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YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE OF AMERICA

# Lenin Liebknecht Luxemburg

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE  
meets every Friday, 8 p. m. at  
225 Valencia St., S. F.  
CLASSES, DISCUSSIONS, DANCES  
By Max Shachtman  
With an Introduction by  
ROBERT MINOR



Price 15c

PUBLISHED BY

*Young Workers (Communist) League  
of America.*

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD.  
CHICAGO, ILL.

1407.

# Lenin Liebknecht Luxemburg

*By Max Shachtman*

*with an introduction*

*by Robert Minor*

“**M**AN makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand. The tradition of all past generations weighs like an alp upon the brain of the living. . . .”

—KARL MARX.

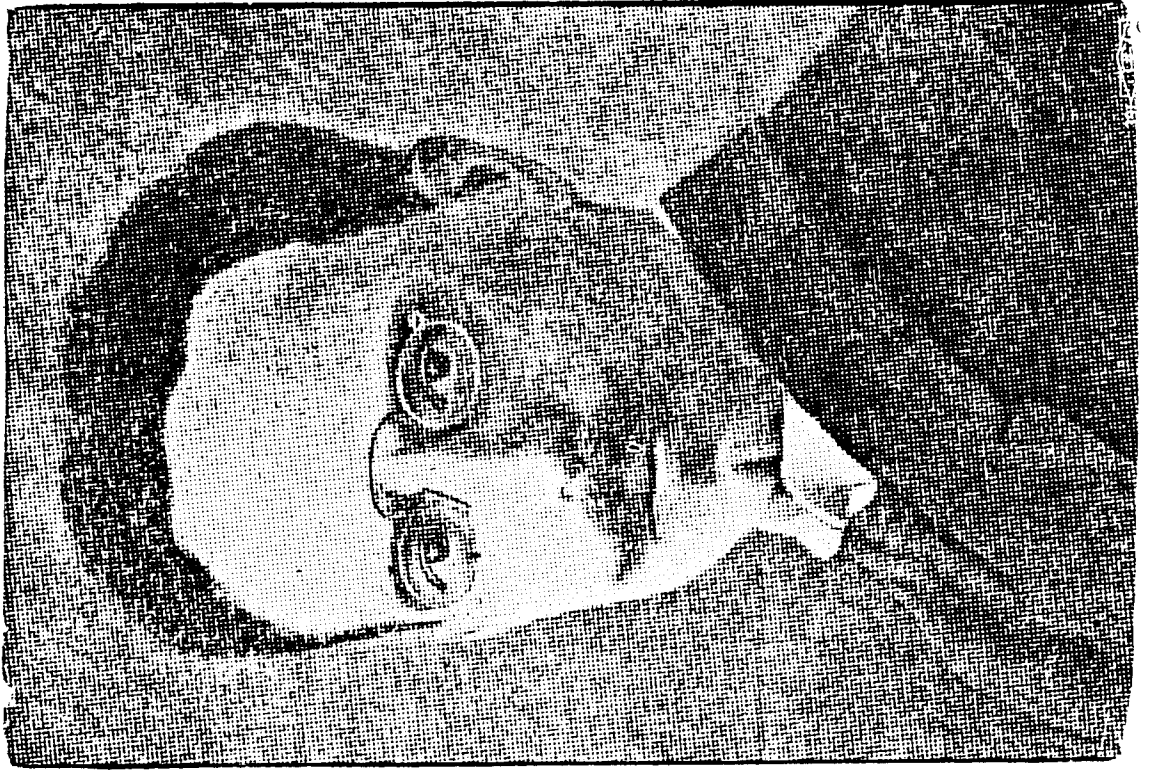
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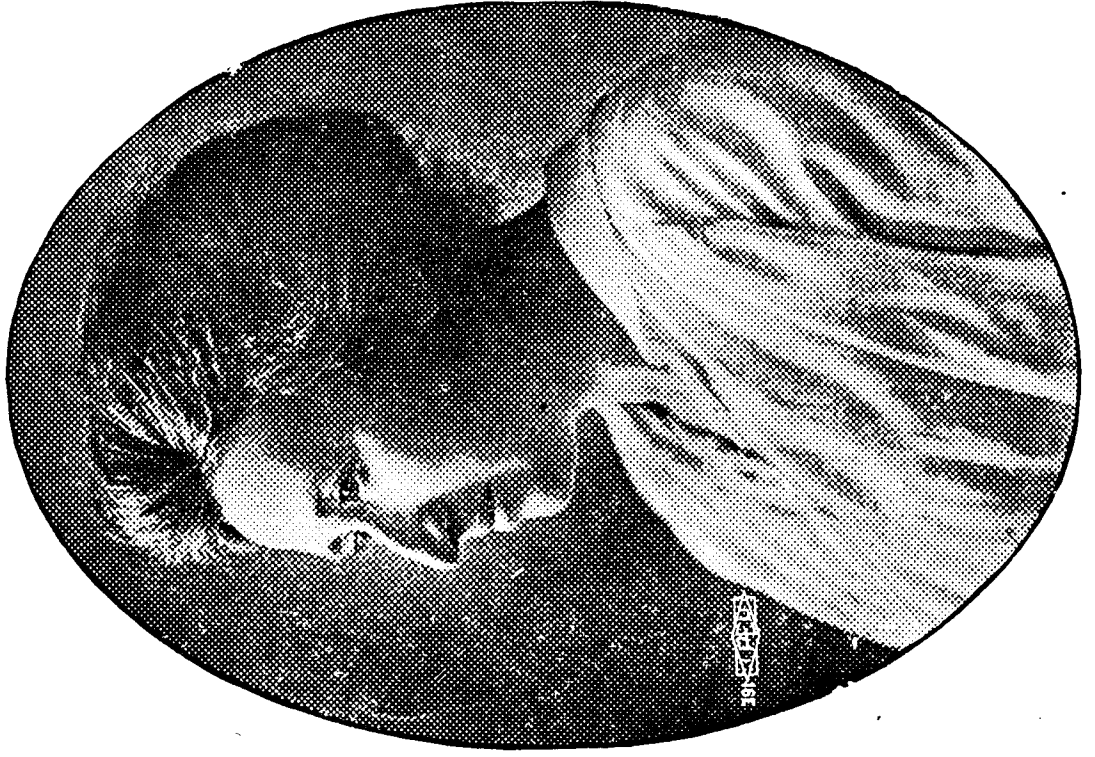
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Karl Liebknecht



Rosa Luxemburg

## Introduction

**T**HIS little book must travel far. It is addressed particularly to the young—to the men and women who are still counted as “boys” and “girls.” We who have seen revolutions know that the working class youth of the 'teens and twenties often shows more maturity in these stormy times of struggle than their elders.

This pamphlet introduces to the hundreds of thousands of young American workers three great figures whose example is a beacon light. Among the three working class heroes pictured here, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, it should not be forgotten, of course, that Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin was the leader of leaders, the creative mind whose leadership was necessary to the full greatness of the others. So this is in fact the story of Lenin and of two of his great disciples who, like him, were martyred to the cause of the working class. It is a story which should be studied with devoted attention by all young working people. The lesson of the lives of Liebknecht and Luxemburg has in it the power to take hold of the minds of young men and women and to mold them also into greatness in the service of their class. It offers nothing to those young individuals who seek for themselves a “successful” career. It is for the mass. It is for the laboring masses of humanity who are everywhere beginning, or showing signs of beginning, to surge forward to the destruction of the old tyranny of capitalism and the building of the new society to be founded by the working class and to rid the world of classes, of exploitation and of tyranny.

The need for the lesson of Leninism is more urgent in point of time than most persons believe. The Communist movement addresses the Youth, not as the mere inheritors of a cause that is to be fought for in a distant future—not the Youth as a future generation, but the Youth as the strongest of the present generation which must fight the battle.

It is then to the Youth of today—to the strongest soldiers of the working class of this day and of the immediate future, that this book is given.

ROBERT MINOR.

# Karl Liebknecht

*"Songs of heroes were sung at Liebknecht's cradle."—Karl Radek.*

**K**ARL LIEBKNECHT was born in August, 1871, in the year when German imperialism had won its first victory and French nationalism was for a time defeated. The socialist movement was going thru its period of storm and stress, hunted by the police whose weapon was the anti-socialist laws of Bismarck. At the time of Karl's birth, his father, the famous Wilhelm Liebknecht, sat in prison convicted for high treason against the German Empire.

