

whole world was headed in the wrong direction, not only in the question of militarism and war, but in its whole fundamental conception of the class struggle. They proclaimed the death of the second International, and, together with radical Socialists of other nations, at the famous Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, demanded the organization of the Third International on an international and anti-national basis. The Moderates as firmly believed that the party had only taken a misstep, that it would right itself after the war was over, and tenaciously adhered to the old methods of the Social Democratic Party, concentrating their efforts on the gaining of political power, whenever elections were held. They had joined with the Spartacus group, not so much because of the community of interests between them, but as a protest against the methods that were being used by the majority Socialists, and the complete submission of the latter to the dictates of the government. Nevertheless the Scheidemann, David, Ebert, Suedekum wing, who had signed away the political liberties of the working class, and Legien, the German Gompers, under whose leadership the labor movement became a faultlessly functioning part of the war machine, held the masses behind them. After a few months of sporadic growth the Independent Social Democracy languished, and finally lost their hold in some of the very strongholds of the radical movement.

The differences that divided the groups of the Social-Democracy are reflected clearly in their attitude toward the proletarian revolution in Russia. Kautsky and Bernstein were sharply critical, not to say oppositional in their position, Ledebour and Haase were sympathetic, while the Spartacus group at once enthusiastically supported and defended the measures adopted by the Soviet government. After his liberation, Liebknecht was the honorary chairman of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets held in Moscow on the 15th November, 1918. At this same congress Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring were accorded an enthusiastic ovation. The whole-souled opposition which the majority Socialists evidenced, at all times, to the measures and tactics of the Bolsheviki and the Soviet Government, were only natural in

men who looked forward to a revolution in their own country with misgiving and fear. True to their old faith in the power of the Social Democracy to "evolve" its ideal by a gradual system of development, through the various political and economic stages, they could see in the radical and aggressive measures of the Russian proletariat only ruin and destruction and regarded Lenin and Trotzky as wild-eyed fanatics who were endangering the cause of the Russian working class.

Thus it was logical that these men, when in spite of their honest efforts, the revolution broke out in Germany, should strain every effort to win control of the new government in order to save it from the hands of those radical elements in the labor movement who had been chiefly responsible for its outbreak. Scheidemann, Ebert, David and Suedekum are prepared to establish order in Germany, to reorganize the demoralized industries of the country, while safeguarding the interests of the working class, to call a constitutional assembly and to conclude peace negotiations as early as possible, under the most favorable conditions that may be procured from the Allied governments under existing conditions. They are absolutely satisfied with the establishment of a political democracy under the control of the Social Democracy, and are convinced that the time has not yet come in Germany for the social revolution. The Independent Social Democratic Party, under Haase and Kautsky, pursue, as usual, the middle course. While they are opposed to the extremely opportunistic view of the Ebert group, and are prepared to place the power of the Government, within certain reasonable limits, into the hands of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, while they seem to be opposed to the policy of the Ebert group in retaining in office the entire bureaucracy of the old imperial regime, they, too, fear that radical measures will foment counter-revolutionary activity at home, and that a radical reorganization of the economic system of Germany might influence unfavorably the settlement of peace terms with the Allied nations. For these reasons the Haase-Kautsky group is opposed to radical measures on the industrial field. They have joined the Ebert group in assuring the German people of the absolute safety of their bank