

One Year of REVOLUTION

Celebrating the First Anniversary of the founding of the — RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC



The Spirit of Revolutionary Russia

THE German fleet, after the capture of Riga in September, 1917, threatened to attack Petrograd. The Second Congress of the Baltic Fleet, the sailors of which are an intensely revolutionary force and united with the Bolsheviks, was in session at the time, and decided to defend Petrograd "as the centre of the revolutionary forces." An appeal was adopted, which will become a classic of revolutionary literature:

TO THE OPPRESSED IN ALL COUNTRIES!

Comrades:

In the fatal hour in which the signals of war and of death ring in our ears, we repeat and emphasize our appeal to you. We send you our greetings and our last testament.

Attacked by the powerful German fleet, our warships are doomed in an unequal struggle.

Not one ship will refuse to fight, not one sailor will desert his ship.

Our much-abused fleet will do its duty—toward the great Revolution. We consider it our duty to defend Petrograd. We will fulfill our self-imposed obligation.

Not because of the request of a pitiful Russian Bonaparte (Kerensky) who retains power simply because of the unlimited patience of the Russian Revolution.

Nor because of the treaties made by our government with the Allies, treaties intended to smother the Russian Revolution.

We follow the call of our revolutionary sentiments.

We go into death with the name of the great Revolution in our hearts and on our unfaltering lips.

The Russian fleet has always stood in the front lines of the Revolution. The names of its sailors are written in the book of the history of the struggle against the Czarism.

In the earliest days of the Revolution the sailors marched in the front ranks, our ultimate aim being deliverance from all misery.

And this life and death struggle with our own oppressors gives us the right to appeal to you, proletarians of all countries, with a strong voice, with the voice of those who look into the eyes of death in the revolt against the exploiters.

Break the chains, you who are oppressed! Rise in revolt!

We have nothing to lose but our chains!

We believe in the victory of the Revolution, we are full of this belief.

We know that our comrades in the Revolution will fulfill their duty on the barricades to the bitter end.

We know that decisive moments are coming.

A gigantic struggle will set the world afire. On the horizon the fires of the revolt of all oppressed peoples are already glowing and taking definite shape.

At the moment that the waters of the Baltic will become red with the blood of our comrades, will close forever over their bodies, at this moment we call upon you.

Already in the clutch of death, we send our warm greetings and appeal to you.

Proletarians of the world, all, unite!

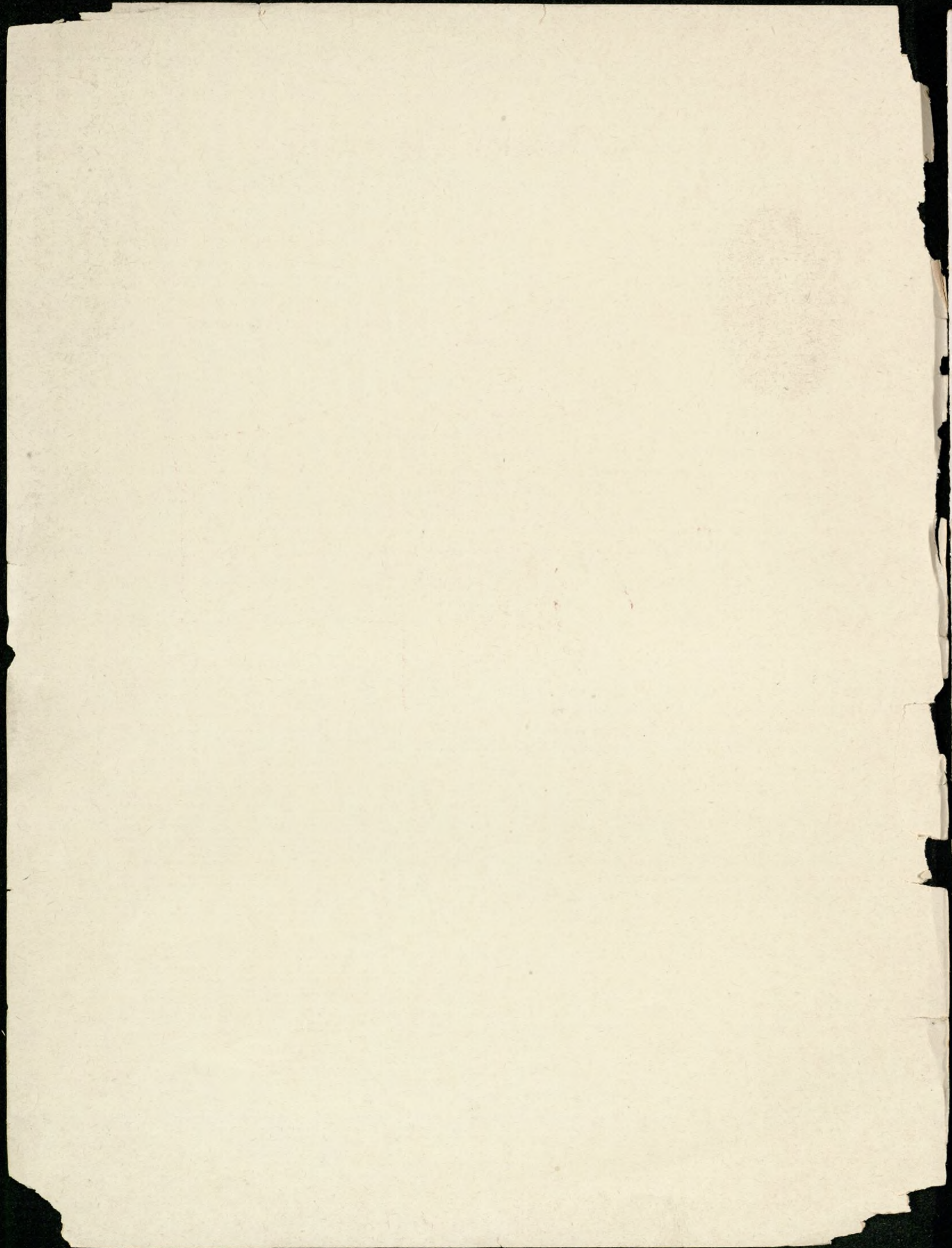
Rise in revolt, you who are oppressed.

All hail, the International Revolution!

Long live Socialism!

November 7/1918

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(Publisher of "The Class Struggle")



To Our Russian Comrades!



The anniversary of the Russian Soviets is an event that should be celebrated with joy and enthusiasm by the revolutionary proletariat of every nation on earth. It is an event which should evoke the heartiest congratulations of the working-class of the whole world.

When the Revolution in Russia occurred a year ago and the actual toiling and producing masses came into power under the leadership and inspiration of Lenine and Trotzky, all the ruling class powers on earth, the United States not excepted, instinctively arrayed themselves against the new-born working-class Republic and predicted freely that the new regime would not last one week. From that time to this these powers of imperialism and capitalism and their corrupt politicians, their slimy priests and their whole vast brood of mercenaries and sycophants, including their filthy and venomous press, have gone to every extreme of falsehood, calumny and personal vituperation to discredit the leadership of the Russian revolutionaries and ruin and destroy the Bolshevik administration, the first real attempt at actual democratic administration in the history of the world.

But in spite of all these stupendous reactionary and destructive forces the Soviet has survived and the Russian proletariat, thanks to its heroic and uncompromising leadership and its own inflexible determination, is still in power, defiantly challenging its ruling class adversaries and issuing its greeting and message of fraternity and good will to the proletariat of the world.

Comrades of the Russian Soviet and the Bolshevik Republic, we salute and honor you on this first anniversary of your great revolutionary triumph, the greatest in point of historic significance and far-reaching influence in the annals of the race. You have set the star of hope for all the world in the eastern skies. You have suf-

fered untold persecution, exile and misery and you have shed your blood freely all these years in the great struggle for emancipation, not only of your own oppressed people, but the oppressed of all the earth. On this historic anniversary we extend our proletarian hand to you from all directions and across the spaces and assure you of our loyalty and our love.

