

can substantiate the sentiments expressed in this very note, that they can "recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside."

Only their actions give the key to the attitude of the associated powers towards Russia. Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok. . . .

### The Situation in Germany

**W**ITH the majority of the returns for the National Assembly already in it seems clear that whatever may be the final outcome of the voting the Assembly will be about evenly divided between Majority Socialism and bourgeois reaction. Whether or no the Majority Socialists show a big gain in the districts not yet heard from, it is already evident that they will have no mandate for the introduction of Socialism, even were they so inclined.

All that can eventuate from the National Assembly is a compromise reform program which, if allowed to go into effect, would leave Capitalism even more secure than it was under the regime of the Kaiser. The returns to date are 167 seats for the various bourgeois parties, 132 for the majority Socialists and 22 for the Independent Socialists. This means that although the majority Socialists can form a government they can be defeated every time they attempt anything in the nature of radical legislation. The situation now stands as it might have stood had the Reichstag suddenly decided to become "democratic," pension the Kaiser, and establish a government along the lines of France, England or America; it can not be considered in any way the fruits of a revolution in the Socialist sense.

This Assembly will not make any fundamental change in the basis of the structure of society in Germany, the wage system will remain, private property is still inviolate and state Capitalism looms ahead. The change is in reality no more fundamental than the change from a conservative to a liberal administration in England or from a republican to a democratic administration in America. The Germans have accomplished nothing more than the British Labor Party expected to accomplish through the agency of the ballot in the last elections. This is the situation in Germany today from the point of view of the National Assembly, from the purely superficial aspect.

But there has been a revolution in Germany. And there is still a revolutionary situation there, a situation not reflected by the election returns, but by the strikes that are sweeping over the land like wildfire and by the dictatorship of the proletariat that is in operation in the north.

According to the press reports the majority Socialists are in control; according to the election returns majority Socialism is sharing popularity about evenly with the combined bourgeois parties, but the National Assembly is to be held at Weimar. . . .

This is the key to the real situation in Germany. The government if it was in control, or even if it was confident of being able to withstand attack, would not contemplate moving the Assembly from the capital. The widespread strikes and the situation in the cities of the north indicate that the removal of the seat of the Assembly is due to the fear of the government that the proletariat may march into action at any moment.

It is one of the peculiarities of peoples that they are unable to learn from the experience of others. With the exception of the Spartacides, the groups in Germany appear to have learned nothing from the experiences of Russia; they are determined to go through the same devious paths and learn the lesson for themselves. Though it would be folly to maintain that the two countries parallel each other in particulars, yet in general the problems that are now facing Germany are the same as those which faced Russia in the first months of the revolution. It is true that Germany has a strong petty bourgeois class of small property owners and skilled workers, and also a strong upper middle class, factors that were lacking in Russia, but it is also true that Germany has a large industrial proletariat capable of quicker organization and quicker action than the agricultural proletariat, or peasants, which formed the majority in Russia. Like-

wise it is true that the skilled workers and the proletariat of Germany have been trained to believe that if they were able to obtain equal suffrage and similar reforms they could remedy their ills, whereas in Russia the peasants and the industrial proletariat suffered under no such illusion.

This tendency in Germany to believe wholly in the efficacy of purely political action is reflected in the vacillating attitude of the Independent Socialists. When actually in action, as during the days preceding the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Independents invariably fought alongside of the Spartacus, but when any opportunity, however slight, offered for a relapse from action to political bartering the Independents faltered and were lost. More than any other single party the Independent Socialists have been responsible for holding the proletarian masses in leash; they speak the language of revolution, but they use the actions of compromisers.

But apart from these aspects of the situation the real difference between the task ahead of revolutionary Socialism in Germany and the difficulties which confronted the Bolsheviks prior to November, 1918, in Russia, is the fact that the Bolsheviks had a rallying cry in the longing of the masses for peace, and the vital necessity of the land to the peasants.

"Peace, bread and land" was the rallying cry of the Bolsheviks and the war-weary, hungry workers and peasants flocked to their standards. In Germany it is reaction that promises peace. "Be good and the Allies will feed you" is the slogan of majority Socialism while the Spartacus Group can only offer the masses the stormy path of revolution in the immediate future, although they hold the key to ultimate freedom.