Karl did not have much taste for the career that had been mapped out for him, and altho he took a degree of doctor of laws from the university of Wurzburg, and studied in Berlin and Leipzig, he soon became more attached to the revolutionary movement than to the Codex Juris. His legal knowledge he used to defend comrades who were in need of it and almost his first case was one in which he defended a young socialist in court. At all times, his office was a haven for the oppressed and defenceless until he became a constant source of worry to his partners, two of whom were his brothers, who protested that he assumed the defense of cases which brought in no fees.

As his interest in law lapsed so did his interest in the movement grow. At the age of 30 he was elected to the Berlin Common Council and soon earned for himself the name of being one of the staunchest defenders of the cause of the working class thru his speeches there. His mind turned constantly to the problem of anti-militarism and the socialist struggle against it. But here he found himself confronted with the solid wall of conservative social-democratic opinion. The old party leaders would not permit "their" party, which they had just rescued from illegality and unrespectability, to take a position upon a question which they considered unnecessary and unimportant. The party officialdom fought Liebknecht at every turn and he paid them back in the same coin. Liebknecht soon saw that to attempt to win the already corrupted social-democracy to a revolutionary position was substantially impossible. So he turned to the youth.

In the youth he saw a section of the working class which

had not become corrupted by contact with the capitalists in the parliaments, which did not bear on its shoulders the rotten traditions and senility of the grayhaired party theoreticians and bureaucrats. At one party congress after another he proposed that aid be given towards the formation of a young socialist movement which would be organizationally independent from the party and which would carry on the struggle among the working class youth. Karl recognized the necessity of organizing the young workers for the economic struggle and for the fight against militarism, while the party officialdom, even when they agreed with the need of a youth movement, conceived it as a collection of academic, harmless educational circles under the leadership and control of party members.

The work for the building of a militant youth movement was given additional impetus by the famous trial of Liebknecht in 1906. In that year he had delivered a series of lectures against militarism to the Mannheim conference of the German socialist youth organizations. The content of his lectures appeared later in a book known to us as "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" and aroused widespread interest in all working class sections. With a revolutionary spirit and great clarity he analyzed the two-fold nature of capitalist militarism: as a weapon of capitalism in its foreign wars of conquest and profit, and as an instrument for the suppression of the working class at home. What made the book more dangerous to the bourgeoisie was that it did not adopt the attitude of the pacifists or syndicalists but called for energetic anti-militarist work by the socialist youth among the workers and inside of the army. The book created such a furore that Liebknecht was arrested, his book confiscated and he was tried in Leipzig for the crime of high treason, even as his father before him.

The trial lasted three days: three days in which Karl used the tribunal of the court to arouse the workers of Germany to a consciousness of the need of anti-militarist struggle. The trial, which created universal interest, resulted in Karl's imprisonment for eighteen months.

But no prison wall ever halted the revolutionary work of Liebknecht. His persistence was finally crowned by the founding of the first International Socialist Youth Organization during the International Socialist Congress which was held in Berlin in 1907. Liebknecht was honored by being made a member of the first bureau of the Youth International. And at the first congress of the youth he delivered a report on the anti-militarist work of

the organization which, with the clarification brought into that field by the historic work of Lenin, remains to this day the fundamental basis of the struggle of the working youth against militarism.

In sharp outlines Karl analyzed all of the armed forces of capitalism: the army, the police, the special troops for the subjugation of working class struggle. Clearly did he point out the dual function of these forces: imperialist machinations in foreign lands and the iron heel for the proletariat at home. Yet he did not offer any pacifist illusions or anarchist dreams. "Do not throw away your arms! Turn them against your oppressors!" Liebknecht rejected the syndicalist idea of refusal to register for the army. On the contrary he proposed the conducting of anti militarist work among the working youth before they entered the army and their organization for propaganda after they had entered.

But while the program set out by Liebknecht was enthusiastically accepted by the youth movement it was secretly and openly sabotaged by the party officials. This was not an unforeseen obstacle. Liebknecht had placed his confidence and hopes in the youth movement and he was not disappointed. He had declared:

"Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class consciousness and with hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the hearts and rouse the youthful enthusiasm of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to social democracy and to social-democratic anti-militarism. It must, and will, be won over if everyone does his duty. He who has the youth has the army."

In 1912 he was elected to the Reichstag from Potsdam, the bailiwick of the Kaiser. "The people now have a defender in Parliament," the workers rejoiced. And Karl fulfilled their every expectation. With merciless speeches he denounced the imperialist preparations of the bourgeoisie. Sensationally he exposed their conspiracies and plans. His words amazed Germany. Paul, the British writer, relates how.

"... he proved that munition and armament industries were internationally related. He demonstrated that those industries made arms for any nation which was prepared to yield them good profit. He proved that the jingo press was dominated by the armament companies, and that these firms even provoked 'scares' in foreign countries in order to obtain orders, and incidentally profits, from other nations. Liebknecht showed that German munition firms had capital invested in British armament companies

and that, on the other hand, there was the closest financial relationship existing between British patriots and German jingoes. These exposures were fully vindicated during the recent war when Austrian firms, controlled by British capital, launched submarines to attack British ships and drown British seamen. When Liebknecht dragged aside the veil of patriotism which hid international imperialism and showed it in all its hideous reality, he struck terror into the hearts of the world's junkers. He was unable, however, to arouse the socialist movement to a realization of its international responsibilities regarding the imminence of war and the organized means to stop it"

Neither these significant revelations, nor the pious resolutions passed by the socialist parties and by international socialist congresses prevented the betrayal of 1914. Time after time had resolutions been adopted which pledged the social democracy to war against imperialist war. Again and again had the world war been foreseen and characterized as a robbers' war in which it was the duty of socialists to fulfill their role as revolutionaries, to bring an end to imperialist war by turning it into a class war for the rule of the working class.

War broke loose and the socialists, whose leaders reflected the servility of the labor aristocracy which shared a part of the huge profits of imperialism, flocked to the banner of imperialism. In the meeting of the social democratic members of the Reichstag it was decided by a vote of seventy-eight to fourteen to vote for war credits, shamelessly to betray the working class, to sell it as cannon fodder to the Junkers. And while the discipline of the party prevailed upon Karl to vote in bloc with the rest of the deputies in the first vote he fought like a lion among men against the war and war credits in the historic session of December 2, 1914.

"The mine fields of Briery and Longwy," he said, "the mine fields of West Poland, the colonies (which promise important profits), and some other nice things, are really not bad investments for German capital."

From the floor of that gathering of imperialists and their valets he made his ringing declarations which found mute response in the hearts of millions of workers thruout the world.

"The class struggle alone is the salvation of the proletariat, and we hope that we will carry on very soon the class struggle in open international intercourse with the proletariat of all countries, even with those with whom we are at war. In this international struggle rests not only hope for the democratization, for political and economic emancipation of the working class, but also the one hope for the mass of the people concerned even during the war . . . Away with the hypocrisy of the civil truce . . . Forward to the class struggle! Forward to the international class struggle for the emancipation of the working class and against war!"



The revolutionary youth seized upon this speech with fervor and enthusiasm. Wherever it was possible they distributed his words to the masses. Their organ, the International of Youth, was at his disposal. Wherever he could he built up groups of young workers to carry the banner of international socialism. With pen and tongue Liebknecht lashed the traitors and exposed the war as an imperialist slaughter. With Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, he founded the journal, which was soon suppressed and forced to appear illegally, "The International." Around the journal he grouped all the revolutionary elements that were at hand. Slowly, patiently, he built his Internationalist opposition to the social democratic party. Persistently, this small group of revolutionaries, fighting against terrible odds and under fearful obstacles, organized the workers, calling on them to struggle against war and capitalism. In prison and out, their small illegal organization held aloft the red banner of revolution in the midst of the black pennants of Junkerism and the yellow flags of the social democrats.

The vigorous speeches of Liebknecht in the Reichstag put the fear of the masses into the hearts of the imperialists. In a short time, Karl was called to the army, where he continued his agitation among the soldiers against the idea of "national defense of the fatherland" which the workers did not possess and for the idea of the international revolution. Secretly he organized and attended the first illegal conference in Jena, in 1916, of the German socialist youth opposition, which was a forerunner of the now powerful Young Communist International.

Liebknecht became the champion and idol of the war-weary masses. On May, 1916, a huge May Day meeting was arranged for him, in which the young workers made up the greatest part. Illegally, dressed in civilian clothes, Karl addressed the thousands who were gathered to demonstrate for the end of the war. Boldly he denounced the war. Fearlessly he called upon the masses to revolt against the government. His inspiring address was interrupted, he was dragged from the platform and once more confined to prison.