The chief glory of your revolutionary triumph is that you have preserved inviolate the fundamental principles of international socialism and refused to compromise. It will be to your everlasting honor that you would rather have seen the Revolution perish and the Soviet with it than to prostitute either one by betraying the workers to alleged progressive reforms which would mean to them an extension of their servitude under a fresh aggregation of exploiters and parasites.

You, Russian Comrades of the Soviet and of the Bolsheviks you represent, are resolved that for once in history the working-class, which fights the battles, sheds its blood and makes all other sacrifices to achieve a revolution, shall itself receive and enjoy the full fruitage of such a revolution; that it shall not allow itself to be used, as dumb driven cattle, to install some intermediate class into power and perpetuate its own slavery and degradation.

On this anniversary day we pledge you, brave and unflinching comrades of the Soviet Republic, not only to protest against our government meddling with your affairs and interfering with your plans, but to summon to your aid all the progressive forces of our proletariat and render you freely all assistance in our power.

We pledge you, moreover, as we grasp your hands in comradely congratulations on this eventful day, to strive with all our energy to emulate your inspiring example by abolishing our imperialistic capitalism, driving our plutocratic exploiters and oppressors from power and establishing the working-class Republic, the Commonwealth of Comrades.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

To the Representative of the American Social-Democracy Albert Rhys Williams in Reply to His Greeting at the Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet

The Russian Democracy in the person of the representatives of the whole Baltic Fleet sends warm greetings to the entire proletariat and all the workers of the country beyond the ocean and hearty thanks for the greetings sent by our brothers in America.

Comrade Williams is the first swallow come flying across to us to the cold waves of the Baltic Sea, which now for a period of over three years are being dyed by the blood of the sons of one family, the International.

The Russian democracy, the Russian proletariat, will strive up to its last breath, to unite everybody under the red banner of the International. When starting the Revolution, the Russian democracy did not have in view a political revolution alone. The task of all true fighters for Freedom consisted in the creation of a social revolution and the advanced vanguard of the revolutionaries in the person of the members of the Russian Fleet and the workmen will fight to the end for the realization of these great ideas and will hope to find sympathy, an answer to their call and help in other countries.

The flame of the Russian Revolution, we

are sure, will spread over the whole world and light a fire in the hearts of the workers of all countries, and we shall obtain support in our struggle for a speedy general peace.

The free Baltic Fleet is awaiting with impatience the moment, when it will be able to go to America and relate there all that the Russian democracy has gone through before the revolution under the yoke of Czarism and Capital and what it is feeling now when the banner of the struggle for the Freedom of Peoples is flowing.

LONG LIFE TO THE AMERICAN
SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAT OF
ALL COUNTRIES!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE GENERAL PEACE!

The Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet,
4th convening (Seal)

Chairman, P. Soutyrin;
Vice-Chairman, M. Nosoff;
Secretary, Fedor Averichkin.

Lenin—An Appreciation

Marx was the master of the Revolution in theory. Lenin is the master of the Revolution in action. But as Marx, the man of theory, had great capacity for action, so Lenin, the man of action, has great capacity for theory.

In fact, the dominant *form* of the activity of Marx and Lenin is determined, not by peculiar talent or characteristics, but by the historic *milieu* conditioning their activity. This is precisely the mark of the great rebel—that he concentrates upon the fundamental revolutionary task of his day.

If I were asked what particular phase of Lenin appears to me as decisive, I would answer: His dynamic capacity to unite theory and practice. This is not as simple a thing as it may appear. Usually, the Socialist is an opportunist, who casts aside every real opportunity for immediate revolutionary action, becoming an adept in bourgeois liberal activity and social-reformism, accepting theory in the facile fashion of an average Christian accepting his religion—repudiating the revolutionary tasks of Socialism; or a “revolutionist” becomes an adept in using formulae, whose action is hampered by the silken cord of abstract theory, absorbed so much in *the* Revolution that the requirements of the immediate revolutionary struggle are allowed to pass into the years of wasted opportunity—paltering with the revolutionary tasks of Socialism. Each of these two types of Socialists evade all actual problems of the Revolution. Action must be directed by theory, and theory must become action. An uncompromising revolutionist, Lenin has an overwhelming sense of reality. The Revolution to him is not a dress parade of amicable transformation, of the pacific “penetration” of Capitalism by Socialism; nor is it the conquest of Capitalism by the formulation of “revolutionary” theory and formulae, much as a bourgeois “idealist” sees in general principles of human action the means for the emancipation of the world. No; Lenin conceives the Revolution as a series of implacable, brutal class struggles; as a process in which theory and action are inseparably united; as a dynamic movement in which every opportunity, every crisis, every strength, weakness and peculiarity of the social alignment becomes the subject of study and appropriate action.

Let it not appear from this that Lenin is an opportunist wavering with each new shift of the social wind; Lenin has the utmost scorn, and justly, for the miserable opportunist who shifts and wavers, hesitates and compromises, and uses “reality” as a justification. Adapting one’s self to temporarily dominant facts, compromising with issues and forces fundamentally contrary to Socialism on the specious plea of “necessary action,” is not to adapt one’s self to reality, but to accept forms instead of substance, the appearance of reality for reality itself. Reality is infinitely deceptive. At the moment when the war and Czarism constituted the “reality” in Russia, a new reality appeared and burst forth, the action of the revolutionary proletariat, the reality of revolutionary Socialism. Life is consistent in spite of apparent inconsistency. There must be consistency in theory and in action, based upon adapting each to the *fundamental facts* of the forces and tendency of Capitalism and the revolutionary proletariat. Consistency that is flexible, and flexibility that is consistent, are instruments of the Revolution. When the moment for “necessary action” comes—*revolutionary action*—the opportunist will waver and *oppose* this necessary revolutionary action, as did the majority Socialists in Europe, the “men of action”; while the man who was accused of not being “in action,” who rejected participation in certain action as contrary to Socialism and the class struggle, becomes the director and inspiration of the greatest of all revolutions.

It might make one cynical, if life itself didn’t suppress cynicism in the revolutionary Socialist, to consider certain reactions toward Lenin. There are many who consider Lenin a sort of bolt from the blue, a miraculous product of the Russian Revolution; there are others who bitterly attacked Lenin, now singing his praises, while they try to compress Lenin’s policy into the small space of their petty purposes and corrupt ideology; and there are still others who invoke Lenin and the proletarian revolution in Russia while pursuing the petty bourgeois, opportunistic policy of moderate Socialism which they have always pursued, and which Lenin condemned, condemns and will continue to condemn. . . . And Lenin serenely, uncompromisingly, adheres to the revolutionary theory and action comprising his fundamental policy *for twenty years*, disaster

and success alike emphasizing his revolutionary energy and initiative. . . .

During the course of years Lenin labored in comparative obscurity, forging the concepts that have become the thunderbolts of the Russian Revolution. Lenin represented the minority, that minority of revolutionary Socialism which in all nations actively represents the Revolution and is the hope of the proletariat. The world of Socialism—that is to say, the world comprised in the petty bourgeois Socialism of the Second International—rendered homage to clay idols, to Karl Kautsky, to George Plekhanov, to Jules Guesde, all of whom collapsed miserably under the test of the revolutionary crisis produced by the war. The world of petty bourgeois Socialism invoked the German Social-Democracy, the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party, the dominant Socialism in Russia, while it ignored, condemned or knew nothing of the Bolsheviks and other groups of the revolutionary minority, the policy of which conquers in Russia, and will conquer everywhere by means of the New International of the final struggle and victory. But Lenin was not swerved from his course by apparent failure, no more than he has been swerved from his course by success. In these years of preparation for the Revolution, in these bitter years of momentary triumph of a Socialism essentially counter-revolutionary, Lenin developed the fundamentals of his policy, which his revolutionary integrity and mastery of theory convinced him were in accord with the fundamental facts and tendency of Capitalism and the proletariat, and which would necessarily conquer under the impulse of the universal crisis generated by Imperialism, which introduces the new revolutionary epoch of the proletarian class struggle.

