

gonisms and makes the struggle more im-
macable.

By this agreement, the Provisional Govern-
ment technically makes itself subject to the Coun-
cil, but it is still the government, there is still a
'democratic' government of all the classes, and
not a revolutionary government of the proletariat.
Nor does the agreement necessarily mean that the
Council will not control the government, since the
moderate policy of the Councils may square with
the government's and the two come to an "under-
standing." The agreement is humiliating; but it
is not fatal to the Provisional Government,—not
fatal, that is to say, except as it accelerates the
development of antagonisms and the determina-
tion of the masses to end all compromise by plac-
ing power in the Councils and the dictatorship of
the proletariat.

By this agreement, the Council may "advise" the
government, is co-equal with the government, but
it is not the government. The acceptance of "ad-
visory functions"—that is what the agreement
actually means—is not an act of revolutionary
energy, it is an act of stultification, a paltering
with the problems of the Revolution. The policy
of the Provisional Government is clearly not sat-
isfactory to the revolutionary masses, it is a pol-
icy that evades the problems of the Revolution
and would promote a counter-revolution. But the
policy of "agreement," of hesitation and compro-
mise will prove equally unsatisfactory to the revo-
lutionary masses—unless they surrender.

Division of power promotes either revolution
or counter-revolution; it cannot prevail. It can-
not prevent the proletarian revolution; but it
can multiply the time and the intensity of the
struggle. Division of power, since it means
neither power to the bourgeoisie nor to the prole-
tariat, must necessarily mark time, evade all real
action, prove incapable of creative accomplish-
ments. Division of power in Russia made the
revolutionary path a thorny one and increased the
demoralization of the country, complicating
enormously the task of Socialist reconstruction.
This is equally the tendency in Germany, soft-
ened by the fact that the revolutionary explosion
may break out much more speedily than in Russia.

Division of power—and the Revolution insist-
ing upon immediate, creative, drastic action.
Division of power—and Germany wavering be-
tween mercy from the Allies and revolutionary
co-operation with Soviet Russia. Division of
power—and the international proletarian revolu-
tion now depending upon the conquest of power
by the revolutionary proletariat in Germany.
Division of power—and the problems of recon-
struction requiring a dictatorship of the Social-
ist proletariat. Division of power—and the forces
of the oncoming proletarian revolution preparing
to annihilate compromise and the representatives
of compromise.

But revolutionary Socialism in the Councils is
acquiring ascendancy at a positively feverish
speed. The Spartacus Socialists are compelling
the moderates to make concession after concession
to avert disaster—but disaster will come. The
government of the "People's Commissaires" is
now an "executive organ" of the Councils, but
neither Karl Liebknecht nor Rosa Luxemburg are
in its personnel. Why? Because they would not
accept positions in any but a government of the
Councils—a revolutionary dictatorship of the prole-
tariat. The opposition of the revolutionary Social-
ists to a Constituent Assembly is not conse-
quent upon the desire to establish certain petty
reforms that the Assembly will then be compelled
to ratify, as the press reports; but because a Con-
stituent Assembly is the organ of the bourgeois
revolution, not of the proletarian revolution; not
the Constituent Assembly, but revolutionary
mass action is the order of the day; the Constitu-
ent Assembly is the negation of the dictator-
ship of the proletariat.

And Scheidemann, lackey of the bourgeoisie,
moans in the Berlin "Vorwaerts" that the inse-
curity of the government is due to the undis-
turbed activity of the Spartacus Group, "who in
their press and meetings are endeavoring to win
over the Soldiers to Bolshevism."

The "agreement" is a consequence of the strug-
gle for state power, and is a compromise. But it
is a compromise indicating that the centre of
power is shifting to the left, to the Councils and
revolutionary Socialism. The problem of power
will flare up decisively in a final implacable strug-
gle—and all power to the dictatorship of the prole-
tarian and revolutionary Socialism. The prole-
tarian revolution in Germany will conquer on the
day it decrees all power to the Councils of Work-
men—the norms of the communist republic of
Socialism.

Bolshevikjabs

ONE never knows what those Bolsheviks will do
next. Finding their imperial-masters in Germa-
ny have been overthrown they immediately get
jobs with the German revolutionists. Or can it be
that the our bourgeois press was wrong in the
first place and that Lenin and Trotzky were not
the agents of Imperialism after all?

We live in an—age of progress. In other times
the common people knew nothing about peace, or
peace conferences, until the whole affair was de-
finitely settled. Now things are different, secret
diplomacy is an affair of the past—the cards of
imperialistic ambition are laid on the international
table. Everyone who can read a newspaper has
access to all the details, the relative values of the
different places the conference might take place
are publicly discussed, photos of the various
buildings mentioned are openly published so that
the common people may decide for themselves
whether the momentous proceedings shall take
place beneath the vaulted arches of medieval
architecture or within the less-impressive halls of
the mid-Victorian period, the approximate date
of the sittings is common knowledge, even the
probable personnel of each country's delegation is
openly forecasted and homes have already been
broken up over the relative merits of Teddy Roose-
velt and Billy Sunday as pacifists.

Yes, secrecy has fled from the realms of inter-
national politics.

Some impossible persons are clamouring to have
the peace delegates elected by referendum vote,
but of course that is impracticable. Anyway to
read the papers discuss the probable appointees
is almost as good as an election.

How are the mighty fallen—Taft has been
asked to direct baseball.

