

followers of the Revolutionary Theory, while the Scheidemanns, Eberts, Kerenskys and Breshkovskayas are the followers of the Evolutionary Theory. For the latter, parliamentarism and the Constituent Assembly was and still is the one and only one way that leads to the Future Socialist State. While for the former parliamentarism and the Constituent Assembly, at present, when there are other and better means for agitation of the Socialist idea, mean nothing. Its importance is just as a zero without a circumference.

Now the question naturally arises, how is it, that the Orthodox Marxists, such as Plekhanov, Kautsky, Verasassulits, and Axelrod, who are the very founders of the modern radical movement, who always strenuously opposed the reformers and the evolutionists—how is it that they should in any way oppose the Spartacans in Germany, and the Bolsheviki in Russia? According to our previous explanation of things they should have been the sponsors of these Left Wings of the Socialist movement. In order to clearly understand this, it is necessary for us to digress for a while into the history and theory of Socialism.

#### *Utopian Socialism*

The Socialist movement is historically divided into two epoches: the Utopian Socialism and the Scientific.

Several individuals came to the conclusion long ago, that a system which demands that the vast masses continue toiling under the most unfavorable conditions; that they must work, enduring pain, hunger, and all sorts of insults in the mines, and docks, and factories, while a small handful of owners and proprietors possess not only that which is necessary for an honest and upright livelihood, but much more than they actually need and can consume—such a system not only is not beneficial but is a detriment to the progress of mankind. A hundred years ago there lived in England a great philanthropist by the name of Robert Owen. At one time he cried out: "How can we get rid of this Insane Asylum?" Indeed, does not this world resemble an Insane Asylum? People shout, push, run about here and there—for what?—only to try to secure the meagre piece of bread for themselves and their poverty-stricken families—yes, and even this they don't always succeed in acquiring. The system of competition results in "the struggle of all against all." It develops in the hearts of everybody concerned, jealousy, envy, cheap egotistical interests. Each one tries to undermine the existence of his fellow human being. There are times when a human being is turned into a ferocious beast. Would it not have been much better if the system of competition, "the struggle

of all against all," would be abolished? Again, would it not have been better that instead of each one only caring about his own interests, there should be a system where everybody should attempt to co-operate in building up one great family whose motto should be "one for all and all for one"? Yes, answers Robert Owen, it would have been much better and, what is more, such a system is not only desirable, but it is actually possible. The only thing necessary to be done is to abolish private property and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth—Socialism.

Just as soon as Robert Owen came to this conclusion he took his entire capital, which at that time amounted to a rather large fortune, and went to America.

Here he bought a tract of land in Indiana State. On this tract of land he founded the colony of New Harmony. The principle upon which this colony was founded was that everyone shall work according to his ability and enjoy the fruit of his labor according to his needs. Besides New Harmony he was the originator of many other similar communities. Robert Owen was convinced that a great and mighty Socialist tree would grow up as a result of the planting of these small Socialist seeds. He dreamed of a Socialist World where all should work together and enjoy the fruit of their labor together.

The same ideals that inspired Robert Owen in England became the religion of St. Simon and Fourier in France. St. Simon and Fourier were not rich, but this material obstacle was not strong enough to overcome their spirit and their firm belief in the fulfillment of their ideal. Like all geniuses they were very naïve. They so believed in the power and truth of their idea that they could not imagine that anyone could be against them. The reason why the people did not already establish a Socialist State, they believed, was their ignorance. They, therefore, considered it their duty to convince the people that there was an opportunity to change the present system for a Socialist State. It is, therefore, not surprising to find St. Simon writing letters to Napoleon and many other strong and powerful rulers of the time—in which letters he makes known his Socialist plans. He hoped that as soon as they would become acquainted with the facts they would be the first to attempt to see to it that a Socialist State be established. We also know how Fourier wrote letters to Rothschild with the absolute belief that some fine morning the latter would give up all of his millions so that the Socialist plan might be realized. Of course, their agitation was almost worthless. Rothschild did not at all entertain the idea of giving up his millions to Fourier for Socialist purposes, and Napoleon thought St. Simon to be a dangerous