But this time the miserable bourgeoisie had learned its lesson. Like the cowards they are, they denied Karl a public trial. Behind closed doors they tried him and sentenced him to four and a half years of imprisonment.

From the outside, his comrades continued their work. New beacons began to shine in Europe, beacons which stirred them on to greater efforts. The work of the Russian Bolshevik Party

and the revolutionary elements of the Scandinavian countries, the Balkans, Italy and other European countries had resulted in the holding of conferences aimed towards the founding of a revolutionary socialist international. The basis which had been laid in the long bitter struggles carried on by the revolutionaries in the old socialist international was bearing fruit in this world crisis. And finally, making the hearts of the workers of the world almost burst with joy, came the great Russian revolution—the first breach in the solid imperialist front.

Everywhere the workers took heart. The seed sown by the German Internationalists was flowering forth into a determined band of grim proletarian fighters. Freed by the first German revolution, Luxemburg and Liebknecht again appeared among the masses. Everywhere they were hailed with enthusiastic response and solemn pledges to revolution. Almost overnight, the young Spartakusbund grew in numbers and influence. The workers rallied to its standards so that they might emulate their Russian comrades in building another republic of labor. Hopefully, building the revolutionary party for which they had worked and aspired they led the band of Spartacans into battle. Against the Junkers and against the betrayers of the working class, they led the revolutionaries into the streets in the memorable January days, to be mowed down by the bullets of Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert, the leaders of the social democratic party. Small in numbers, but with unparalleled bravery they struggled for the German Soviet republic against the machine guns directed by their former "comrades." Liebknecht and Luxemburg participated actively and personally in every struggle. Exhorting their comrades to renewed vigor they led them into every battle.

The first battle was lost. These heroic party comrades, these courageous workers gave their lives for the ideal of the working class. Their party had just been founded a few days before, the grown child of Liebknecht's refusal to betray the workers, of the work of the Internationalists against war, imperialism and social patriotism, of the best traditions of the German revolutionary movement. The uprising failed because the sympathetic masses were not drawn into active struggle against the government. The young Communist Party was too loosely organized. Despite the pleas of Karl and Rosa that revolutionary parliamentarism was necessary, the first congress of the party rejected participation in parliamentary elections. Their healthy reaction to the opportunism of the social democrats was driving the young, inexperienced Communist Party towards sectarian ideas. The masses were not awakened to the struggle. The masses

were tired of war and were under the illusions of having secured "peace"; they were lulled by the social democratic phrases about socialization which never materialized.

But for the first time German workers had fought for the proletarian revolution. For the first time, the division had been made clear to the masses, the division between the honest fighters for the workers and the socialist lickspittles of imperialism, the division had been echoed to the skies by the bullets from the rifles of Noske's soldiers which were aimed at the noble hearts of the Spartacans.

Already stained with the blood of their brothers, the social democrats burned into their own foreheads, irrevocably, the mark of Cain which they bear to this day. Incited by the hangman Noske, and without any opposition from his fellow social democrats, cavalry troopers stationed at the Eden Hotel, invaded Wilmersdorf, where Liebknecht and Luxemburg were in hiding. Both were dragged to the Hotel, where soldiers proceed to carry out in cold blood the pre-arranged assassination.

Liebknecht is seated in an automobile. A very brave trooper strikes him twice on the back of his head with a revolver. Karl sinks down into his seat, half unconscious. The auto is driven swiftly to a wooded section of the city. They stop. Karl is ordered out of the motor car. Still dizzy from the blows he has received he is ordered to walk along with the officers. For a few steps he is allowed to walk, then, on the pretext that he has attempted to flee, he is shot in cold blood. The honorable Captain von Pflugk-Hartung fires the first shot. The officers then busy themselves trying to eliminate all traces of the murder.

Karl Liebknecht is dead. In another part of the city Red Rosa is foully murdered. The government is safe!

To this day the murderers of our leaders are at large. No real attempt has been made to bring them to justice. The social democratic leaders heaved a sigh of relief when they heard of the death of their most bitter enemies.

\* \* \*

Liebknecht lives! In the Young Communist International, the inheritor of the traditions of the former Socialist Youth International, are gathered the revolutionary forces of the young workers of the world. Everywhere, its struggle against militarism and imperialism, its struggle against the reactionary Fascists, the daily sacrifices made by its hundreds of thousands of members, are a living tribute to the unceasing work of Karl Lieb-  
knecht.

Liebkecht is buried side by side with Red Rosa Luxemburg, amid scores of other courageous fighters. But Liebkecht lives in the hearts of the revolutionary youth. He lives in the mighty Young Communist International which bears his tradition of struggle onward to new victories. When the social democrats and their masters, the imperialists, murdered Karl Liebkecht they killed only one man. But new Liebkechts, new proletarian fighters arise every day.

International Liebkecht Day is the day of the class conscious young workers and farmers, and the colonial youth of the world. Greater sacrifice, greater determination, greater efforts! With Liebkecht's spirit always urging them on, the Communist Youth fights against the danger of new wars and against the reactionary forces of imperialism. To Liebkecht's slogan: Against the imperialist war! they have added: For the civil war! To Liebkecht's slogan: Against capitalism! they have added: For the world revolution!

With growing numbers and firmer strength they march towards the dawn, clear eyed, united in thought and action. The road to victory is strewn with the bodies of the best of its ranks, murdered, crippled, or tortured to death by the bestial bourgeoisie. The road is difficult to travel; many losses are suffered; the faint-hearted turn back; the traitors are discovered and scourged. But victory is in sight and must be reached with such a spirit. **Trotz Alledem!** said Liebkecht. Despite everything!

**"And over defeat and defeat leads the road to Victory!"**

**Trotz Alledem!**

# Rosa Luxemburg

*"She was and remains an eagle; and not only will her memory always be highly esteemed by the Communists of all the world; but her biography and the complete collection of her writings will be useful for the instruction of many generations of Communists in all countries."—V. I. Lenin.*

**L**IKE many of the revolutionists of her day, Rosa Luxemburg, the child of a Polish-Jewish family who was born in 1870, was obliged to leave her studies in the university abruptly because of her connection with the revolutionary movement; so that at the age of eighteen she was forced to flee to Zurich, Switzerland, in order to escape exile to Siberia for radical activities, just barely missing the gold medal which she would otherwise have obtained for her excellent studies. After leaving upper school she joined an illegal socialist group, and when she arrived in Switzerland, she soon made the acquaintance of the circle of political emigres who lived there at that time.

Very soon, Rosa was working in close cooperation with the revolutionary wing of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) whose leaders were at that time in Switzerland working together with the Russian emigrants. Together with Karsky (Marschlevsky) and Leo Jogisches (Tyschko) she led a brilliant struggle against the opportunist wing of the party which was led by Daszynski, who is now known as one of the worst yellow scoundrels in the labor movement of Poland. Altho only a young girl, this master opportunist recognized in her a dangerous foe and especially after she added in the founding of the Social Democratic Party of Poland he began to carry on a violent campaign against her. So bitterly did he work against her that he succeeded in having the International Socialist Congress, which met in Zurich, unseat her and her co-delegate, Warschavski, who was accused of being a government agent. Even the venerable Frederick Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht were inveigled to speak against her, and Plechanov, who knew the falsity of the charges, found it convenient not to expose the miserable plot.

The struggle between the two wings of the socialist movement was concerned in general with the struggle between the real revolutionary wing on the one side and the opportunists on

the other. In the question of national independence of Poland from the Russian empire, Rosa and her comrades, in fighting against the nationalist tendencies of Daszynski, took a position which was unwarranted by Marxism or Leninism and opposed the slogan of national independence for Poland, believing instead—as tho the two questions were in conflict—that the Polish and Russian revolutionists should unite in a common struggle against Czarism. She took this position despite the fact that the leaders of the international, at that time Engels, Liebknecht the elder, and others, had taken a firm position for the principle of national independence.

The expulsion from the international congress did not cool her ardor; instead she plunged more deeply than ever into theoretical studies and practical political work. She spent months in the National Library in Paris, writing voluminously on the development of capitalism in Poland and on the division in the socialist ranks of that country. The latter subject was one upon which she was so persistent that the more advanced members of the German social democracy, to whose official theoretical organ *Die Neue Zeit* she was becoming a prominent contributor, were won over to her position.

She triumphed proudly over the Polish opportunities when at the London congress of the international, their charges were rejected and her credentials as delegation from the Social Democratic Party of Poland were accepted; and this particular phase of her work was finally crowned when at the Paris congress, in 1900, her party was officially recognized by the international.

