

so idealistic as the papers of Europe, France, America and Japan represent it. The matter is much simpler. The imperialists of the three continents fear the operation of the new influences which may hinder the fortifying of political conditions and institutions that can strengthen their power over the wills of the people. Conditions, in consequence of which a small minority disposes of the wills and lives of the majority, that minority which evoked the senseless, bloody battles. One would think that all sensible and honorable men must see clearly the hypocrisy and the stupidity of the foundations of the capitalist system. It seems as if this were the time to convince all honorable and thoughtful men that capitalism has lost its constructive force and is a relic of the past, is a hindrance to the development of world culture, that it calls forth enmity between individuals, families, classes and nations and that the beautiful dream of the great brotherhood of nations cannot be accomplished as long as the irreconcilable struggle between labor and capital still survives. I do not deny the services of capital to the working portion of humanity, out of the flesh and blood of which it created the bases for a transition into a new, perfect and just order of society by means of Socialism. But now that the damnable war has disclosed the complete shabbiness, inhumanity and cynicism of the old system, now, its death sentence has been pronounced. We, Russians, a people without traditions and on that account bolder, more rebellious and less bound by the prejudices of the past, we have been the first to tread the path which leads to the destruction of the outworn conditions of capitalist society, and we are convinced that we have a claim on the help and sympathy of the proletariat of the entire world, and also of those, who, even before the war, criticised sharply the present conditions of society.

If this criticism was honest, then all honorable men in Europe and America must recognize our right to shape our destiny in the manner we think necessary. If any of the intellectual workers take a true interest in the solving of the great social problem, they must protest against those who strive for the reestablishment of the old regime, who wish to destroy the Russian Revolution by the shedding of Russian blood, to subject Russia to their rule in order later to exploit it as they exploited Turkey and other countries, and as they are now preparing to exploit Germany. This is the true wish of the imperialists. This is their sacred task. The leader of the campaign against Russia is Woodrow Wilson. The torch of the Russian Revolution which throws its light over the entire world, is held firmly by the hand of Lenin. The proletariat and the intellectuals will choose which one represents their interests most nearly, the representative of the outworn, life-destroying minority rule, or the leader and teacher of new social ideals and emotions, who is the embodiment of the beautiful ideals of the workers—of freedom of labor among all peoples. At different periods, almost every race has regarded itself as the Messiah who is called on to save the world. It is apparent that history has now assigned this great task to the Russian people, starving and tortured by the servitude of three centuries and exhausted by the war.

Existing under the menace of conquest by the robbers, this, they proclaim to the workers and to honorable men in all the world: Follow us to a new life, for the creation of which we are working,

without sparing ourselves or anything or anyone else. For this we are working, erring and suffering with the eager hope for success, leaving to the just decision of history all our acts; follow us in our struggle against the old order, in the work for a new form of life, for the freedom and beauty of life.

## A Letter from Friedrich Adler to Huysmans

The following letter was sent by Friedrich Adler to Camille Huysmans:

Vienna, January 23, 1919.

Dear Comrade Huysmans:

The Swiss Parliament has found it advisable to refuse to recognize as valid the visé which was granted me by the Swiss Embassy in Vienna, after it had been sanctioned by the Swiss foreign police at Berne, in order to prevent my journey to Switzerland. I feel that I can safely leave the proper characterization of this proceeding to my Swiss party comrades. The incident, however, is not only a symptom of present conditions in Switzerland, but also a sign showing the nature of the Socialist conference which you have called at Berne.

As it has been made impossible for me to take part in this conference, to which I have been elected a delegate by the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic party of German Austria, the consequence will be that the left wing of the German Austrian Social Democracy will not be represented there at all. As however, it was understood that I was to take part in the conference, it will perhaps not be superfluous, in order to prevent any misunderstanding, to state briefly, what point of view I would have represented in this convention.

Our attitude towards the conference called to meet in Berne is anything but a hopeful one. However, we consider the policy of absenting ourselves to be a mistake. Just as we enter into bourgeois parliaments in order to represent the proletarian point of view, so also we feel it our duty to defend the position of the Revolutionary International Social Democracy in this assemblage of representatives of the working class. But we are under no illusions as to the difficulties which we have to cope with in this task.

We do not rejoice that now at last an international conference has been convoked, on the contrary, we feel, principally, bitter shame that fully four years have passed without a single discussion in the bureau of the International being possible. As regards the only duty which the Stuttgart Conference assigned to it, the taking of immediate steps in case of war to end that war, the International has absolutely failed to function.

We have advocated from the beginning of the war the standpoint "that the first decisive defeat of this war was the one suffered by the International." And we explained again and again, "Proletarians who wish to conquer each other, cannot unite for international purposes." The tragic conflict in which the working class