

likely that we shall be so inventive and resourceful as the Socialists. They have gone to the limit of what private enterprise can bear without breaking down altogether.

The German is doubtless human enough to dodge the taxes as much as he can. It is not very easy for him and he cannot dodge half so many as he is said to do.

In several papers you may read of the plan of 'making sure' of Reparations by saddling the industrialists with a heavy impost. We will suppose they paid up. The money would have been

withdrawn from their enterprises, which would be thrown out of gear. Unemployment would increase, the mark would sink, inflation would increase, revolution would come appreciably nearer; in fact, we should be exactly where we are now. Such an impost could not last very long. A really good tax is like a familiar piece of furniture, which we have known all our lives and have got so used to that we scarcely notice it. But then such a tax must be moderate and just. Nothing defeats its own ends so certainly and swiftly as excessive taxation.

## WHY REVOLUTION HAS FAILED

BY MARK LEWIN

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THERE is no doubt that the revolutionary wave that has inundated Europe since the Great War is still sweeping down at a fast pace. And there is no use in blinking the fact that the downward movement will last longer than revolutionary movements of the past, for the onrushing bore was higher and the abyss is deeper.

The blame for the failure of the revolution in Europe rests chiefly on moral grounds. In the first place, it lies at the door of the leaders of revolutionary principles and ideas who broke down morally, rendering any coöperation by them impossible in the future. Those who were not equal to the task and the great opportunity will never behold the promised land. Others must come who shall lead wandering

humanity out of the desert into their new country.

Never in history as after the four years of holocaust has the opportunity been so great to gather about the banner of social democracy countless thousands of genuine, sincere partisans from all classes. Never was the devastating cancer of the so-called social order so apparent as during the war and since the beginning of the alleged peace. Never before could anybody who was not intentionally blind perceive so clearly the truth of Krapotkin's description of the régime of so-called 'law and order' in Europe: —

'Order you call the never-ending war of man against man, trade against trade, class against class, nation against nation. Order means the thunder of cannon that is never silent in Europe,

the devastation of whole countries, the sacrifice of entire generations on the battlefield. Order is slavery; order is the gagging of free speech, the degradation of humanity by arms and the lash.'

How illuminating all this is now after the awful four years of the thunder of cannon, the sacrifice of a generation of young men, the devastation of whole provinces and districts in East Prussia, Poland, Belgium, and France, the gagging of public opinion by means of the war censorship, and the degradation of humanity through the whiplash of the peace treaties.

But just at this period it was absolutely indispensable that the leaders of democracy should possess moral conviction commensurate with their task. In order to oppose successfully and to supplant with better ideas this discredited social 'law and order' system and its terrible results, the leaders of the revolution, the worth of whose ideas is judged by the credulous masses only according to their deeds, should have been most careful to prove to the world, in a manner that admitted of no doubt, that the antisocial tendencies of the old régime were impossible under the new Socialist-Revolutionary order of things.

This proof unfortunately was not forthcoming — rather the exact contrary. But the failure to give this proof was not the fault of the Socialist factions in the different countries, when at the outbreak of the war they tendered their services to the defense of their several fatherlands. This would not have been a great detriment, for each realized that the cause of liberty would be no more advanced by allowing his own country to be overrun and his countrymen slaughtered than by doing the like to others. No, the great mistake was made at the time when the revolution, soon after its inaugura-

tion, was mismanaged, and the objects of the revolutionary party allowed to appear in a totally false light.

Before the revolutionary wave had reached Western Europe, the revolution in Russia had already been put down, and the acts of the victors clearly showed the kind of people they were. They seemed anxious to prove that they could be outdone by the old régime in no manner of iniquity or atrocity. And because these stranglers of the original revolution called themselves Socialists, and afterward Communists, the credulous world was quite willing to accept this misrule of wickedness for the realization, or at least the result, of Socialism. And the world naturally shrank back in horror from conditions which had been described by Krapotkin and others, but bore a quite different and terrible aspect when practised by Lenin and Trotskii.