From one battle to another she marched forward. During the time of her studies in the University of Zurich she already showed her command of the Marxist science by a literary annihilation of the bourgeoisie anti-Marxist professor of political economy, Wolf. Her articles in the German party press, particularly in the theoretical journal, (after her migration to Germany) brought her the attention of all the leading socialists of the time. For a time she became the editor of party organs in Dresden, and then in Leipzig. In election campaigns, in her general agitational work, in her propaganda among the Polish workers in Silesia, in her debates and lectures, everything she touched gained new life and greater brilliance.

At about that time, the cancer which finally ate the heart out of the German social democracy, was given literary expression in Eduard Bernstein's book, "The Problems of Socialism." There Bernstein laid down the theoretical justification for the betrayal of the principles of socialism which was being made in France, thru the entry of Millerand, a member of the French

Socialist Party into a capitalist cabinet, which—worse yet—contained the infamous butcher of the heroic Communards, the Marquis Gallifet. This action was being defended in France by such a man as Jean Jaures, in Germany by Vollmar, and by opportunists in every other country. Bernstein attempted to prove that while Marx was still a great economist and politician in many respects, his theories were in as many respects outworn. Instead of the gradual pauperization of the workers, declared Bernstein, we were witnessing a gradual improvement of their conditions. Instead of a sharpening of the class struggle, the relationships of the two classes were becoming harmonized, and so, taking into consideration the labor aristocracy and failing to reckon with the conditions of the terribly oppressed colonial slaves, he “proved” that the “workers” were in a better condition than ever.

From these obviously false premises—premises which he himself, at the outbreak of the world war practically rejected—he drew the conclusions that the tactics of the social democracy should turn from revolutionary to “evolutionary” and that thru the formulation of a number of social reforms, the working class would succeed in gradually evolving a socialist society out of capitalism. For the success of these reforms, it transpired, it was necessary that some sort of cooperation between the two classes be consummated. Thus, Bernstein formulated the theoretical basis for the policy of cooperation and betrayal which was even then being started in France and which later led to such dire results for the proletariat.

Rosa immediately sounded the tocsin against this corruption of Marxism. Broadside after broadside she fired into Bernstein’s revisionism, from the columns of her paper, the Leipziger Volkszeitung; and the collected articles which are published in the book called “Social Reform or Revolution” stands today as a classic of the socialist movement. In her campaign she gained the support of Bebel and of Kautsky, who was at that time a good revolutionary and whose closest friend she then became. Kautsky, who had fought together with her on the question of the Polish party struggle, also brought to bear his Marxist learning in a number of articles, brochures and books to polemicize against Bernstein. Again the international adopted their viewpoint (at Amsterdam, in 1904) and Rosa was chosen to represent the Polish party in the international socialist bureau.

A fleeting aside is here afforded of Rosa in debate by the comment of Daniel De Leon, who was delegated to the congress by the American Socialist Labor Party. In her debate on collaboration with Jaures

“ . . . she let fly against him a scathing Phillipic, during

which he frequently writhed under her lash, the burden of her argument being that the so-called 'cooperation of the classes' was productive of evil only."

At the same time that she was thus fighting for Marxism in the international, Rosa again committed a grave mistake in her estimation of the Russian mensheviks, advocating as she did again in 1914, the union between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, an impossible marriage against which Lenin fought so bitterly. But this estimation of conditions did not prevent her from hurrying to Russia immediately after the Jena congress of the German party, where she carried on a sharp struggle against parliamentary opportunism and the irresponsible policy towards the trades unions. In Warsaw she took over the editorship of the social democratic paper and carried on her work among the Polish masses with typical energy. The temporary respite gained by the Russian masses after the revolution, however, was but the forerunner of renewed persecutions and pogroms. In March of 1906 Rosa was arrested and remained imprisoned for more than a year. By bribing a jailor, she managed to escape back to Germany.

With her boundless energy she resumed the struggle in the ranks. This time she brought back to the German party some of the lessons of the Russian revolution and demanded at the Mannheim conference that the party's attitude towards the trade unions be revised. She pointed to the separatist and non-party attitude that the unions were developing and demanded that the party work for greater hegemony over them. Here again, while her pamphlet "The Mass Strike, the Party and the Trade Unions" and her brilliant article "Two Methods of Trade Union Policy," remain classics of the movement, valuable contributions to the fundamental work on that field, she did not have the piercing, sober analysis of the problem which received its greatest enlightenment from the work of Lenin.

But her fight against the opportunism of the party leaders was a revolutionary one and the Stuttgart international congress in 1907 once more vindicated her position. It was there also that the proposal which she brought forward in the name of the Russian and Polish delegations as a supplement to Bebel's resolution, that it was the duty of the social democracy to fight with every means at its disposal against imperialist war when it arrived, was adopted by the congress—the same resolution which was later betrayed by all those knaves who had so solemnly supported it.

Bureaucracy and opportunism continued to grow in the Social Democratic Party. At one party conference it was decided to forego the annual celebration of May Day. Rosa, who had



already had her tilt with Bebel, now growing old, on the trade union question, now broke with him to the end. When the masses were of their own accord demonstrating in the streets for the right to the franchise, the party's central committee decided to accept the decision of the police president prohibiting further demonstrations. And Rosa, who bitterly criticized this craven action of the central committee, then broke with another friend of many years, Karl Kautsky, who defended the central committee. Rosa stood almost alone, yet holding the fear and respect of every opponent who quivered with every attack from her sulphuric pen or vigorous tongue.

But where she lost "friends" among the party leadership, she gained them among the masses. When the central committee attempted to remove her from her post in the party training school, the students stood by her like one man and forced the central committee to retreat. And at the time that Karl Liebknecht was in prison, following the congress of 1910 in Copenhagen, when the central committee had repeatedly taken its lukewarm and spineless attitude towards militarism, Rosa toured the country from one end to the other denouncing militarism and imperialism in her brilliant orations, to the wild applause of the working masses.

Her anti-militarist addresses, like Liebknecht's, enraged and scared the government. She was arrested for a speech in Frankfurt and no sooner had she been sentenced, even before she served her term, than she delivered a new speech in which she exposed the mistreatment of the soldiers in the barracks. Once more indicted, she brought so many witnesses to bear testimony to the truth of her statements that the government withdrew its prosecution before many days of the trial were over. It was on the eve of the outbreak of the war.

August 4, 1914. The world was astounded by the social democratic vote on war credits. But Rosa wasted not a moment. Declaring the social democracy a whited sepulchre, a foul corpse, she grouped around herself the cream of the revolutionary wing of the old party. With her came Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogisches, Franz Mehring, Wilhelm Pieck, Klara Zetkin, Meier and others. A small band they were, but immediately they proceeded to their task. Illegal literature was spread at every opportunity. Flaming appeals against the imperialist war was the order of the day. Rosa Luxemburg, who had written her famous open letter to Jean Jaures six years before arguing against his declaration that the alliance between France, England and Russia was a step towards peace, was being confronted by the truth of her own prophetic words.

The workers were beginning to come out of the stupor

resulting from the first shock at the socialist betrayal. Within six months the small handful of revolutionists had grown to greater proportions despite its illegality and the hindrances in its way. In February of the year following the declaration of war, representatives from many cities gathered to found the group of "The International." To combine legal with illegal work they proposed to issue a magazine with the name of their group at its head and with Red Rosa as its editor. This brilliant organ was declared illegal after the publication of the first number.

And now the sentence against Rosa for her Frankfort speech was confirmed and she was once more imprisoned for a year. Surrounded by stone and iron she continued to carry on her agitation as tho she were free. With the cooperation of the faithful Leo Tyschko, her oldest friend and co-worker, she issued numbers of Die Internationale, which stands today as the official theoretical organ of the party she founded, the German Communist Party, a monument to her work. From prison, also, she wrote her famous pamphlet, "The Crisis in the German Social Democracy," which became known far and wide as the Junius brochure, since she was unable to sign her own name to it and was therefore obliged to use the pseudonym Junius.

"Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth, thus capitalist society stands. Not as we usually see it, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, or order, of philosophy, of ethics—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devastating culture and humanity—so it appears in all its hideous nakedness. And in the midst of this orgy a world tragedy has occurred: the capitulation of the social democracy . . . It forgot all its principles, its pledges, the decision of international congresses, just at the moment when they should have found their application."

Bitterly did she scourge the social democratic traitors; scornfully she lashed to tatters their false arguments of national defense; and skilfully she exposed the imperialist roots of the war. Yet here also she relied too greatly upon the spontaneous action of the masses. Unlike Lenin she did not raise the inspiring slogan: Turn the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against its oppressors! And Lenin, while greeting joyously this noble revolutionary voice crying in the sterile desert of shameless betrayal, did not fail to criticize this omission in his own book, "Against the Stream," which he collected together with other articles written by Zinoviev.