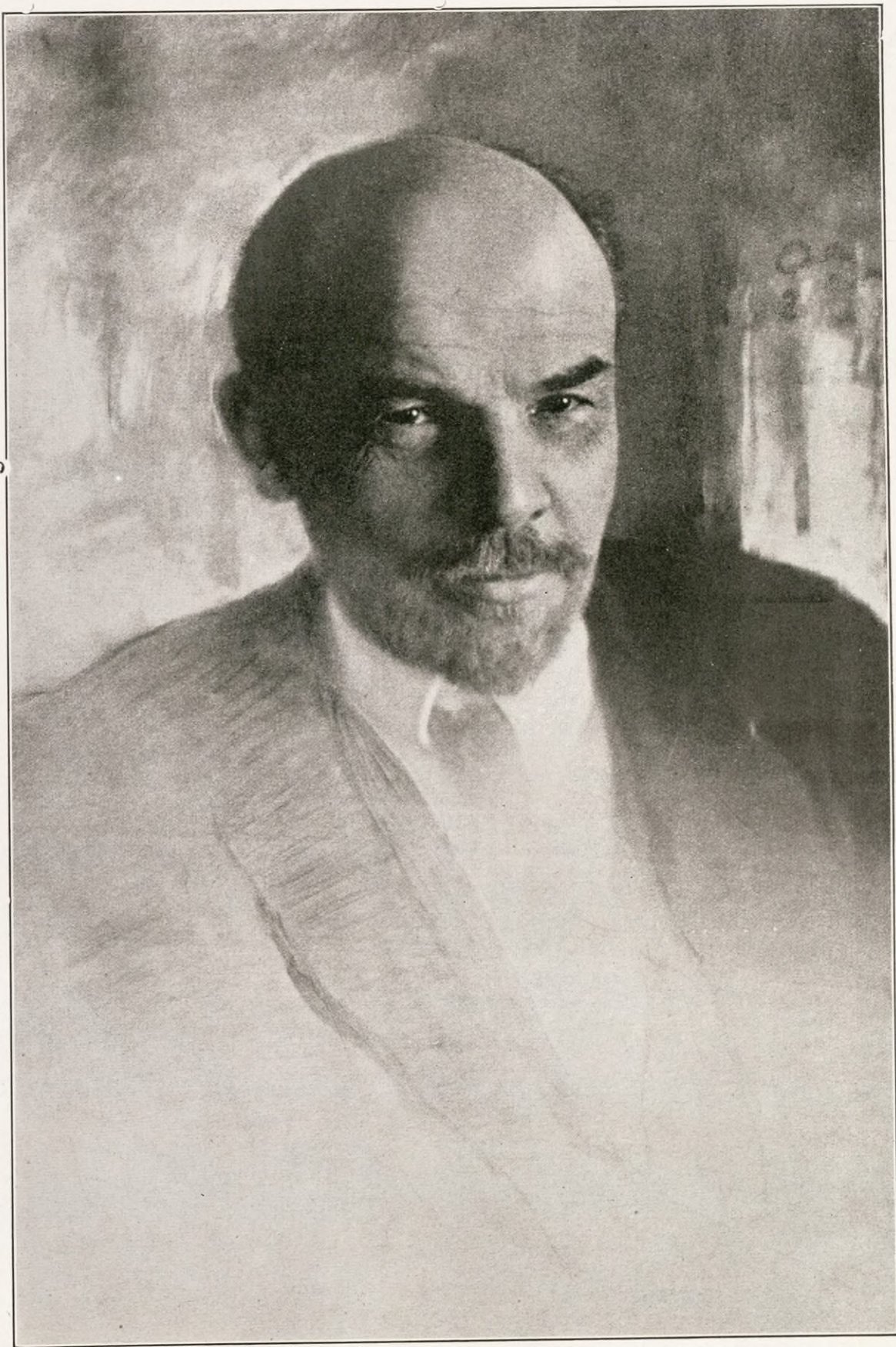
The courage and initiative of the man, his integrity and devotion to the fundamental tasks of Socialism, his refusal to temporize with revolutionary consistency, policy and honor for the sake of meretricious popularity, are marvels of character and vision, an inspiration to the Socialist and the rebel.

It is impossible to chronicle here the achievements of Lenin. But there is one achievement, I think, which is characteristic. I was discussing Lenin with a comrade the other day, and he said: "It rather tires me to read so much in which Lenin repeatedly insists, as against Karl Kautsky,

that Marx said this or meant that. A man who has accomplished what Lenin has in Russia doesn't have to worry about Marx." But Marxism is the theoretical instrument of the proletarian revolution; it is upon the basis of Marxism that Lenin builds. And a great achievement of Lenin is the restoration of Marxism to its real character as an instrument of revolutionary action. During the past twenty-five years, Marxism has experienced a transformation, becoming the means of interpreting history and a fetish of controversy, instead of a maker of history and an instrument of revolutionary action. This degrading conception of Marxism was dominant in the old International. The "Marxist," instead of using Marxism to interpret new revolutionary developments, used their atrophied Marxism as a means of crushing new revolutionary ideas or compressing them into the stultifying limits of the old tactics, and justifying or explaining away every abandonment of revolutionary Socialism by the dominant petty bourgeois Socialism. Lenin used Marx against these pseudo-Marxists, insisted on making Marxism an instrument of revolutionary action, built upon the basis of Marxism and amplified its scope. Marx is again the rebel, and not the slave of the Socialist pedant. Lenin used Marxism to interpret the new social alignments of imperialism, the new forms of the class struggle, and to forge the concepts of theory and action corresponding to the new revolutionary epoch.

Lenin's theoretical activity bulks large. His *Development of Capitalism in Russia* is considered a master work, as is his *Agrarian Problem in Russia*; his *Imperialism: the Final Stage of Capitalism*, is a splendid analysis of the prevailing epoch, a brilliant unity of theory and action in Socialist interpretation. Then there is Lenin's pamphlet, *The State and the Revolution*, a discussion of the determining problem of the proletarian revolution; and his numerous pamphlets and other works issued during the Revolution, and which are classics of the application of fundamental Socialism to the problems of immediate, dynamic action during a revolutionary crisis. This theoretical work of Lenin will yet become a source of inspiration in the coming reconstruction of Socialism, supplemented by the accomplishments of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

It is not in any sense a concession to the Carlylean theory of "the Great Man" to admit



NICHOLAS LENIN

that each great epoch of history expressses itself, *focuses itself*, in a great individual: Marat individualized the proletarian tendency of the French Revolution, Marx individualized the theoretical coming-of-age of the revolutionary proletariat; and Lenin individualizes the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Greetings, men and women of the proletarian revolution in Russia! Greetings, Lenin, symbol of the oncoming revolutionary Socialism that will conquer in spite of all!

LOUIS C. FRAINA.

LEON TROTZKY

In war time events crowd each other, and a year of war counts more than a decade in normal times. This old truth holds good even in our rapidly moving modern age. Scarcely 22 months ago Leon Trotsky was still among us, striving with a few others to make the pulse of the American movement beat more rapidly, in tune with the revolutionary forces of the European socialist movements. At that time socialist America was intensely ignorant of conditions and tendencies of European Socialism. The words Zimmerwald and Kienthal were only the vaguest of conceptions even to the more intelligent of American Socialists. Always astonishingly out of touch with international questions, the movement here had completely failed to establish even the most superficial mental and spiritual affiliations with the International organization of the Socialist Left.

