

The Constituent Assembly Accepts the Soviets

THE civil war waged against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government was organized and directed by the Constituent Assembly, which was dissolved by the Soviet Government in January 1918, and the majority of which consisted of delegates representing the Social-Revolutionary Party of the "right." These counter-revolutionary "democrats" co-operated with Allied intervention, until they realized that this intervention was directed against them as much as against the Bolsheviks. But still they persisted, until conquered in the civil war, abandoned by the masses, and threatened by Kolchak and the Allies, they decided to accept the authority of the Soviet Government. This decision is made public in a Manifesto "issued in the name of the Social-Revolutionary Party and in the name of the President of the Congress of the Constituent Assembly," and is as follows:

"To the soldiers of the Popular Army, to the Siberian Cossacks, to the Czecho-Slovak Troops:

"Soldiers—mobilized and volunteers—you entered the army to defend the sovereignty of the people and to save democratic Russia from German imperialism, which reduced it to slavery by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the name of the Pan Russian Constituent Assembly, in the name of free Russia, independent and united, you have fought against Soviet authority.

"And during this time, behind our backs, in the rear, they executed a coup d'état and set up the Kolchak dictatorship, the representative of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors.

"The bourgeois dictatorship signifies the complete crushing of the proletariat and of the working peasants, and the complete triumph of those enemies of the workers, the proprietors and the capitalists. It signifies the suppression of all the conquests of the great Russian revolution and the overthrow of the democratic regime and the re-establishment of the old monarchical regime.

"The Siberian reactionaries have directed their attacks against democratic parties and institutions. They have arrested several members of the Constituent Assembly, as well as Comrade Sourgouzev and other militants of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.

"But the most important changes have taken place recently in Western Europe. Germany has met with military defeat, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, annulled by the Soviet Government, has lost its authority.

"German Imperialism no longer exists and the Austro-Hungarian Empire is a thing of the past. Under the pressure of the working class of Germany and Austria the thrones of the monarchs of these countries have been overthrown. The authority has passed into the hands of the workers, who, under the red flag of the labor social revolution, enter, like their brothers in Russia, into the era of the world social revolution. That is what has recently happened.

"Through fear of labor revolution at home the former allies of Russia—England, France, Japan, and the United States—naturally took the part of the bourgeois dictatorship in Russia. The bourgeoisie of Western Europe and of the United States declared war against the Russian and German revolutions. The Allies would not recognize either the authority of the Soviet Government or that of the Constitutional Assembly. But they did recognize Kolchak and Denikine.

"Under the pretext of fighting against Bolshevism our former allies revealed their intention, on the one hand, of exploiting the situation of Russia, and, on the other, of crushing democracy entirely and consolidating the power of the bourgeois reaction.

"All of those fundamental changes which have taken place in the world situation and in Russia have compelled the members of the Social-Revolutionary Party to revise their program. Under no circumstances can the Social-Revolutionary Party support either bour-

geois dictatorship or foreign bourgeois intervention; but, on the contrary, it must support the most resolute struggle against both national and international reaction in order that the Russian revolution and the world revolution may be victorious. This is not the time for a fratricidal war among the workers.

"This is why the Executive Committee of the Congress of the members of the Constituent Assembly asks all the soldiers of the popular army to stop the civil war against the Soviet Government, which, at the present historic time, is the only revolutionary power of the exploited classes, and turn their arms against Kolchak, in order to crush the exploiters.

"On its part, the Revolutionary Committee guarantees to detachments of the popular army, as well as to isolated individuals and groups who voluntarily end the civil war against the power of the Soviets and who voluntarily join with the Soviet troops, that they will be subject to no prosecution on the part of the Soviet Government. The same agreement applies to the detachments which fight Kolchak.

"The members of the Social-Revolutionary Party, who accept this agreement will not be molested because of their membership in the party.