Here, then, the mockery of the revolution was proclaimed, and the obvious next step was to find the right method to counteract it and thus save Socialism. The leading Socialists of Western Europe should, at the very beginning of the Bolshevik counter-revolution, have had the moral courage to discard all manner of secret methods and considerations, to reaffirm the real motto of Socialism, and to say to the whole world: —

'Our hands and our theories are guiltless of the blood that is being shed under the protection of stolen Socialist banners. You must not seek real Socialism or Communism in a country where a bestial war of man upon man is carried on. On the contrary, you find there, in spite of altered and unfair declarations, nothing but the same old "law and order" rule that has stunk to heaven these many decades and particularly during the present one. You find there the perfectly intentional employment of exactly those

elements which we are endeavoring to get rid of through our system.'

If this had been done, and only then, the moral appeal of the revolution would have been preserved, and its practical development would have been the salvation of the world. But the leaders of that period did not rise to this moral height. On the contrary, demagogic secret diplomacy took the place of moral conviction. The success of a certain clique, calling itself Socialist in a country of the gigantic size of Russia, seemed to be good propaganda pabulum, and who was willing to lose such a chance for the dissemination of propaganda? But from that moment the moral soul of the revolution was lost sight of, and the recognition of the old social order reestablished.

Should anyone still assert that it has been only a perversion of common sense on the part of capitalism that made possible the continuation of the old man-against-man, nation-against-nation, idea, it is only necessary to point to Russia, where that kind of war, even in the same class and the same trade, is carried on much more savagely since Socialists of the extreme Left have been at the helm. And as to the devastation of countries, the slaughter of a generation, the gagging of free speech, and the degradation of mankind by arms and the lash — great heavens, how much more thoroughly all this has been carried out in the sign of the blood-red shield and the motto 'Revolutionary law'! The famine along the Volga, the result of the most criminal carelessness, has been responsible for more lives than the whole World War, and yet the Bolshevik Moloch cries for more, and further millions will be sacrificed to him. Fire-damp and the collapsing of mine shafts have killed no more Russian workmen, it is true, but that is only because the Russian mines are not worked, and many of

the miners have been starved to death, the rest being divided among the armies of Bolshevism and that of the profiteers and revolutionaries.

Besides the criminal and foolish loss to the Socialist cause of those mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the defection of a considerable portion of the original believers was inevitable. For particularly the best elements in the old, classic proletariat, for whom Socialism was neither a kind of sport nor a means of livelihood, but a life principle, were bound to ask themselves whether it had not been a hideous mistake to have fought all their lives for an ideal, the realization of which proved to be so monstrous. And here again the wrong means of combating this situation were chosen — namely, the deception of public opinion through the dissemination of false information, this ancient weapon borrowed from the arsenal of the old régime of 'law and order.' The Socialists took over the rôle of the former censor, and proceeded to conceal the atrocities and glorify the successes of the Bolsheviki, most of which did not exist. It is impossible to speak with any patience of those who declare that the Bolsheviki are the only peace-loving party in Russia, and still have nothing but praise for the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the miserable model for the treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon, and so forth.

As matters stand to-day, the results of all this mismanagement on the part of the Socialist leaders are as follows: —

(1) The Russian Socialists have been unable to defend their revolutionary principles or their country against the attacks of the Bolsheviki; and the blame for this must fall upon Socialists everywhere, who have practically sustained the Bolsheviki, though doubtless unintentionally.

(2) Millions of human lives have

been sacrificed in Russia, and many more will be sacrificed; and again the blame must fall upon Socialists everywhere, who have sought only to use all this suffering and death for purposes of propaganda.

(3) Russian production has practically ceased, to the disadvantage not only of Russia, but of the outside world; and once more the whole body of Socialists is to blame, because it failed to have the courage of its convictions.

(4) The thunder of cannon still reverberates, not only in Russia, but throughout the world, and it does not seem likely soon to be silenced; and again we recognize the culpability of the Socialists of every land, because they did not support the Russian Revolution and its demands for a general peace without victors or victims, annexation or Reparations, while they did play into the hands of the Bolsheviks with their miserable Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

(5) The principles of Socialism and the revolution have fallen into disrepute throughout the whole world.

