

1914, to uphold the Hohenzollern dynastic autocracy and to undermine the Russian revolutionary movement. On the contrary: he was then fighting Czarism in practice, and in theory he adhered to the innocent-looking formula of being "a German first and a socialist afterwards." But there is no stopping on the road to perdition, once one has definitely started on the inclined plane which leads away from international socialism to the most reactionary nationalism. B.

Documents for Future Socialist History

An Appeal to the German Proletariat

"Comrades:

"Proletarians and Working People of all Countries:

"We, Russian workers and soldiers, united in the Petrograd Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegate Council, send you our warmest greetings and the news of great events. The democracy of Russia has overthrown the century-old despotism of the Czars and enters your ranks as a rightful member and as a powerful force in the battle for our common liberation. Our victory is a great victory of the freedom and democracy of the world. The principal supporter of reaction in the world, the 'gendarme of Europe' no longer exists. May the earth over his grave become a heavy stone. Long live liberty, long live the international solidarity of the proletariat and its battle for the final victory!

"Our cause is not yet entirely won. Not all the shadows of the old regime have been scattered and not a few enemies are gathering their forces together against the Russian revolution. Nevertheless, our conquests are great. The peoples of Russia will express their will in the Constitutional Convention which is to be called within a short time upon the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. And now it may already be said with certainty in advance that the democratic republic will triumph in Russia. The Russian people is in possession of complete political liberty. Now it can say an authoritative word about the internal self-government of the country and about its foreign policy. And in addressing ourselves to all the peoples who are being destroyed and ruined in this terrible war, we declare that the time has come in which the decisive struggle against the attempts at conquest by the Governments of all the nations must be begun. The time has come in which the peoples must take the matter of deciding the questions of war and peace into their own hands.

"Conscious of its own revolutionary strength, the democracy of Russia declares that it will fight with all means against the policy of

conquest of its ruling classes and it summons the peoples of Europe to united, decisive action for peace.

"We appeal to our brothers, to the proletarians of the German-Austrian coalition, and above all to the German proletariat. The first day of the war you were made to believe that in raising your weapons against absolutist Russia you were defending European civilization against Asiatic despotism. In this many of you found the justification of the support that was accorded to the war. Now also this justification has vanished. Democratic Russia cannot menace freedom and civilization.

"We shall firmly defend our own liberty against all reactionary threats, whether they come from without or within. The Russian revolution will not retreat before the bayonets of conquerors and it will not allow itself to be trampled to pieces by outside military force. We call upon you to throw off the yoke of your absolutist regime, as the Russian people has shaken off the autocracy of the Czars. Refuse to serve as the tools of conquest and power in the hands of the kings, junkers and bankers and we shall, with common efforts, put an end to the fearful butchery that dishonors humanity and darkens the great days of the birth of Russian liberty.

"Workingmen of all countries! In fraternally stretching out our hands to you across the mountains of our brothers' bodies, across the sea of innocent blood and tears, across the smoking ruins of cities and villages, across the destroyed gifts of civilization, we summon you to the work of renewing and solidifying international unity. In that lies the guaranty of our future triumph and of the complete liberation of humanity.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite!

PETROGRAD, April, 1917.

"Tchcheidze, the president."

DOWN WITH THE AGENTS OF MILITARISM AND THE ADVOCATES OF MURDER!

The Secretariat Delegation for external affairs of the Organization Committee of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of Russia addresses the following open letter to Comrade Tchcheidze:

Dear Comrade:

The so-called majorities of the English and French Socialists have undertaken a systematic campaign for the purpose of exerting pressure on the Russian Socialist proletariat in the sense that it should discontinue all efforts for peace and should waive any independent political policy founded on International Solidarity and the Class Struggle. Dozens of telegrams have been sent for this purpose by individual representatives and by various groups. From this the Russian proletarian can clearly see the lack of real joy in view of the gigantic revolution accomplished by the Russian people and the complete willingness to sacrifice its freedom on the altar of narrow nationalist interests. They wish to force on the Russian worker a civil peace together with the imperialistic war