It was thus Leon Trotsky, one of the authors of the Zimmerwald Manifesto, found the American Socialist Party when he arrived in New York in the first days of January, 1917. And with him seemed to come the first actual contact with our comrades in Europe. It happened that a few days before his arrival a group of American Socialists had decided to hold a conference at which a program of action for Socialists of the Left, for the purpose of organizing the radical forces in the American Socialist movement, was to be discussed. America stood on the brink of war, and we felt that our movement was utterly unprepared to take up the momentous questions that lay before it. Something had to be done to arouse the Party to a more energetic spirit of protest. A meeting in a private home was arranged, and our Russian guest, who had arrived in America just the day before, was invited.

As we look back upon that seemingly informal occasion in the light of what occurred during the year that has just passed, it was a distinguished company that came together in the sleepest part of sleepy Brooklyn that night. Besides the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the commander-in-chief of the Russian Army and Navy, there was the always interesting, always spontaneous Alexandra Kollon-

tai, Mrs. Minister of Public Welfare (now Public Security). There was the "typical Leninite," as Trotsky so often called him, N. Bucharin, the most noted and generally recognized theoretician of the aggressive school of New Russia, who, since Brest Litovsk, has been consistently opposed to Lenine; there was the youthful, uncommonly sympathetic G. T. Tjudnovsky, who made the impression that he could not kill the proverbial fly and yet proved to be one of the truest heroes in the battles of the Bolsheviki, sacrificing first limb and then life itself in active defense of the great cause; there was V. Volodarsky, who always played the role of the silent onlooker and yet, from the very first day of the establishment of the Soviet regime, was one of the most reliable and efficient pillars of the Russian proletariat.

At first it seemed that this conference which was rapidly followed by a number of others would achieve no tangible results. The Russians were in their element and long drawn out but intensely interesting theoretical discussions were always in order. We others felt that for the time being it was hopeless to think of organizing the Left within the Party for anything like effective action. Here Trotsky, who had unconsciously become the spiritual center of this movement, proved himself to be a practical man as well. He proposed that first of all an organ be created that would fearlessly and truthfully express the attitude of the revolutionary minority. Another group, with Bucharin, were at first in favor of founding a separate organization, with a periodical expressing its aims and purposes, but were outvoted by the others. A sub-committee was elected with instructions to present definite suggestions to the next meeting of the conference, and a week later, this committee, of which Trotsky was a member, proposed the publication of a bi-monthly periodical. The "Class Struggle" is the fruit of this conference.

Since then not quite two years have passed. And we have done day-laborers' work, while our former co-workers were fighting out world-historical battles for the international proletariat. Yet these few

months in which those staunch, faithful and true men and women of the Russian Revolution fought side by side with us in our own movement shed a bright glow upon this first anniversary of the Soviet Republic, for we feel that we are flesh of their flesh and spirit of their spirit.

* * *

When Trotzky landed here his name was known only to his own countrymen and to a handful of German Socialists. In the ten weeks of his stay he had become one of our most popular speakers and writers. Notwithstanding the difficulties that lie in the way of a man understanding and speaking only a few words of the English language, in not quite three months Trotzky played such an important part in the party movement of the City of New York that the future promised much for him and for the ideas and forces that he represented. Had Trotzky remained a year in the United States, our movement would have found in him a great and splendid leader.

For Trotzky is born to lead men. His unusual talent as a speaker won the hearts and minds of his hearers everywhere. Without pose, strikingly free from the arts and artifices that most speakers use to enhance the effectiveness of their speeches, he was yet able to stir an audience of thousands with the same personal magnetism that made itself so unmistakably felt in the smallest gathering. And to his great credit be it said that Trotzky was always as ready to speak to twenty persons as he was to address a mass meeting of as many thousands—unlike so many of our miniature "leaders" who consider it beneath their dignity to speak to small audiences.

Leon Trotzky belongs to that rare class of Socialist speakers who are at once theoreticians and propagandists. In his speeches, in other words, there was nothing of gray, dry and abstract theory. He used the events of the day to prove the reality of Socialist theory, he made them the basis of scientific research and explanation. Thus every one of his speeches became a discussion of scientific Socialism, a profession of faith in the theories of Marx, and at the same time, a plea for development away from the old, outworn tactics of pure and simple parlia-

mentarism to a live stirring up of the masses, to revolutionary mass action.

Trotzky's political method is the historic method. Like a red line this historic materialistic conception of world development permeates his speeches and his writings. He applies it mercilessly and unsparingly to every new situation that arises, analyzing it in the light of its historic and its material background, dividing what seems to others an inseparable whole into its component parts. And then in one bold stroke, with the keenness and certainty of an inspired prophet he reveals coming events while they still are hidden behind the dark curtain of the future from the eyes of ordinary mortals.

Like all Russians, he is an inspired pamphleteer. In less than no time, almost as if by magic, he produces one brochure after the other as event follows event. What would take another months to produce he accomplishes in a few days. And then thousand times more effectively.

Every single phase of the Revolution is treated with a clearness of vision that amounts to genius; in them the great social revolution of the Russian proletariat has been chronicled. One of Trotzky's books, "From the October Revolution to Brest Litovsk," that will make its appearance shortly in the English language, is an excellent example of this method. The freshness of style, the sureness of its presentation remind one forcibly of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire." In this brochure of about one hundred pages the author gives us an undying picture of the third phase of the Russian Revolution. Trotzky, the far-seeing statesman, the brilliant journalist, the enthusiastic agitator, is not a pioneer in thought and creation as Marx was.

But far more than the founder of the modern socialist movement, he stands in the roaring current of events and is therefore destined to play an important role in their historical development. His analysis thus becomes, in a certain sense, more forceful than that of the socialist master. It is more spontaneous, more empirical, it is reality, life itself.

It is a noteworthy fact that in every country Russians have taken a leading part in the national movements. This is not only because



LEON TROTZKY

the persecutions of the old regime have sent to other countries the best that Russia had to give of revolutionary material. It is equally due to the enormous adaptability that everywhere characterizes the Russian Socialist, his ability to become an active, integral part of the movement into which he has come, and last but not least his intense and real conception of the spirit of Internationalism which makes him more ready than the German or the Englishman, than the Scandinavian or the Frenchman to adapt himself to new conditions, to use these new conditions for his purposes. This happy faculty was developed in Trotzky to an unusual degree. Driven from country to country by the bloodhounds of capital and the almighty Czar, forced to use not a little of his time to establish a home for himself and his family and for the regulation of numerous personal obligations, he nevertheless gained, in the few weeks of his stay, an insight into American conditions that amazed everyone with whom he came in contact. While the "lights" of the New York Russian Socialist colony still pooh-poohed the idea of American intervention, he proved that America's participation in the war was inevitable. And when later the revolutionary flood in Russia had carried Czarism before it, he assured me that the day might not be far distant when the American government would become the friend in need of the Russian bourgeoisie. "The European proletariat," he declared at a meeting shortly before he left, "is vitally interested in the growth of a strong, revolutionary American movement. For your democracy is the only hope, the last refuge of the European bourgeoisie, who will appeal to your capitalists for help." How near his prophecy has come to fulfillment!

