Mission, Moscow.

July 14, 1918.

A Council of Soldiers has been organized in the German army at the front, and is to submit its demands to Field-Marshal Hindenburg. Front and rear the Revolution is conquering.

The Socialists in Berlin have seized the capitalist newspapers and converted them into organs of the Revolution. This is perhaps the first dent in private property. Instead of defending tyranny and Imperialism, these newspapers will now promote revolutionary democracy and Socialism.