The actions of the National Assembly will do much to clarify the situation. The superficiality of the program of majority Socialism will develop out of the Assembly. The workers will find that they are to be cheated of the fruits of the revolution, that they have deposed the Kaiser in a blaze of civil war, only to return to the toil of the factories and the scant subsistence of the pre-war, pre-revolutionary period. They will awaken to the fact that the National Assembly is not the instrument of revolution, that they are to be cheated out of the substance of their victory by the shadowy phrases of bourgeois democracy. Then will the slogan of the Spartacides: "The factories to the workers, the land to the peasants! All power to the

Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies!" be the rallying cry of the masses, the signal for their revolutionary intervention and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### Bolshevikjabs

**P**ORTUGAL is certainly distinguishing herself, when the world flames against kings and thrones she re-builds a throne and re-crowns a king.

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As the war was "to make the world safe for democracy" we don't see how Portugal's recent action can be considered in any other light than that of an overt act.

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But maybe like George, Albert, the Emperor of Japan, et al., Manuel is a democrat.

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Now that the Red Terror has become prominent and everybody knows all about it public interest is beginning to wain, so *The New York World* discovers something else: Terrorism has begun in Ireland, two policemen were shot in Tipperary. We would like to be the first in the field with something, so we suggest that in future when righteous indignation is wanted against the Irish the press refers to the Green Terror.

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But, after all, we don't see why such a fuss should be raised about two policemen being killed in Ireland. Ireland supplies police to many countries, so why shouldn't she kill a couple every now and then if she wants to.

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We see that Major General Wood is urging the people of Kansas to prepare for the next war. But surely there is some mistake, didn't somebody say there wasn't going to be no next war.

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The Bolsheviks have evacuated Petrograd again. They certainly are a changeable sort of people.

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Mr. Theodore P. Shonts of New York, who edits papers for a living and crushes people in the subway for amusement, is out with the announcement that if the city takes control of the subways it will cost the public 15c every time they take a dive underground, but being a public-spirited man he also says that he will run the subways and only charge 7c, that is 2c more than usual.

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George Creel has written an article on his own work and, as modesty forbids him to boost it, he refers to a German staff order against it which he claims proves its effectiveness. It might prove that the German staff had more consideration for the public than American newspaper editors, but then it might prove a lot of things. He goes on to tell us that the pamphlet "told the truth in short, sharp sentences." If these pamphlets were as true as the sentences in the Sisson documents were short, why . . .

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The Textile Manufacturers' Association does not favor an eight-hour day, according to the press. We understand that the workers do favor it. Some side has got to change its taste in hours. The American Woolen Mills want their employees to "discuss the matter in a friendly and helpful way." A good way, thoroughly democratic and everything, would be to put it to a vote. Give the bosses a vote apiece and the workers a vote apiece.

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We would recommend to plotless story writers that they should read the results of the investigation at present going on in Washington into the I. W. W. propaganda. No one would ever have expected that a labor organization would be so spectacular or so involved. We find the names of such respectable people as Frank P. Walsh, Dr. Percy Stickney Grant, Professor John Dewey and Walter E. Weyle mentioned in the same breath as "Dynamite Louise," Leon Trotsky and Alexander Berkman. It is true that it is not quite clear who "Dynamite Louise" is or just how she earned her picturesque sobriquet, but doubtless she was mixed up in some terrible affairs.

**Red Week**  
 For the Benefit of the  
**The Revolutionary Age**  
**Dudley Street Opera House**  
 113-119 Dudley St.  
**January 27 to February 2, 1919**

Concerts, Plays and Dances  
 Great Bazaar All Through the Week  
 (For particulars see circulars)  
**Red Week Will Terminate**  
 —in—  
**Liebknecht - Luxemburg Memorial**  
**Mass Meeting**  
 —in—  
**Grand Opera House**  
 cor. Washington and Dover Sts.  
**Sunday, February 2, at 2 p. m.**

Speakers  
**Jim Larkin**  
**Ludwig Lore**  
**Nicholas I. Hourwich**  
**Eadmann MacAlpine**  
**Admission to Mass Meeting Free**