* * *

Leon Trotzky is still a young man, at the beginning of the forties. And yet he has stood in the thickest of the fight for more than twenty years. He was, for a short time, the President of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council of the Revolution of 1905. His life has been a life of greatest self-abnegation for the cause of the working-class. Like his comrade, Lenine, he knows the steppes of Siberia,

has made the intimate acquaintance of the vilest prisons, of the tortures and the martyrdom of the blood-thirsty system of Feudal-Capitalism. From his "fatherland" he fled into exile, he was banished from the Kaiser's Germany and afterward sentenced to six months in prison for writing his classic book, "The International and the World War," (Bolsheviki and the World Peace). From republican France he was driven by a socialist Minister, and neither democratic Switzerland nor the constitutional monarchy of Spain tolerated the dangerous revolutionist within their borders. But nothing could discourage his strong, hopeful assurance. On the contrary, he seemed to grow, to become greater and more powerful with each new oppressive measure. He steeled his socialist convictions in the white fire of persecution, in it he hardened his belief in the uncompromising class antagonism of modern society. Wherever he went he found numerous friends and devoted supporters. Whenever he was driven away, he left behind him the brightly burning fire of revolutionary enthusiasm.

Today, on the first anniversary of Soviet rule in Russia, Trotzky and his comrades may hold up their heads proudly before the working-class of the world. The seed that the Russians sowed has taken root; all over Europe, in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and in Bulgaria, the first shoots of revolutionary uprising have already raised their heads above the ground. Trotzky's prophecy that the Russian Revolution will and must win because the working class of the nations of Europe will be forced to take up the struggle against their governments has received splendid vindication.

The fulfillment of our proudest dreams is at hand. The night through which the proletariat has lived in mental darkness and physical suffering is retreating, the light of the sun is already shining down upon us. On the ruins of a world destroyed and devastated by capitalism the proletariat will build a new existence.

To the master-builder, Leon Trotzky, to our friend and comrade in times of stress and in victory, greetings and thanks.

LUDWIG LORE

Отъ Военно - Революціоннаго Комитета при Петроградскомъ Совѣтѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

Къ Гражданамъ Россіи.

Временное Правительство низложено. Государственная власть перешла въ руки органа Петроградскаго Совѣта Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ Военно-Революціоннаго Комитета, стоящаго во главѣ Петроградскаго пролетаріата и гарнизона.

Дѣло, за которое боролся народъ: немедленное предложение демократическаго мира, отмена помѣщичьей собственности на землю, рабочій контроль надъ производствомъ, созданіе Совѣтскаго Правительства — это дѣло обезпечено.

**ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТЪ РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ РАБОЧИХЪ, СОЛДАТЪ
И КРЕСТЬЯНЪ!**

**Военно-Революціонный Комитетъ
при Петроградскомъ Совѣтѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.**

20 октября 1917 г. 10 ч. утра.

(Translation of the above Russian original)

(The first official announcement after the Revolution.)

FROM THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF PETROGRAD SOVIET OF
WORKERS AND SOLDIERS DEPUTIES

To the Citizens of the Russian Republic:

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The sovereign authority has passed to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Military Revolutionary Committee, which is at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and the garrisons.

The cause for which the people has been fighting: immediate proposal of democratic peace, repeal of freehold land properties, the workers' control over production, the forming of the Government of Soviets—is guaranteed.

Long live the revolution of the workers, soldiers and peasants!

MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF PETROGRAD
SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES

October 28th, 1917.

The Second Day

The meeting place of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, is the former ball-room and reception hall, of Smolny Institute under the old regime a famous convent-school for the daughters of the Russian nobility, patronized by the Czar himself. A great white room, with two rows of massive columns, lighted by a pair of glazed-white chandeliers holding hundreds of ornate electric bulbs; at one end a dais, with two tall many-branched light-standards, and a great gold frame behind, from which the Imperial portrait has been cut. Here on graduation days and festival days had been banked brilliant military and ecclesiastical uniforms, a setting for some Grand Duchess. . . .

A thousand chairs are ranked in the space between the columns. Most of the delegates are in the uniform of private soldiers. The rest wear the plain black blouse of the Russian workers, with a few colored peasant blouses. A few women. Rarely gleam the gold and red epaulettes of an officer, and an occasional white collar. All around, in the spaces between the columns, on the window-ledges, massed on the steps of the stage and on its edge, are the public—also common workers, common peasants, and common soldiers. Bayonets bristle among them. Exhausted Red Guards, girdled with cartridge-belts, sleep at the base of the columns.

There is no heat but the animal heat of bodies, which stand in hoar frost on the panes of the long windows. The air is blue with cigarette-smoke and breath.

Through this hundreds of faces are lifted in the direction of the stage, at whose back is bunched a cluster of red banners, lettered in gold. Flat, simple faces, unconscious and determined, faces tanned almost black with exposure in winter trenches, wide-set eyes, great beards—or perhaps the thin, hawk-like faces of Caucasians, or of Asiatics from Turkestan—and many with the sparse mustaches of Tatars. . . . All these faces turned one way, with an expression of unsophisticated and child-like interest. No self-consciousness visible, and apparently no thought that what is being done is in any way unique; just the look of peasants intensely concerned with a new and wonderful harvest. . . .

The session was called for six, o'clock in the evening, but it is now ten and the meeting is not yet opened.

It is November seventh, the second day of the Bolshevik insurrection. The Land Decree has been passed, the Winter Palace taken. In the hall of the City Duma the counter-revolutionary forces are gathering—Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, as well as Cadets, Monarchists, the Union of Officers. Kaledine is reported to be on the move north, and Kerensky is marching from the front with five Cossack Divisions. . . .

At the press table sits a well-dressed, attractive young intellectual, a Russian Jew, a follower of Kropotkin, who has been exiled in Paris for many years. He observes the crude, intense assembly with amused detachment, making witty remarks. It is incredible to him that these rough and ignorant people should think that they can rule great Russia.

"Come," he says to me, in French, "I am bored. Let us appoint ourselves a committee to go and find the presidium, so that the show can start." As we go out, he adds, "Not that there is any particular hurry. These animals will be running for their lives in forty-eight hours."

Now, twelve months later, this remark comes often to my mind.

We go through the dimly lit vaulted corridors, thronged with the huge, hurrying shapes of workers and soldiers, and bitterly cold. To right and left are doors, placarded with the innumerable activities of the Soviets: International Section, Soldiers' Section, Office of the *Isviestia*, Literature and Publication, Union of Democratic Military Men, Professional Unions, Factory Shop Committees, and the headquarters of the different political parties. Through the door of room 28, where the Left Socialist Revolutionaries were in session, rages mass-debate; the door is locked. Room 18, on the first floor, is the "Lenine Section"; a close-packed throng of several hundred Bolsheviks intently listening to Trotsky. Nobody seems to care whether we enter or not. Trotsky is saying, "Do not falter. Do not give way. When they ask to compromise, it is because they know the power is in our hands. If we

need them, why then remember, comrades, when we shall have won, they will crawl at our feet!" Inquiries as to when the meeting would be over are met with impatient shrugs. There is a feeling of exaltation, of effort keyed up and triumphant. Men look as if they have not slept for weeks, but their eyes burn.

On the top floor in a little room the Military Revolutionary Committee sits sleeplessly, the center of far-flung insurrection. Couriers come running, couriers burst out, running. A deep, determined humming sounds from that room. We send in to find out if the presidium is there. As we wait my friend the anarchist explains his position

"I am a follower of Kropotkin, yes. This is no time for a revolution.

"There are no people to run a revolution. Why, the *intelligentsia* is against them! . . . How dirty they are! How ignorant! What will Europe think of us?"

The door opened and a figure comes out, a squat man with short bow-legs and a long trunk; wide face, mouth appearing to smile, straggly beard and young eyes and forehead; dirty, unkempt, drunk with loss of sleep; a plain uniform, with the insignia of an officer student, and the red-white-and-blue cord of a volunteer.

"Krylenko!" says my friend, with a smile, and comes forward, holding out his hand and calling him by name. Krylenko, in a few hours to be Commander-in-Chief of all the Russian armies, looks at him keenly.

"Don't you remember me?" asks the follower of Kropotkin. "I am Andre Pavlovitch. We were together in Minsk prison. . ."