Mr. Lloyd-George has again displayed that deep
insight into the affairs of men that has so often
marked his public utterances. He declares that the
Irish question must be settled; he is not quite
clear just how, but he is certain of two ways it
must not be settled—neither the complete inde-
pendence of Ireland nor the coercion of Ulster
under any form of Home Rule government is to
be considered for a moment. Now the whole af-
fair is made clear.

The Soviet form of government would be quite
agreeable to many Irish rebels we know of.

The Bolsheviks have at last pulled off the
slaughter of the innocents and on St. Bartholom-
ew's Day! (Russian calendar). Isn't that just
like them, and so appropriate too? Such a delicate
compliment to the French!

"2,050 Germans are in imminent danger of
death in Moscow" says a newspaper dispatch
dealing with the massacre. This would, of course,
strengthen the reports that the Bolshevik leaders
are all pro-German.

The New York Evening Telegram has discover-
ed that the German Socialists are plotting to
bring the Kaiser back to the Imperial Throne of
Germany. "Warned by Lord Reading, Sir George
Cave and others" it says "that the Hun has
shown no change of heart and mystified by the
sudden flares of Bolshevism in Germany London
opinion finds nothing extravagant in the sugges-
tion that the Socialist Reds are providing a handy
tool for projects cherished before the armistice
was signed..."

So that's why the Kaiser put Liebknecht in jail!

Some of our capitalist contemporaries seem to
be in doubt as to who this Herr Spartacus really
is. In order to prevent them from jumping to the
conclusion that he is the Kaiser incognito we
hasten to explain.

Herr Spartacus is a cousin to the Mr. Bolshe-
viki who made so much trouble in Russia. The
relationship is a double one, their mothers—the
Misses Social-Revolution—were sisters, but there
is also a blood tie on the paternal side. The elder
Miss Social-Revolution married Russian Working-
class, while German Workingclass became
enamoured of the younger. The Working-
class are a well known family and for
some years showed signs of becoming very closely
united, but a little trouble developed in an equally
well known household called Upperclass and the
Workingclass split as a result. Herr Spartacus and
Mr. Bolsheviks have, however, re-established ami-

cable relations and it looks as if the entire Work-
ingclass family would shortly be in complete ac-
cord.

The Spartacus Group

[In the first issue of "The Revolutionary Age," in
our editorial "At the Kerensky Stage," we declared
that the Social-Democratic Party of Scheidemann &
Co. "was not a definitely, uncompromisingly revolu-
tionary party," and that the revolutionary Socialists
were "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,
representing the tendency of the revolutionary prole-
tariat. . . . These Socialists are in favor of the
government of Councils, and have unreservedly and
enthusiastically greeted the Russian Soviet Republic."
When that was written not a word had appeared in the
news concerning the Spartacus Group and its policy.
But the news is now justifying our analysis, showing
that the Spartacus Group is the centre of the actual
revolutionary movement in Germany. We reprint be-
low extracts from a special cable dispatch, appearing
in the New York "Times" of November 24, concern-
ing the Spartacus Group.]

IN one large room, from the silk hangings of
whose wall a life-size portrait of von Bulow
smiled benevolently down on them, sat the dele-
gates from the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council
waiting for admission to the Cabinet meetings, at
which they were to stand up for what they deem-
ed their supreme authority.

In another room I was introduced to Geheim-
rath von Siemen, who made it quite clear that,
although he had previously been attached to
Prince Max of Baden's staff, he had the greatest
confidence in Ebert and his associates, and de-
clared his conviction that only a strong Socialist
Government could safely guide the destinies of
the German nation through the present crisis. He
said that they feared no reactionary plot by the
Kaiser's friends, for nobody believed in the re-
suscitation of a deceased body politic.

The only danger, he added, was that the present
Government might go a bit too far in its tolera-
tion of such irresponsibles as the Spartacus Group.
This toleration was dictated by the Cabinet's ear-
nest desire to maintain unity, order and law, he
asserted, so as not to forfeit the good will of Pre-
sident Wilson, of which the German nation was
so pitifully in need at present.

I am informed from other sources that the
Spartacus Group is really at the bottom of the
present differences between the People's Commis-
sioners [Ebert, Haase & Co.] and the Executive
Committee of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Coun-
cil. Although the latter has expressed itself re-
peatedly in favor of a national convention, it
seems that members of the Spartacus Group have
persuaded it to protest against an early date for
the election, which it was said that the People's
Commissioners had decided on without first con-
sulting the Executive Committee of the Council.

Hence the latter's assertion that the People's
Commissioners form only its executive organ;
hence also this official communication issued to-
day:

"The information published Nov. 17 that re-
gistration for the election of a national convention
would begin Jan. 2 and that the election would
take place Feb. 2 is incorrect, no proposition of
that kind having yet been decided upon by the
Commissioners."

What the Spartacus Group and certain elements
of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council are plan-
ning is to delay the national convention until cer-
tain radical measures of finance and equally ra-
dical assessments of taxes and socializing of cer-
tain large industrial enterprises have been ac-
complished in such a manner that not even the
national convention will dare reconsider them.
Drastic reform in the inheritance tax as well as
restrictions of land ownership are also planned.

All these measures, if perhaps in a more mode-
rate form, are also part of the program of the
regular Socialists, but they are willing to submit
it to a national convention, trusting that they will
elect a majority.

The bourgeois parties fear that the Soldiers'
and Workmen's Council, aided by the Spartacus
and similar groups, will succeed in wresting the
supreme power from the People's Commissioners
and that the next few days will see a change in
the Government unless the Commissioners alter
their extremely tolerant attitude. It is more than
doubtful that even in Berlin and a few other large
cities the Spartacus and kindred elements possess
anything like a majority.