So much for the question of the chief culpability.

Another dagger-thrust was given the cause of the revolution by the gradual growth of disloyalty, not only to ideals, but to theories, inevitably brought about by the recognition of the ideas and acts of Lenin and Trotskii. The world shall be ruled, not as before, by historic materialism, but by *decrees*, and the belief seems to be common that the transition from the capitalistic to the communistic order of things is as easy as to make a thoroughgoing Communist out of a Tsarist police-spy.

But this acceptance of Bolshevik ideas has led the so-called leaders of Socialism much farther afield than they thought, and they are now waking up in alarm to the realization that the rank and file is beginning to lose con-

fidence. The worst of it is that the leaders knew quite well the real nature of the Bolshevik 'successes,' and had not the slightest desire, and fortunately not the power, to repeat them at the expense of their own countrymen. And we now perceive that, while in these four years of 'peace' a half-dozen republics have sprung from the throes of the revolution, in not a single one of them have been realized and put into action any of the principles of Socialism and real Communism. On the contrary, the determination to put through reforms has been washed away by the counter-wave of the defeat of the revolution.

There remains a third sin to add to the list of the would-be world-doctors' crimes — that of neglecting the field of production. The revolution in Europe, as is well-known, broke out at a time of intense and general economic distress and need, and it was very evident that an intensified production was essential to meet this condition everywhere. This being the case, who but the trusted leaders of the working classes should have been the ones to broadcast the call to constant and strenuous labor in the name of the common weal? And who were those who should have first harkened to such a call but the class-conscious proletarians, accustomed as they were to sacrifice and self-denial in the fight for the betterment of their fellow men?

But here the new poison began to work. The world was to be dragged along the road to better things by means of the 'dictatorship,' and the rôle of the proletariat was only humbly to acknowledge the freshly baked Communists as its masters. What need of an appeal to the idealistic in it, or to labor, which it alone controlled? The less so because the old honest Socialists had been to a great extent replaced by doubtful elements which would have

packed up and left for parts unknown at the first mention of the word 'work,' or of such a sentiment as the common good of all!

And thus, instead of greater and cheaper production, and instead of an improvement in the condition of every household, there resulted at once a decreased and dearer rate of production, and an increase in hardship for the individual. As was inevitable, the economic situation went from bad to worse, for the honest workmen lost confidence in such leaders.

The outlook, from the standpoint of honest, level-headed Socialism, would be hopeless, were it not for the fact

that these people who have sidetracked the revolution are not likely to awaken from their vertigo of temporary success, but are more apt to stagger along in their mad career until they make themselves impossible. Their success hitherto has been due solely to the fact that the real theories of Socialism have never been put in practice. At present the good old pre-war system of 'law and order,' with all its attendant iniquities, is coming once again so boldly and so shamelessly to the front that sooner or later humanity will be able to distinguish clearly order from disorder. Only then will the real leaders appear.

## AUSTRIA'S EFFORT

BY E. C.

From the *Journal de Genève*, February 28  
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MONSIGNOR SEIPEL, Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, is a tireless traveler. Hardly returned from Budapest, he starts for Paris, where he still was at the beginning of this month. To-day the Viennese press announces his return from Belgrade where, aided by Herr Gruenberger, Minister of Foreign Affairs, he held important conferences with the Government of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Austria will profit in the highest degree by these journeys. Mgr. Seipel does not represent alone the authority of his own official position; he is accompanied by two excellent companions — patriotism and talent. At times it almost seems as if he carried in his valise the 'magic

flute' of Mozart, Salzburg's great son, upon which to perform with conviction and address, whenever need may be.

At Belgrade the questions discussed by the representatives of the two countries required for a harmonious solution something more and something better than a mere legal discussion. Diplomacy does not consist alone in the science of interpreting texts; it demands as well the adaptation of ideas to circumstances. The decisions arrived at in Geneva concerning Austria — adopted, to her great honor, by the League of Nations — would have been futile if the nations interested had not been actuated in their work by lofty and generous motives.