"Oh yes," answers Krylenko, with a pleasant smile, taking his hand.

We go down the hall toward the meeting room. My companion is still complacently critical. "No finesse, no sense of the dramatic," he keeps saying. "How uncultivated we Russians are. Just savages. We shall be laughed at in Europe."

* * *

Now the Left Socialist Revolutionaries were come, weary but excited—Kamkov, Maria Spiridonova, Karelin, Kalagayev in the lead. In a moment the Bolsheviks, all crowded

around Lenine—Zinoviev, Kameniev, Tchoudnovsky, Volodarsky; Riazonov a bitterly objecting minority of one. Then the presidium mounted the stage—these with Alexandra Kollontai, Martov for the Mensheviks-Internationalists, Trotzky, a scattering of Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Abramovitch for the *Bund*, Kramarov temporarily for the *Novaia Zhizn* group.

Kameniev presides. He reads the order of business, which was drawn up, as usual, by the presidium. This night the assembly is to take up the questions of War and Peace, the creation of a Government, the defense of the capital against Kerensky. But of course the order of business is only sketchily followed. The great debates, in which anyone may be heard, are broken into by all sorts of speakers on extraneous matters; by soldier delegates with greetings from their regiments at the front; by officers and *intelligentsia* protesting against the uprising; by wealthy peasants who have come to curse the Bolsheviks for arresting Minister Maliantovitch—"He too is a Socialist." A member of the Central Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Union brings word that he and his men will oppose the Bolsheviks with all their power.

Bitterly, furiously, the representatives of the other political parties, even the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, protest against the arbitrary actions of the Bolsheviks. Karelin tells how the Red Guards have seized their printing shop and closed their paper, *Znamia Trouda*. The *Bund* delegates again publicly "leave this assembly of traitors."

All night long the audience roars and stamps its applause and its anger; the hall tosses like a stormy sea. Motions are made to limit speeches to fifteen minutes, to half an hour, to an hour, to three hours, and are voted down. The delegates of the other parties protest against the make-up of the presidium, alleging that the overwhelming Bolshevik "fraction" should not insist upon dictating the whole course of the Congress, but ought to be more generous—to allow the voice of the minority to be heard. Trotzky responds, in a voice like polished steel, "When we Bolsheviks were a minority party last July, and begged you for generosity, you did not listen. Nor will we listen to you now. Your purpose

is to halt the triumphant march of the proletarian revolution—and the proletarian revolution *shall not be halted.*”

It is a smooth “steam-roller” that the Bolsheviks have set in motion. In Russian political meetings all the real work is done outside the hall, in the caucuses of the different “fractions.” The Bolsheviks are in the majority. They cannot check the voice of the minority; there are no rules by which debate can be closed. But they have resolved upon an insurrection of the masses of the people; they know that the Petrograd masses are behind them; they believe that all Russia is behind them; and they drive ahead, ruthless and sure.

It is after midnight. Lenine, in a calm, monotonous voice, is reading his appeal to the peoples of all the belligerent nations for armistice and peace. The audience listened intensely, and the sweat stands out on their foreheads as they listen, so terribly do they will it.

He ceases. Protests come, a few met with ugly growls and shouts of “Enough! Shut up!” A vote. Even the “moderates”—the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and the *Novaia Zhizn* group—are in favor. There is only one objector. A storm of rage and laughter compels him to lower his hand.

Simultaneously, with one thought, without a word, we are on our feet, all of us, singing the *Internationale*. It bursts up through the cloudy air, penetrates the walls, the windows, and goes soaring out into the world at war.

Men embrace each other; tears run down rough, bearded faces; a deep exaltation shakes us. Peace! Peace and a people’s world to all mankind. The beginning of the general revolutions, the end of unhappiness, the birth of a world!

“And let us not forget those who have died for this night!” cries a voice, when the last notes have died away.

Then we sing the Funeral Song of the Martyrs, that solemnly joyous hymn that means so much to every Russian. A profound conviction seizes us that this is not merely an emotional demonstration, but the sublimation of real political power. Do we feel that the

people have won? Hear Lenin: “The Revolution is only just begun. Now we have conquered Petrograd. Tomorrow we shall conquer Kerensky. The day after tomorrow we shall break the resistance of the bourgeoisie. And then, comrades, we shall begin the Revolution. . . .”

Hear Trotsky: “And now, to work, comrades. Everything must be done—everything. There is a new world to build. It has taken untold centuries to build this one. We must build ours in a few days.”

The new Government is proclaimed, a “Government based on the Soviets of Workers’, Peasants’ and Soldiers’ Soviets.” The Council of People’s Commissars is named from the tribune, each name being greeted with applause appropriate to its revolutionary associations; Trotsky’s calls forth sharp, tumultuous cheering—the response to Lenine’s is thunderous and steady. But the proclamation of the new Government, which in the West would be the climax of Revolution, is here received in a matter-of-fact way. Here the crowd is ruler. Men do not matter; only the Revolution matters. Were Lenine and Trotsky for one moment to fail to interpret the will of the crowd, they would be swept into oblivion, as Kerensky was, as, for example, Riazonov was to be. . . .

It is after five o’clock in the morning when we leave. In the more southern lands dawn would be paling the eastern sky; here for four hours yet it will be black night. Snow has not yet fallen, but the black mud of the streets has frozen rigid. At the corners squat little groups of Red Guards around brightly-flaming bonfires. They call to us, “*Da stras’vuyet svobodni Rossi!*”, their eyes shine, and their voices are full of inexhaustible excitement.

Street-cars are waiting to take us downtown. Long ago, at eleven in the evening, the car-service in the streets of Petrograd has stopped; but the Street-Railwaymen’s Union sends cars which shall wait at Smolny until the Soviet breaks up, manned by volunteers. We pile in, still gesticulating, discussing . . .

From afar comes the sound of a few casual shots. Behind us as we go great Smolny, all ablaze with lights, hums like a hive. . .

JOHN REED.

С О В Ъ Т Ъ НАРОДНЫХЪ КОМИССАРОВЪ.

**Всероссійскій Съѣздъ Совѣтовъ Рабоч., Солд. и
Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ постановляетъ:**

Образовать для управленія страной, впредь до созыва Учредительнаго Собранія, временное рабочее и крестьянское правительство, которое будетъ именоваться **Совѣтомъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ**. Завѣдываніе отдѣльными отраслями государственной жизни поручается комиссіямъ, составъ которыхъ долженъ обезпечить проведеніе въ жизнь провозглашенной Съѣздомъ программы, въ тѣсномъ единеніи съ массовыми организаціями рабочихъ, работницъ, матросовъ, солдатъ, крестьянъ и служащихъ. Правительственная власть принадлежитъ коллегіи председателей этихъ комиссій, т. е. **Совѣту Народныхъ Комиссаровъ**. Контроль надъ дѣятельностью народныхъ комиссаровъ и право смѣщенія ихъ принадлежитъ **Всероссійскому Съѣзду Совѣтовъ Рабоч., Крестьянскихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ** и его **Центр. Испол. Ком.** Въ настоящій моментъ **Совѣтъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ** составляется изъ слѣдующихъ лицъ:

Предсѣдатель Совѣта—**Владиміръ Ульяновъ (Ленинъ)**;
Народный Комиссаръ по внутреннимъ дѣламъ—**А. И. Рыковъ**;
Земледѣлія—**В. П. Милютинъ**;
Труда—**А. Г. Шляпниковъ**;
По дѣламъ военнымъ и морскимъ—комитетъ въ составѣ:
В. А. Овсѣенко (Антоновъ), Н. В. Крыленко и Ф. М. Дыбенко;
По дѣламъ Торговли и Промышленности—**В. П. Ногинъ**;
Народнаго Просвѣщенія—**А. В. Луначарскій**;
Финансовъ—**И. И. Скворцовъ (Степановъ)**;
По дѣламъ иностраннымъ—**Л. Д. Бронштейнъ (Троцкій)**;
Юстиціи—**Г. И. Оппоковъ (Ломовъ)**;
По дѣламъ продовольствія—**И. А. Теодоровичъ**;
Почтъ и телеграфовъ—**Н. П. Авиловъ (Глѣбовъ)**;
Предсѣдателемъ по дѣламъ національностей—**І. В. Джугашвили (Сталинъ)**.