Against the stream! "It is never easy to swim against the current, and when the stream rushes on with the rapidity and

the power of a Niagara it does not become easier!" said the older Liebknecht. And yet Rosa swam bravely with her comrades against the streams of blood which were being shed in the imperialist slaughter. Released from prison just before Liebknecht's arrest at the famous May Day demonstration, she was soon rearrested to be released only by the first revolution in Germany. Again there flowed from prison a constant stream of propaganda from her fertile pen. From her prison cell were written the famous Spartacus Letters. There also she replied to the critics of her "Accumulation of Capital" which had been published before the war, in which she attempted to set forth a Marxist theory of imperialist political economy. From that cell, too, came the letters to the wife of Karl Liebknecht which portrayed the sensitive and lovable soul of this uncompromising rebel, her love for life and struggle. There also her pamphlet on the Russian revolution, unfortunately composed on the basis of misinformation, the errors of which she later partially corrected, and which was triumphantly published by the renegade Paul Levi who attempted to use it to justify his own cowardice and to attack the first working class republic.

"This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will drown the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor, 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' "

Thus had she ended her Junius brochure. And when the German revolution followed the successful uprising in Russia she was freed, together with Liebknecht, again to take up her incessant struggle for the workers' cause. With new hopes the two Spartacans renewed their labors to build up a Communist Party in Germany. Battle-scared, undaunted, they proceeded to unite the revolutionary forces of Germany: the Spartakusbund and the revolutionary groups of Hamburg and Bremen which were led by Paul Frohlich, Knief, and Karl Radek. At the end of the year of 1918 the first congress of the Communist Party of Germany was completed. The party was as yet weak; it was dominated by leftist elements. Despite the opposition of Rosa and Karl, the congress voted to oppose participation in elections or parliaments of any kind, as well as the boycotting of the trade unions and appeals to the workers to leave them. Rosa argued, with little avail. Yet, in the program she wrote and which was adopted by the congress, the aims of the young Communist movement are clearly stated:

"The proletarian revolution is the death-bed of slavery and oppression. For this reason all capitalists, Junkers, members of the petty middle class, officers, and all those who live on exploitation and class hegemony, will rise against it to a man in a struggle for life and death. It is madness to believe that the capitalist class will, with good will, subordinate itself to the verdict of a socialist majority in parliament; and that it will voluntarily renounce its proprietary rights and its privileges of exploitation. Every ruling class has, to the very end, fought for its privileges with the most stubborn energy. The class of capitalist imperialists exceeds all its predecessors in undisguised cynicism, brutality, and meanness . . . Against the threatening danger of the counter-revolution must come the arming of the workers and the disarming of the hitherto ruling class. The fight for socialism is the most gigantic civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the necessary defense for this war. It must learn to use it, to fight and to conquer. This defence of the compact masses of the workers, this arming of them with the full political power for the accomplishment of the revolution, is what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, and only this, is the true democracy."

The young party was soon to receive its baptism in blood. The social democrats were placed at the head of the so-called revolutionary government to head off the real revolution which would place power actually into the hands of the working class. traitorous, they quaked at the idea of a proletarian revolution. Growing up by their side, like the Soviets alongside of the decaying Russian Constituent Assembly, were the Workmen's Councils and the Communist Party. The social democrats did not hesitate to choose between revolution and suppression of revolutionary forces. A year after the founding of the Communist Party, the Workmen's Councils were maliciously provoked by the social democratic government which removed the popular police president of Berlin, Emil Eichhorn, a member of the Independent Socialist Party. Rosa knew that the situation was not yet developed for an uprising. She realized that the masses had not yet been rallied to the support of the Communist Party; that they had not, in the words of the program she had written, gained "the consent of the clear, unanimous will of the majority of the proletarian masses of Germany and . . . conscious agreement with the aims and methods of the Spartakusbund." But less clear heads prevailed and instantly the battle was on.

Together with a group of independent socialists, the Communists seized the building of the social democratic Vorwaerts and issued a manifesto deposing the national government. Baricades were thrown up overnight. Workers armed themselves and prepared to give battle. Red Rosa did not hesitate. Marx,

before her, had disapproved of the action of the revolutionaries of Paris in proclaiming the Commune; but as soon as the revolt was on he placed himself in line with the rebels—uncompromisingly; and after their terrible defeat he wrote the most brilliant declaration in its defense that the world has yet seen. And Rosa, in the same dilemma of being obliged to take a position in favor of an action which had been taken against her best judgment, showed the same revolutionary spirit as Karl Marx.

Unhesitatingly, the young party threw itself into the battle. With historic heroism they fought the troops of the social democrat Noske. With sabers and machine guns their proletarian lives were cut down to the ground. Rosa led in the battles. Liebknecht was everywhere, in the front ranks, among the youth who defended buildings that were being held by the Spartacans, in the barricades, indefatigably working among the inexperienced troops, giving encouragement and good cheer to all.

A general strike is declared; the factories stand gaunt and silent. The Berliner Tageblatt is taken over by the Berlin youth; the paper rolls are used for barricades, the books of the concern to bolster up the windows; a Red Cross station is established and guards are placed. On a number of churches, machine guns are lashed to command the streets. In front of the Vorwaerts building a huge bonfire of the social democratic leaflets which have insulted the working class. The Botzow brewery is held by the armed workers.

The government marshalls its forces: social democratic workers who have been poisoned against the revolutionaries. Workers against workers.

Saturday sees the end of the brave battle. The Vorwaerts building is surrounded and surrendered. Whoever is caught with arms is forthwith shot. A sixteen year old fighter is called upon to shout "Long live the republic!"; he shouts instead "Long live Liebknecht!"; he is killed. The historic January days are over. They have seen heroic sacrifice and base betrayal.

A short few days pass. Liebknecht and Luxemburg are discovered. They are taken to the Eden Hotel, the headquarters of the troopers. Karl is spirited away and murdered by these "heroes." As Rosa is leaving the hotel entrance, the trooper Runge is standing at the door. Commander Petri has given the order that she is not to reach the prison alive. The obliging Runge strikes her heavily on the head twice, so heavily that the blows are heard in the lobby of the hotel. Rosa sinks to the ground. She is lifted and thrown into the vehicle, one man on each side of her and Lieutenant Vogel in the rear. As the truck drives off, a soldier springs up from behind and delivers another sharp blow

to the unconscious martyr; Lieutenant Vogel levels his revolver and shoots her in the back of the head; the frail, broken body quivers for the last time. They drive between the Landwehr Canal and the Zoological Gardens. No one is in sight. At the exit of the gardens near the canal, a group of soldiers are standing. The auto halts and the corpse is heaved into the canal at the order of Lieutenant Vogel. A few days later the watersoaked body is recovered and interred by the side of Liebknecht. The assassinated Jogiches finds his resting place by their side a short time later.

The social democratic Vorwaerts has very humorous writers of jingles. On the eve of the murders they publish a little song:

*“Five hundred corpses in a row,  
Liebknecht, Rosa, Radek & Co.:  
Are they not there also?”*

The workers mourn and plan their vengeance. The murderers walk the streets today: they are free men.

\* \* \*

It is said that were Red Rosa living today she would be among the best leaders of the iron regiments of the powerful Communist Party of Germany. Of that there can be little doubt. The attempts of renegades and unscrupulous scoundrels to darken the sacred memory of Rosa Luxemburg by spreading the tale that she opposed the Russian revolution and the Russian Bolsheviks have already been brought to nought. Rosa had many shortcomings. Perhaps only in her last days did she begin to understand that her attitude towards the question of the peasantry was incorrect. In the question of the attitude of revolutionaries towards national independence and the right of self-determination to the point of separation she also held the wrong position. She erred in certain respects in her estimation of the Russian party conflicts, and later in her understanding of the Bolshevik revolution and its tactics. She was wrong in her book “The Accumulation of Capital” and unconsciously, in fighting so vigorously for the principles of Marxism against the opportunist revisionists, herself deviated from those basic economic principles. She had too much confidence in the spontaneous action of the masses irrespective of preparatory organizational work and of the leading role of the party.

And yet she will remain a cherished, beloved memory; yet her spirit will continue to be embodied in the world's revolutionary movement; yet her name will continue to grow in the hearts of the masses for whom she fought when those who betrayed her will have cheated oblivion only by obloquy.

