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occasion he describes his hunt for a few postage stamps to mail a manuscript to a publisher. And then, the eternal quarrels with the tradesmen, whom he could not pay for the most necessary foodstuffs, not to mention the landlord, who was threatening at any moment to send the sheriff into his quarters, and his constant recourse to the pawnshops, whose usurious interest rates would destroy the last remnants of cash that might have banished the phantom of care from his threshold.

Dame Care not only sat on his threshold, but had even come in to share his board. His high-minded wife, who had been accustomed from early childhood to a life that was free from care, could not but waver under the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, and wish that she and her children might be in their graves. In his letters there is no lack of traces of domestic scenes, and occasionally he says that there is no greater folly possible for people of social tendencies than to get married and thus land themselves over to the petty cares of private life. But whenever her complaints would make him impatient, he had words of excuse and justification for her; her sufferings from the indescribable humiliations, tortures, and terrors, which were connected with their position, must be greater than his, especially since she has not the possibility of seeking refuge in the realm of science, which often serves him as an asylum. It was very hard for both parents to see their children deprived of the innocent joys of youth.

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## AN APPEAL OF THE "SPARTACUS" GROUP

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'understanding,' it knows only one right—capital's profits; it knows only one language—the sword; it knows only one method—violence. And if it is now talking in all countries, in yours as well as ours, about the 'League of Nations,' 'disarmament,' 'rights of small nations,' 'self-determination of the peoples,' it is merely using the customary lying phrases of the rulers for the purpose of lulling to sleep the watchfulness of the proletariat.

"Proletarians of all countries! This must be the last war! We owe that to the twelve million murdered victims, we owe that to our children, we owe that to humanity.

"Europe has been ruined by this damnable slaughter. Twelve million bodies cover the grewsome scenes of this imperialistic crime. The flower of youth and the best man power of the peoples have been mowed down. Uncounted productive forces have been annihilated. Humanity is almost ready to bleed to death from the unexampled blood-letting of history. Victors and vanquished stand at the edge of the abyss. Humanity is threatened with famine, a stoppage of the entire mechanism of production, plagues and degeneration.

"The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this unchained chaos—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is incapable of banishing it, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

"What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

"Socialism alone is in a position to complete the great work of permanent peace, to heal the thousand wounds from which humanity is bleeding, to transform the plains of Europe, trampled down by the passage of the apocryphal horseman of war, into blossoming gardens, to conjure up ten productive forces for every one destroyed, to awaken all the physical and moral energies of humanity and to replace hatred and dissension and fraternal solidarity, harmony, and respect

for every human being.

"If representatives of the proletarians of all countries could but clasp hands under the banner of Socialism for the purpose of making peace, then peace would be concluded in a few hours. Then there will be no disputed questions about the left bank of the Rhine, Mesopotamia, Egypt or colonies. Then there will be only one people: the toiling human beings of all races and tongues. Then there will be only one right: the equality of all men. Then there will be only one aim: prosperity and progress for everybody.

"Humanity is facing the alternative: Dissolution and downfall in capitalist anarchy, or regeneration through the social revolution. The hour of fate has struck. If you believe in Socialism, it is now time to show it by deeds. If you are Socialists, now is the time to act.

"Proletarians of all countries, if we summon you for a common struggle it is not done for the sake of the German capitalists who, under the label of 'German nation,' are trying to escape the consequences of their own crimes; it is being done for our sake as well as for yours. Remember that your victorious capitalists stand ready to suppress in blood our revolution, which they fear as they do their own. You yourselves have not become any freer through the 'victory,' you have only become still more enslaved. If your ruling classes succeed in throttling the proletarian revolution in Germany, and in Russia, then they will turn against you with redoubled violence. Your capitalists hope that victory over us and over revolutionary Russia will give them the power to scourge you with a whip of scorpions and to erect the thousand-year empire of exploitation upon the grave of Socialism.

"Therefore the proletariat of Germany looks toward you in this hour. Germany is pregnant with the social revolution, but Socialism can only be realized by the proletariat of the world.

"And, therefore, we call to you: 'Arise for the struggle. Arise for action. The time for empty manifestos, platonic resolutions, and high-sounding words is gone! The hour of action has struck for the International!' We ask you to elect Workers' and Soldiers' Councils everywhere that will seize political power, and, together with us, will restore peace.