"Soldiers of the Popular Army, Siberian Cossacks and Czecho-Slovaks! In acquainting you with this agreement, the delegation of the Social-Revolutionary Party invites all sincere democrats, all the peasants and all the workers to cease playing the role of blind instruments in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who, behind your backs, beat down your own brothers. We ask you to turn your arms against the bourgeois dictatorship of Kolchak and to act in agreement with the Soviet army.

"Long live the labor democracy of every country!

"Long live the world social revolution!"

The Young People's Socialist League and Revolution

By Oliver C. Carlson

THE average American Socialist who is not well versed in the International Socialist movement knows little or nothing about the Young People's Socialist organizations in other countries, and what an important part they have played in the development of Socialist thought and action. In this country we have considered the League only as a gathering place for the young; we have been satisfied when they managed to exist with the "social" in "Socialist" playing the all-important part; and when by chance a Circle or a small part of a Circle showed interest in the actual study of Socialism, we were elated—for we knew that these were indeed valuable exceptions. On the whole, most of the older heads in the party considered the Y. P. S. L. as an organization that was necessary, but which was not likely to accomplish anything worthwhile for the coming of the day when the emancipation of the proletariat world become a reality.

Something has been radically wrong with the Young People's Socialist organizations in this country. The attitude of the older Party members toward them has, to a certain extent, been the correct one. But let us not condemn the movement; let us not say that there can be no change—for even now a great change is taking place. Let us not hold preconceived ideas that the young people's organizations of Europe are similar to that which we have had in this country.

Karl Liebknecht was one of the founders of the Young People's Socialist League; in fact, this was his first real undertaking after graduating from the law school. The spread of the League throughout Europe was by no means phenomenal, but was a steady growth.

Austria, Switzerland, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and Russia soon fell into line, and the Y. P. S. L. assumed an international character. The young and enthusiastic Socialists joined hands, not in any attempt to gain concessions, not to ask for a little bit more from the rulers and exploiters, but to seize control of all, to "expropriate the expropriators." They were not chained to the past; they were ready to fling to the winds traditions and customs; to view the present as only the present generation can, and above all things, they were eager to study, to agitate, to educate, in other words, to act. And they did.

The greatest stumbling block for the reactionary elements of the Social Democratic parties of all Europe was the Y. P. S. L. Within it were the Left Wingers who wasted no time in dilly-dallying with the trivialities that so concerned the old line leaders. They refused to compromise. And so it was that the Young People's Socialist Leagues of some countries were practically outlawed by their respective (and respectable!) Socialist parties.

In Russia, it was the young who formed the most active group of the Bolsheviks. In fact, the struggle there would, no doubt, have been much more difficult one had it not been for them. Lenin, an ardent advocate of the Y. P. S. L., was and still is a contributor to the *Young International*, the official organ of the international Y. P. S. L.

The Ebert-Scheidemann group of Germany feared the young to such an extent that they made every attempt to break up their organizations. In the Spartacan revolts, these same young Socialists are acquitting

themselves as creditably as did their comrades in Russia. They form the backbone of the revolutionary movement which is seeking to overthrow the reactionary "Socialists" who hold the reins of government in the interest of the capitalist class.

The activities of the young in all of the European countries gives us an idea of how important the Y. P. S. L. really is. We are facing a critical period—the revolt of the working class is spreading from east to west, from north to south, and threatens to encompass the entire world. What are we going to do? We must devote more time to the Young People's Socialist movement than ever before; we must see to it that our young people become the leaders in thought and action here, just as did the young in Germany, Russia and the other countries.

Within the Y. P. S. L. a radical change must take place. We who are members must bring this change about, for the freedom of the movement from its present lethargy must be the act of the League itself, just as "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

When we show our willingness to become an integral factor in the struggle we may rest assured that the revolutionary Socialists will give us their hearty support. Let us change our slogan from "Organization and Education" to "Education and Organization." Then our solidarity will become a fact, and we, too, may step forward to grasp the hands of our comrades in all parts of the world, ready to carry on the work they have so well begun.