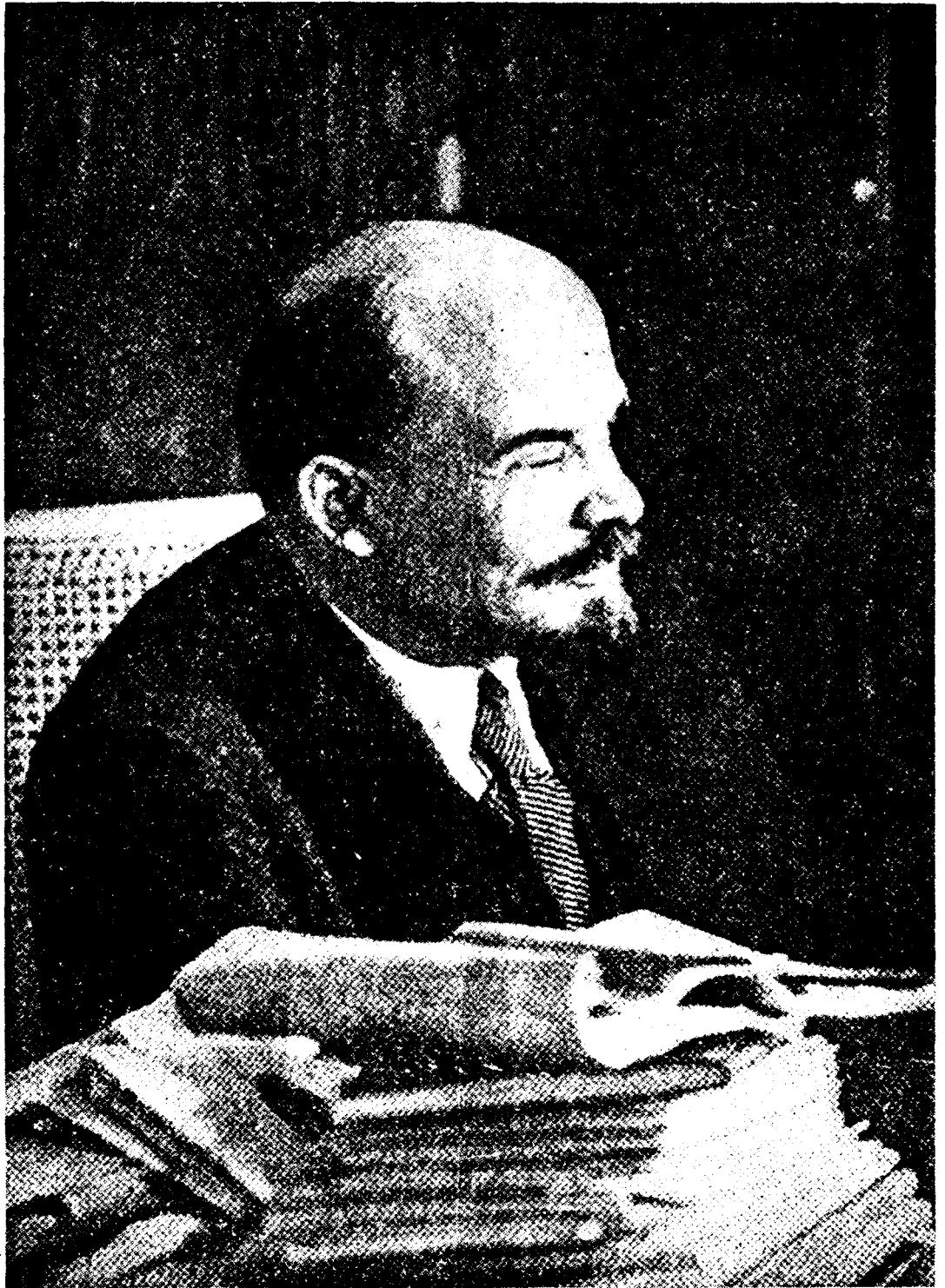
The Paul Levis who seek to capitalize her errors and forget her glorious history of revolutionary struggle have best been answered by Lenin, who often took issue with Red Rosa, but who appreciated her work as few men do:

“ . . . An eagle may descend lower than a chicken, but the chicken can never rise like an eagle. Rosa Luxemburg was mistaken on the question of the independence of Poland, she was mistaken in 1903 in her estimate of the Menshiviki; she was mistaken in her theory of the accumulation of capital; she was mistaken in defending the union of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1914 along with Plechanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others; she was mistaken in her prison writings in 1918 (on coming out of prison, however, at the end of 1918, she corrected a large number of these mistakes herself). But notwithstanding all her mistakes she was and remains an eagle; and not only will her memory always be highly esteemed by the Communists of all the world, but her biography and the complete collection of her writings will be useful for the instruction of many generations of Communists in all countries. As for the German social democrats after the 4th of August, 1914,—‘a foul corpse’ is the appellation which Rosa Luxemburg gave them, and with which their name will go down in the history of the international labor movement. But in the backyard of the labor movement, among the manure piles, chickens like Paul Levi, Scheidemann, Kautsky and all that fraternity, will be especially enraptured by the mistakes of the great Communist.”

Rosa Luxemburg died like the bravest soldier of the revolution at his post. She died after the defeat of a revolution, after “order” had been established. The last words she is known to have written are her best epitaph:

“Order reigns in Berlin! You senseless thugs! Your ‘order’ is built on sand. The Revolution will rise tomorrow, bristling to the heights, and will to your terror sound forth the trumped call: ‘I was, I am, I am to be!’”

These words are the muted song of the grim regiments of the proletariat who march in the final struggle and for the final victory.



Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianoff Lenin



# Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianoff Lenin

*"He was as mighty as the ocean."*—  
G. Zinoviev.

**W**HEN Lenin died the world stopped for a moment. Literally millions of workers mourned his death. Even the bourgeois world, impressed with the solemnity of the moment, almost concealed their hatred while acknowledging that he had left a lasting impress on the history of humanity. No other man of his time received such a universal recognition; no other individual of his century was so prominent in making history out of the conditions which he found. For Lenin, unlike the philosophers of the past, was one of the great makers of history.

Like his two great followers, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Lenin's university days were stormy ones. After leaving the classical gymnasium he entered the Kazan University. The revolutionary experience of boyhood—his brother, Alexander Ulianoff, had been executed by Czar Alexander III for revolutionary activity—manifested itself immediately in young Ilyich. At the end of his first month in the university he was expelled for participation in the students' revolutionary movement, and it was only four years later that he was allowed to take his final examinations. Like Red Rosa and Karl, also, he had little heart for law and he yearned for the revolutionary movement. The bitter exploitation of the workers and the oppression of the peasantry found an echo in him and his first acquaintance with the theories of Marxism led him straightaway into the camp of that small circle of Marxists whose seed finally blossomed into the powerful Russian Communist Party of today.

In Petrograd, which is now named after him as Leningrad, he grouped around himself one of the first organized Marxist circles and gained immediate prominence by his polemics against the Populists. His first literary duel resulted in the annihilation of the popular leader of the latter, N. K. Mikhailovsky, who were soon burning the heretical Marxist writings for Plechanov, Lenin's master and tutor for quite a time.

Lenin brought a fresh breath of air into the academic, stagnant atmosphere of Russian radical circles. Not content with merely engaging in abstractly theoretical discussions, he entered with all his young vigor into the building up of working

men's organizations. He built one of these bodies in the form of the "Union of the Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor" and was entrusted by them to conduct the first working class strikes, to publish the first illegal pamphlets, and to lead the agitation among the Petrograd proletariat. His very first pamphlet was an agitational one, "On Fines," which aroused a quick response from the factory workers of the city.

He took the greatest joy in organizing small strikes on issues of the day, a strike for hot tea for the workers, a strike against the pernicious system of fines, a strike for higher wages or for shorter hours. When he could gather together a group of workers in order to expound to them in simple language the theories of Marx he was a happy man indeed. These little strikes which he organized and led he looked upon as the beginnings of a working class movement which would some day grow to great proportions. From the struggles for their daily needs and interests he pointed out the lessons to be drawn, always indicating the need of organizing a party of the social democracy. Always mingling with the workers, living in proletarian quarters, illegally, hated by the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie and loved by the workers whose confidence he gained from the very beginning, it was not long before the long hand of the Czarist police seized him and in the nineties of the last century imprisoned him for a long time.

To this very day there can still be found aged workers in Leningrad or Moscow or in the provinces who can still remember their cooperation with Lenin in some circle of discussion or in some strike. They cherish these glorious memories of the birth of the Russian working class movement.

But the struggle for the economic demands of the workers was not the final aim of Lenin's work. He regarded these economic struggles as movements which were combined with the general political struggles of the working class, from whose daily lessons were to be drawn the great lesson of working class political organization and struggle.