"Not Lloyd George and Poincare, not Sonnino, Wilson and Erzberger or Scheidemann, must be allowed to make peace. Peace must be concluded under the waving banner of the Socialist world revolution.

"Proletarians of all countries! We call upon you to complete the work of Socialist liberation, to give a human aspect to the disfigured world and to make true those words with which we often greeted each other in the old days and which we sang as we parted: "And the Internationale shall be the human race!"

"KLARA ZETKIN,  
"ROSA LUXEMBURG,  
"KARL LIEBNECHT,  
"FRANZ MEHRING."

Three of these great fighters for the social revolution have now passed away. Red Rosa Luxemburg, beaten to death by a bourgeois mob, Karl Liebknecht also by violence, while the aged scholar, Franz Mehring has died from the effects of imprisonment. And now word comes to us that Klara Zetkin is also dying from the same cause. Thus four of the most prominent of the original group of Spartacists are out of the fight.

And yet, as though to confound the great man (bourgeois) theory of the preponderating influence of great individualities on social movements and on the course of history, the movement of the revolutionary proletariat gains strength day by day, instead of collapsing. Another proof that that method of interpreting history is a bourgeois fallacy.

The "Materialistic Interpretation" applied to history shows that social movements are historical products and have their source in the material conditions of life and great men are only those who

## UNITE AGAINST FOREIGN BAYONETS

How the Allied intervention is creating in Russia a "United Socialist Front," is best seen from the following manifesto recently issued by the Social Revolutionary Party: "The struggle of the Social Revolutionaries against Bolshevism was directed against a power which was in direct contact with the German oppressors of Russian democracy, but at present, after the defeat of Germany and in view of the fact that the intervention in Russia by the victorious powers is assuming more and more the character of assistance given by the bourgeoisie, it has become necessary for us to abandon the struggle against the Bolsheviki." The Social Revolutionaries were the strongest party in the constituent assembly and before the Bolshevik revolution had the largest following among the peasants.—New York "Nation," Feb. 22.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

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low that history always affords it the opportunity for attaining this happy consummation. There is nothing in the Marxian theory to warrant the deduction that history always creates such conditions as are most "favorable" to the proletariat.

It is difficult to tell now how the course of the revolution would have run if the constituent assembly had been convoked in its second or third month. It is quite probable that the then dominant Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties would have compromised themselves, together with the constituent assembly, in the eyes of not only the more active elements supporting the Soviets, but also of the more backward democratic masses, who might have been attached, through their expectations not to the side of the Soviets, but to that of the constituent assembly. Under such circumstances the dissolution of the constituent assembly might have led to new elections, in which the party of the Left could have secured a majority. But the course of events has occurred in the ninth month of the revolution. By that time the class struggle had assumed such intensity that it broke the formal frames of democracy by sheer internal force.

The proletariat drew the army and the peasantry after it. These classes were in a state of direct and bitter war with the Right Social Revolutionists. This party, owing to the clumsy electoral democratic machinery, received a majority in the constituent assembly, reflecting the pre-October epoch of the revolution. The result was a contradiction which was absolutely irreducible within the limits of formal democracy. And only political pedants who do not take into account the revolutionary logic of class relations, can, in the face of the post-October situation, deliver futile lectures to the proletariat on the benefits and advantages of democracy for the cause of the class struggle.

The question was put by history far more concretely and sharply. The constituent assembly, owing to the character of its majority, was bound to turn over the government to the Chekov, Kerensky and Tseretelli group. Could this group have guided the destinies of the revolution? Could it have found support in that class which constitutes the backbone of the revolution? The real kernel of the class revolution has come into irreconcilable conflict with its democratic shell. By this situation the fate of the constituent assembly had been sealed. Its dissolution became the only possible surgical remedy for the contradiction, which had been created, not by us, but by all the preceding course of events.

are more responsive to and capable of expressing the needs of their time than their fellows. Be assured that in this respect as in all other respects the resources of proletarian Socialism are inexhaustible and that the main course of the proletarian advance to power cannot be deflected by the fall of prominent personalities at any time.