Постъ народнаго Комиссара по дѣламъ желѣзнодорожнымъ временно остается незамѣщеннымъ.

The Soviet of People's Commissaries

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies

DECREES:

To organize Provisional Government with whom shall rest the entire power until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government of Workers and Peasants, which will be called "The Soviet of the People's Commissaries." The administration of different Government Institutions will be entrusted to commissions, whose composition of staff will guarantee the carrying into effect the declarations adopted by the Congress of Soviets, and the commissions to be in intimate touch with the masses' organizations of workers, women-workers, sailors, soldiers, peasants and servants. The Sovereign Authority rests with the collegiate body of presidents of the said commissions, i. e. the Soviet of the People's Commissaries.

The Soviet of People's Commissaries is responsible before the Congress and its Central Executive Committee of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, which also has the power to recall any of the People's Commissaries.

For the time being the Soviet of the People's Commissaries consists of the following persons:

Commissary President—Vladimir Ulyanoff (Lenin);

People's Commissary of Interior—A. I. Rykoff;
" " " Agriculture—W. P. Milutin;
" " " Labor—A. G. Slyapnikoff;
" " " War and Navy—Committee of W. A. Ovseyenko (Antonoff), N. W. Krylenko, F. M. Dybenko;
" " " Trade and Industry—W. P. Nogin;
" " " Education—A. W. Lunacharsky;
" " " Finance—I. I. Skvortsoff (Stepanoff);
" " " Foreign Affairs—L. D. Bronstein (Trotzky);
" " " Justice—G. I. Oppokoff (Lomoff);
" " " Food Supply—J. A. Theodorovich;
" " " Post and Telegraph—N. P. Aviloff (Gleboff);
" " " President of National Groups—I. W. Jugashveli (Stalin).

The portfolio of the People's Commissary for Railroads is temporarily not filled.

Russia and Japan

The Socialist movement of Japan has always regarded its comrades in Russia with the greatest admiration and sympathy. Historically speaking, the Japanese movement has always been much more intimately related with that of Russia than of any other country. Its heroic struggles, its unlimited sacrifice for the cause of Socialism and for the proletariat were a source of unbounded inspiration to us.

The first attempt at communication and mutual understanding between the Socialists of Japan and Russia came during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. On the 20th of March, 1904, the Japanese Socialists addressed a letter in the form of a resolution to their Russian comrades. At this time the Japanese Socialist movement took a firm stand against the war, and developed an intense agitation before and after war was declared in spite of great sacrifices and numerous imprisonments.

"Dear Comrades! Our governments have plunged us into a war to satisfy their imperialistic desires. But to the Socialist there exist no barriers of race, territory or nationality. We are comrades, brothers and sisters, and have no cause to battle against one another. Your enemy is not the Japanese people, but your own militarism, the so-called patriotism of your country. Our enemy is not the Russian people, but the militarism and patriotism of our ruling class. Patriotism and militarism are our common enemies, are the enemies of Socialists all over the world. It is the highest duty of Socialists everywhere to fight bravely and unafraid against them . . . when you are suffering under the cruel persecution of your government and its spies, remember that there are thousands of comrades in a distant land who are praying for your well-being and your success in their inmost hearts."—From the "Heimen," Tokyo, Japan, March 20, 1904.

It is interesting to note that, at that time, Japanese Socialists were able to publish such a statement. But still more interesting is the Russian reply. It appeared in *Iskra* and is a document of historic significance:

"The Russian Social Democrats know only too well the difficulties that confront us in time of war when the entire machinery of government is working to the utmost to create a blind patriotic fervor . . . How much more difficult and embarrassing is the position of our Japanese comrades, who, at a moment when nationalistic feeling was at its highest pitch, openly extended to us the hand of brotherhood."

The Russian resolution compares the Socialists of Japan to Liebknecht and Bebel when they protested against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine as "not less valuable and significant."

"Above the jingoistic chorus in both countries their voice sounds as a herald from that better world, which, though today it exists only in the minds of the class-conscious proletariat, tomorrow will become a reality. We do not know when that tomorrow will come. But we, the Social Democrats the world over, are working to bring it nearer and nearer. We are digging the grave of the miserable today, of the present social order. We are organizing the forces that are destined to bury it."

In August of the same year the present writer met many Russian comrades at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, and shook hands with them as a token of international solidarity.

In May, 1917, during the present war, our comrades met secretly at Tokyo and sent hearty greetings to their Russian comrades.

"To make the progress of the Russian revolution advance further towards the goal of Socialist revolution is not only a responsibility of Russian Socialists, but also really that of international Socialists.

"At the present opportunity, therefore, it should endeavor to realize the declaration of immediate cessation of the present war and at the same time the proletariat of the belligerent countries should turn the guns that are aimed at the self-same proletariat in enemy countries at once on the

ruling classes of their own respective countries. This is the responsibility of Russian Socialists as well as that of international Socialists."

It is impossible to say how much the Japanese proletariat owes to the Russian revolution. The Japanese rice riots of last August were a product of its inspiring example. There were food riots in the three capitals Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto, and more than thirty prefectures, comprising over two thirds of the Japanese empire, were seriously affected. One hundred and twenty towns and cities were the scene of serious rioting. In twenty-five of them houses were burned, in thirty-eight places troops were called out and there were active battles between rioters and soldiers. In Osaka the entire infantry of the Osaka Legion was called out under the command of

the head of the legion. These riots were more than evidences of momentary dissatisfaction. They were a part of the great class struggle of the Japanese masses against the ruling classes. They were the direct result of the influence of Russian Bolshevism.

The Russian Social Revolution has, therefore, nowhere more sincere and hearty well-wishers than its comrades in Japan.

On this memorable occasion we send to them our joyous greetings. Truly, they have "burned the miserable today." The realization of the long hoped for, long fought for "tomorrow" of the workers of the world is at hand.

"Long live the Russian Socialist Republic."

SEN KATAYAMA.

New York, Oct. 8, 1918.



The Fighting Red Guard

The Spirit of Internationalism

It is a strange experience to be cast down into a country of one hundred million internationalists.

In America an advocate of any State measure must answer primarily the question: "How will it benefit the interests of my country?"

In Russia, in this, as in most other matters it is quite the reverse. The question that the champion of any measure there has to answer is: "In what way will this measure benefit the interests of the working class of America, England, France, Germany, and the rest of the world?"

For example: When the agricultural department of the Russian Soviet Republic was considering the purchase of harvesters and other implements from America it wanted to assure itself that these articles would be made without sweated or ruthlessly exploited labor. It was ruled that no machinery would be received in Russia which did not bear the "O. K." of a committee of American Socialists.

Many critics of the Revolution speak flipantly of this Internationalism of the Russians as only "skin-deep," denying that the peasants and workers had any grasp upon the real content of the word and that they merely repeated it like the other catch words of Socialism.

These are the same critics who said that Socialism itself in Russia was only "skin-deep," that the Soviet Government could last only two weeks or two months, that the Bolsheviks were solely destructive agents without creative or administrative abilities and that the countryside would rise *en masse* to hail the advent of the Allied armies.

But this whole crew of villifiers of the Russian working class have been discredited by the facts. As they were wrong in those dismal prophecies so they are all wrong when they reckon lightly the hold of Internationalism upon the minds and hearts of the Russians.