And so, following his imprisonment and the resultant exile, he gave himself almost exclusively to a feverish literary activity. It was in exile that he wrote his famous pamphlet on "The Problems of the Russian Social Democracy" wherein he carried on his famous brilliant polemic against the Economists. The latter held to the theory that the revolutionists should confine themselves to the economic struggle of the workers and leave to the bourgeois liberals the work of political struggle. Very falsely they argued that since the workers had no political liberty

it was necessary for the liberals to succeed in establishing this so that the workers might later take advantage of its existence to form their own political parties; but in the meantime, the economic struggle was the Alpha and Omega of the worker's field of battle.

Lenin earned the everlasting respect and hatred of the Economists by his thoro liquidation of this theory. No policy of Fabianism, of everlasting waiting, did he propose; on the contrary, he formulated the basis of the organization of an illegal social democratic party to carry on the political struggles of the working class. The lucidity of his arguments and the keen grasp of theory which he showed aroused interest in the group of revolutionary exiles who were then in Switzerland, hoping for a sign of awakening in the home country. Axelrod, who later became one of the bitterest enemies of the Russian revolution, wrote a highly laudatory introduction to the pamphlet, announcing Lenin as one of the coming leaders of the movement.

Equally great was the reception accorded his other work written in exile, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia." It was one of the final blows dealt the Populists, whom Lenin had already opened fire upon in his articles written under the pseudonym of Ilyin. With carefully mustered statistics he proved how even in Russia a capitalist political economy was rapidly overtaking the agricultural economy which was the heritage of Russia's vast resources. The very basis of the Populist conception of a society based on a peasant economy, an outlook which was bounded by the narrow confines of the Russian village, was removed from under them by the hammer blows of Plechanov and Lenin who staunchly maintained that not even Russia would escape the capitalist stage of development.

But Lenin was as firm against the perverters of his great master Marx as he was against the open opponents of him. Just as vigorously as he fought the Populists and Economists so he began his campaign against the so-called legal Marxists headed by Peter Struve, a professed follower of Marx who ended his career in the army of another Peter—the Baron Wrangel, one of the last of the counter-revolutionaries. This gentry saw in the working class the only element in Russian society upon whom they could lean in their liberal struggle against Czarism; but they had no desire to go further than this struggle against Czarism; they had no intention of carrying this struggle to its logical conclusion of a proletarian revolution. Lenin's trained ear soon detected the false notes of this songbird and together with Plechanov again he minced no words in denouncing this gentleman

as a potential agent of the bourgeoisie. Struve later very obligingly fulfilled the prophecy of Lenin.

In the beginning of the 'nineties of the last century Lenin left his Siberian exile to go abroad. There he came into closer contact with the social democratic emigrants, with Plechanov, Axelrod and Martov. There, in 1901, he collaborated in the founding of the now historical Iskra (The Spark) which took up the struggle from its first issue. Striking to the left and to the right, heaping his sharp political scorn upon the Economists and the legal Marxists, he led the Iskra along the torturous road of the first social democratic party. Aided by his close collaborator, his wife Nadezhda Konstantinova, the Swiss group became the center of all the loose threads of the social democracy which then existed in Russia. Laboriously they worked, building a party hundreds of miles away, building it in the face of Czarist oppression and terrorism, building it illegally, with sacrifice and failures at every step.

In 1903, the third congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, with the young Lenin as its outstanding leader, and the old Plechanov already playing false notes. It became apparent that a split was to take place, Lenin insisting that every comrade must be an active member subject to the discipline of the party, while Martov was ready to leave the door open for vague elements which threatened to liquidate the revolutionary soul of the party. An irreconcilable split finally took place. And those simple minded persons who believed that Lenin would soon be annihilated by the ponderous guns of such a revered and erudite leader as Plechanov were soon convinced to the contrary. Lenin, whose dearest friends had been those with whom he had split, had not a moment's hesitation to carry on a sharp and effective campaign against them from the columns of first Bolshevik organ after the Iskra had fallen into the hands of the Mensheviks.

On the eve of the first Russian revolution, the first Bolshevik congress was held. Lenin already observed there the development of the approaching revolt, and indicated clearly its line. Not merely was it a revolution of the bourgeoisie against Czarism, but it had in it the seeds of a socialist revolution on the threshold of which it stood. There he urged, as he did twelve years later, that the Bolsheviks should not stop at the bourgeois revolution but should continue it to the dictatorship of the proletariat. There also he sounded the first note of warning against the corruption of the social democracy of Europe, a warning which was thunderously echoed by the catastrophe of 1914.

The armed insurrection took place in 1905. The masses arose and seized power, and altho the Mensheviks were numerically predominant in the first Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Delegates, it was the policy of the Bolsheviks which had actually triumphed. Their analysis of the course of development had been wholly vindicated. Zinoviev comments:

"The Moscow armed insurrection, though defeated and crushed had nevertheless been the apotheosis of the Bolshevik tactics during the revolution. We were defeated and Plechanov's only comment on the event was the philistine phrase: 'These people ought not to have taken up arms.' Lenin's attitude towards that insurrection was different. To him there was no nobler and more honorable page in the history of the revolution than the Moscow armed insurrection . . . For Lenin realized to perfection that the Moscow insurrection was the first outpost skirmish with the bourgeois world. He realized the world historical consequences of the Moscow insurrection, crushed and drowned in the blood of the workers, yet the first glorious working class revolt against Czardom and capitalism in a most backward country."

And there also, as he looked down from the balcony on the sessions of the Petrograd soviet, he saw coming to life the prophetic vision of Marx in 1850, who saw the workers' state as the councils of workers, and Lenin observed in this soviet the reflection of the future Soviet State, the only working class authority during the revolution.

There followed the backwash of a defeated revolution, with its resultant pessimism, apathy, and hopelessness. Tendencies to liquidate all revolutionary organization and struggle cropped up everywhere. The intellectuals, in some of whom there had up to this time been found a spark of revolutionary courage and will, degenerated to the dregs of sexual degradation. Ever hopeful, Lenin resumed his work. With indomitable energy the Bolsheviks began to rebuild the exhausted remnants of their party. Once more they swam against the stream. In exile, ill, planning, studying and working feverishly, jeered at by the weaklings and the opportunists, he persevered, diligently building the revolutionary movement, his mind upon nothing but the party which he held sacred and above everything.

The horrible massacre of the Lena goldfields workers in 1911 stirred the sluggish masses one more; new vistas of work were opened up to the revolutionaries. Back to Moscow to conduct a legal Bolshevik paper and to manage the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma, teaching the working class deputies the meaning of revolutionary parliamentarism, working with them to make of the Duma a vast megaphone thru which the problems and

demands of the Russian proletariat might be heard thruout the length and breadth of the country. Improved connections were established with the Bolshevik groupps thruout the country, the agitation in the trade unions was intensified, the publication of propaganda in the form of legal papers, leaflets and books was conducted on an ever greater scale.

Then came the outbreak of the war; and with it the shameless betrayal by the "socialist" leaders. Lenin who had fought in the congresses of the international for a revolutionary position towards the approaching imperialist war, was himself astounded at the depths of shame to which the social democrats had sunk. It was at that time that he pronounced the Second International dead. Immediately after he wrote his famous pamphlet on "The Collapse of the Second International" where he traced the causes for the downfall of the international and laid the basis for a revolutionary international which would continue to carry the standard of the International Workingmen's Association, the international of Marx.

Dark years followed, darkened with the blood of millions of young proletarians on the imperialist battle fields. "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against its masters!" Thus Lenin issued his inspiring slogan. Separated from the movement, torn from the other parties of the international, he spent most of his time in study and correspondence and in agitation in the Swiss party and among the Swiss youth. Zinoviev relates how happy Lenin was at getting seven young Proletarians into the left social democratic organization in Zurich. His favorite recreation at that time was to take a few young rebels on his cycling trips or to a swimming pool to discuss questions of the revolution.

In Switzerland, also, he made his first important contacts with the organized revolutionary youth movement. Grouped around its publication, the International of Youth, which is today the organ of the Young Communist International, were the left wing elements of the Young Socialist International, carrying on a vigorous campaign against socialist treason and against the war. These revolutionary young workers were still to a large extent under pacifist illusions, many of them advocated disarmament. Patiently, Lenin worked with them, converting them to the Bolshevik viewpoint and contributing to their little journal some of his most important and brilliant anti-militaristic works.

Together with the International of Youth group, the Italian revolutionaries, and groups and parties in other countries, Lenin worked for the rebuilding of the international socialist movement. Conference after conference, in which Lenin was attacked by

many who now follow or revere him, was held in Switzerland. Kienthal, Zimmerwald, Berne, these were all milestones in the road towards the building of the mighty Communist International. Constantly he agitated against opportunism and imperialism, "corrupting the entire working class movement with his Russian 'anarchism'" as the Swiss social democrats declared hopelessly. And while the working class parties of the world were still struggling for revolutionary expression the youth had learned from Lenin and had built their Young Communist International.

The second storm soon broke loose. The March uprising brought the Russian revolutionists, from every corner of the world, back to their native land. Now there was a period of unprecedented activity on the part of Lenin and his comrades. Again the uncompromising battle against the bourgeoisie and their instruments, the mensheviks and the social revolutionaries. Historic days, days which shook the world, days which are cherished by the workers of Russia and by the workers of the world.

The Bolsheviks assume power! The dictatorship of the proletariat is established and the Soviets become the organs of the state power! The struggle against counter-revolution and famine, the long, bitter, wearying struggle which led to victory, is begun! The work of building a working class republic, a socialist economy, is started with the titanic energy of Lenin's party behind it! The Communist International, born in the trough of war and revolution, is baptized with the spirit of Lenin.

Years of suffering, hardship, misery, hunger and death. An assassin's bullet is sent thru the body of Lenin by the wretched Kaplan. Years of intervention, blockade, isolation, villification by the bourgeoisie and the social democrats. And thru it all the hard determination of the Russian working class which Lenin loved, the determination which ends only in victory.

Lenin continues his work painstakingly. When the Russian Young Communist League is formed he consults with its executive committee and urges them to establish connections with the revolutionary youth movement of the West. And when a representative leaves to establish these connections Lenin discusses the tasks of the international youth movement with him in detail. Lenin is the master, the teacher and inspirer of the youth. His hopes mature in the coming generation.

"In the best circumstances this generation will be able to solve the tasks set by the building up of such an order of society which will make it possible for the proletariat and the working population to retain the power in their hands and to lay a firm foundation upon which only that new generation can continue to build which is able to begin its work under quite new conditions

of life without the exploitation of man by man . . . . In order to do this a young generation which grows up to conscious manhood surrounded by the desperate and disciplined struggle against the bourgeoisie is necessary. In this struggle it will become truly communist and each step of its education and training must be combined with this struggle and subordinated to it. The education of the young communists must not consist in the presentation of honeyed words and rules of morals. This is no education. Only when these youths have seen how their fathers and mothers groaned under the yoke of the oppressors, only when these youths have participated in the suffering which was the lot of all those who started the struggle against the exploiters, only when they have seen what sacrifices are necessary to continue this struggle, in order to maintain what had been gained, and when they have seen what furious enemies are the landowners and capitalists, then will these youths in these surroundings be educated to communists."

Entry into the struggle, fighting for the needs and interests of the masses, no quarter to the enemy or its aids, leading the workers to victory, this is the history of Lenin. It is here quite impossible to give a thoro appreciation of the tremendously historical significance of Lenin and his contributions to the revolutionary movement. With Marx he was the greatest thinker and revolutionist the world has known. Lenin was not an academic student or a professor. His work breathed the struggles of the oppressed. He snatched Marxism from the hands of the opportunists and brought it to the working class as a living pulsating theory of proletarian revolution. He took Marxism and applied it to the present epoch of capitalist society, the epoch of imperialism; applied and developed it in theory and in practise. This was his contribution to the working class and to the revolutionary movement of the world. He was the theorist, organizer, agitator and leader of the revolution.

The Communist youth who have learned the great lessons of Leninism are working for the aims he set. Capitalist exploitation, war and misery, that against which Lenin fought so ruthlessly, is the chosen enemy of the working class youth. There is its field of battle. The torch of struggle against militarism which has now been handed over to the youth movement is being carried to the four corners of the earth. The battle for the liberation of the oppressed colonial slaves, the peasant youth, and the working class youth is carried on in the spirit of Leninism by the Young Communist International. To them has been bequeathed the task by Lenin of winning the millions of working youth to the banner of Communism, of proletarian revolt. It is their historic mission.



Lenin dead is still a powerful force, and will so remain.

"Lenin was frequently compared with Marat," says Zinoviev, "but fate was kinder to him than to Marat, who became dear to his people after his death . . . . Yes, a Marat closely connected with the millions of the town and country proletariat. That is Lenin. Take the fanatical devotion to the people which distinguished Marat; take his simplicity, his intimate knowledge of the soul of the people, take his elemental faith in the inexhaustible strength of the 'lower depths,' take all this and add to it the first class education of a Marxist, an iron will, an acute analytical mind, and you will get Lenin such as you know him now. A revolutionary social democrat is just a Jacobin who has tied up his fate with the most advanced class of modern times, with the proletariat—such was Lenin's reply in 1904 to the Mensheviks who were accusing him of Jacobinism. The figure of the proletarian 'Jacobian,' Lenin, will yet throw into shade the glory of the most glorious of the Jacobins of the time of the great French revolution"

Workers, peasants, colonial slaves—everywhere—these are the followers of Lenin and the international which he led in building. His work is as cherished by the masses as it is hated by the bourgeoisie and villified by the social democrats. The great heritage of thought and work left to the masses by Lenin is their dearest possession. It has been bought at the cost of innumerable sacrifices, but it is being used for the noblest aim that human society has yet had set for itself. It is a heritage which is being handed to the new generation, born in the flames of war and revolution, freed from the depressing traditions of respectability and conformity, ready to carry the work of Lenin to the end—to the victory of the world revolution.

On the shoulders of the youth devolves this great task. In them the spirit of Lenin must be cherished; by them his work must be perpetuated. Lenin is dead; but the spirit of struggle must shout to the world from the work of millions of young revolutionists:

"Leninism lives!"

elitists whose sole wisdom consists in pointing a finger at the backwardness of the people now, and in teaching that this must always be so. As against the faith in elite rule from above, Debs counterposed the directly contrary notion of the revolutionary *vanguard* (also a minority) whose faith impels them to advocate a harder road for the majority:

It is the minorities who have made the history of this world [he said in the 1917 anti-war speech for which Wilson's government jailed him]. It is the few who have had the courage to take their places at the front; who have been true enough to themselves to speak the truth that was in them; who have dared oppose the established order of things; who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor; who have upheld without regard to personal consequences the cause of freedom and righteousness.

This "Debsian socialism" evoked a tremendous response from the heart of the people, but Debs had no successor as a tribune of revolutionary-democratic socialism. After the postwar period of radicalization, the Socialist Party became pinkly respectable on the one hand, and the Communist Party became Stalinized on the other. On its side, American liberalism itself had long been undergoing a process of "statification," culminating in the great New Deal illusion of the '30s. The elite vision of a dispensation-from-above under the aegis of the Savior-President attracted a whole strain of liberals to whom the country gentleman in the White House was as Bismarck to Lassalle.

The type had been heralded by Lincoln Steffens, the collectivist liberal who (like Shaw and Georges Sorel) was as attracted to Mussolini as to Moscow, and for the same reasons. Upton Sinclair, quitting the Socialist Party as too "sectarian," launched his "broad" movement to "End Poverty in California," with a manifesto appropriately called *I, Governor of California, and How I Ended Poverty* (probably the only radical manifesto with two I's in the title) on the theme of "Socialism-from-Up-in-Sacramento." One of the typical figures of the time was Stuart Chase, who wove a zigzag course from the reformism of the League for Industrial Democracy to the semi-fascism of Technocracy. There were the Stalinoid intellectuals who managed to sublimate their joint admiration for Roosevelt and Russia by hailing both the NRA and the Moscow Trials. There were signs of the times like Paul Blanshard, who defected from the Socialist Party to Roosevelt on the ground that the New Deal program of "managed capitalism" had taken the initiative in economic change away from the socialists.

The New Deal, often rightly called America's "social-democratic period," was also the liberals' and social-democrats' big fling at Socialism-from-Above, the utopia of Roosevelt's "people's monarchy." The illusion of the Rooseveltian "revolution from above" united creeping-socialism, bureaucratic liberalism, Stalinoid elitism, and illusions about both Russian collectivism and collectivized capitalism, in one package.

#### **9. Six Strains of Socialism-from-Above**

WE HAVE SEEN THAT THERE ARE SEVERAL different strains or currents running through Socialism-from-Above. They are usually intertwined, but let us separate out some of the more important aspects for a closer look.

(1) *Philanthropism*.—Socialism (or "freedom," or what-have-you) is to be

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