It was elemental and spontaneous, the most colossal fact in a revolution full of colossal facts.

A striking instance of this occurred when Reed and I spoke on the day for Socialists from foreign lands.

It was in the dead of winter, a bitter cold day, when we came with a procession streaming across the Troitsky Bridge. Between the minarets of the blue-domed Mohammedan Mosque and the shining golden spire of the Church of Peter and Paul, lay the new Cathedral of the proletariat. It was a great, low, rambling, gray bordered structure called the *Cirque Moderne*. There was a black mass of people jammed up against the entrances.

"Why don't they open up and let the people in?" I asked as we passed the crowd and entered a back passage into a great, black cavern. It was a huge pit, dug out of the earth with hundreds of girders to support the monstrous, arching roof. But we could see neither the floor nor the roof nor the seats in a wide sweep rising tier on tier around the arena. In fact we couldn't see anything at all, as, guided by Kollontai, we stumbled through the dark, damp passages and up some stairs and came out upon a few, rough boards which served as a platform. There was no light in the place because that day there was no coal in Petrograd.

"Why don't they open the doors and let the people in?" I repeated.

"There are fifteen thousand here already," Kollontai replied, "and the place is packed to the roof!"

The deep silence made that statement incredible. A candle was lighted so that the face of the speaker might be visible—a tiny flicker in the dark.

Kollontai said: "Go ahead, speak!"

It seemed foolish to talk to the vast void. But in a venture of faith, I raised my voice and blindly flung my words out into the night.

"Comrades! I speak for the American Socialists, Internationalists!"

Like a blast from the pit came an explosion of fifteen thousand voices:

"Da sdrastvooyet International." (Long live the International!)

That word was like a match tossed into a powder magazine.

"Long live the International!" That phrase could always be depended upon to set fire to an audience. When it fell in broken Russian from the lips of a foreigner it started a conflagration.

And with what spirit they sang the International! Not the way we sing it here with part of the singers guessing at the words and another part guessing at the tune and the majority of us spectators—in Russia every revolutionist is sure of every word and every note and sings it as though his life depended on it.

In the Constituent Assembly the Bolsheviks and the Left Social Revolutionists rose to sing the workers' hymn. The Centre Social Revolutionists followed. Then row after row in succession, further and further to the right arose. The stirring strains lifted to his feet every man in this assemblage speaking twenty languages, representing forty nationalities, gathered from over one-sixth the surface of the globe. Not a person, even on the extreme right either dared or was able to retain his seat.

But it was not just a hymn for state occasions. To the International individuals and little groups turned in times of stress and grief. In its singing they found strength, an affirmation of the militancy of their faith, a sharpening of the edge of their fighting spirit.

When the Vladivostok Soviet fell before the guns of the Checho-Slovaks, those leaders who escaped took to cover like hunted animals. In a moment, the Soviet, so painstakingly built up was shattered into bits and in their hiding places they sat, fearing at any moment the entrance of the White Guards and the noose around their necks.

I was taken to a secret retreat of these refugees. As the door was opened for me, along the darkened way there came the low sound of the singing of the International in English.

Through all the tragedies and glories of the Revolution the International moves like a holy spirit to cheer and strengthen the fighters.

Internationalism is woven throughout the whole texture of the Russian Revolution. The sense of solidarity with all the workers of the world is ever present. Nowhere could one escape from it.

The greeting from the Baltic Fleet reproduced in this booklet was written in the main cabin of the "Polar Star," the yacht of the former Czar. It was written by the Central Committee of sixty sailors, one from each vessel of the fleet. Every paragraph of it breathes this ardent belief in the class consciousness of the International proletariat.

When I stood upon the bridge of the battleship "Republica," and the eleven thousand sailors made the turrets ring with their greetings to the American Internationalists—it was a thrilling experience but it was also a humiliating one. For I knew that the faith that they put in our Internationalism had little existence in reality. I felt that they pictured me as a representative of millions of American sailors, soldiers, miners, railroad men, etc., who were on fire with the same flame. It was impossible to avoid feeling unworthy of the great trust. The measure of their faith, of course, is the measure of our job. It is to make the tens of thousands of genuine Internationalists we have grow into tens of millions.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS.



An die deutschen Soldaten!

Soldaten, Brüder!

Am 25-ten Oktober (alten Stils) haben die St. Petersburger Arbeiter und Soldaten die imperialistische Regierung Kerensky's gestürzt und die ganze Staatsgewalt zur Verfügung der Arbeiter-, Soldaten- und Bauern-Räte gestellt. Die neue Regierung ist unter dem Namen des VOLKSKOMMISSÄREN-RATES durch den Kongress der Arbeiter- und Soldaten-Räte aller Reussen bestätigt worden. Das Programm, dessen Ausführung die oben genannte Regierung unverzüglich angebahnt hat, besteht aus dem Angebot eines sofortigen demokratischen Friedensschlusses, das bereits den sämtlichen kriegsbeteiligten Nationen und ihren Regierungen unterbreitet worden ist, aus der unentgeltlichen Übergabe der ganzen Acker-, Felder- und Wälderfläche des Landes in den Gebrauch der Bauern und Landarbeiter, und aus der Verwirklichung der Arbeiterkontrolle im Gewerbe und in der Industrieerzeugung. All dieser Aufgaben hat sich die neue Regierung der Arbeiter- und Bauernbevölkerung gegenüber schon teilweise oder vollständig entledigt. Uns, die Unterzeichneten beauftragte die Regierung mit dem Vorsitz im Volkskommissärenrate und mit der Leitung der auswärtigen Geschäfte des Staates-

Unsere Regierung, die provisorische Arbeiter- und Bauern-Regierung, wendete sich am 26-ten Oktober d. J. mit einem Friedensvorschlag an die Regierungen und Völker aller kriegführenden Mächte, bestehend auf dringendster Einstellung der Feindseligkeiten an sämtlichen Fronten und unmittelbarer Einleitung der Friedensverhandlungen zwecks Wiederherstellung eines gerechten demokratischen Friedens ohne Annexionen und Kriegsentschädigung.

Wir ergriffen alle Massnahmen und keine werden wir auch künftig unausgenutzt lassen, um über den vollen Text unseres Friedensangebotes alle die kriegführenden Regierungen und Völker in Kenntnis zu setzen. Zur Ergänzung des erwähnten Friedensvorschlags erachten wir es als unsere Pflicht, uns speziell an euch zu wenden, als an die Vertreter einer Nation, die an der Spitze der Koalition steht, welche gegen Russland auf einer ausgedehnten Front den Krieg führt.

Soldaten, Brüder! Wir ersuchen euch, uns in diesem Kampfe für den sofortigen Frieden und den Sozialismus mit Anstrengung aller Kräfte beizustehen, da dieser letztere allein dem Arbeiterstande aller Länder, einen gerechten und dauerhaften Frieden sichern kann und alle die Wunden heilen, die der Menschheit der gegenwärtige und frevelhafteste aller Kriege geschlagen hat.

Brüder deutsche Soldaten! Das grosse Beispiel eures Kameraden, Karl Liebknechts, des ansehnlichsten Führers des internationalen Sozialismus, der beharrliche und langwierige Kampf, den ihr gegen den Krieg mit der Herausgebung von Zeitungen und Flugblättern, mit zahlreichen Demonstrationen und Streiken geführt habt, der Kampf, für welchen eure Regierung Hunderte und Tausende eurer Kameraden ins Gefängniss geworfen hat, endlich der heldenmütige Aufstand eurer Matrosen der Flotte bürgen uns dafür, dass innerhalb breiter Massen des Arbeiterstandes eurer Nation die Fertigkeit für einen entscheidenden Kampf für den Frieden schon gereift ist.

Brüder, leistet uns Hilfe! Wenn ihr es tut, dann kann nicht einmal der geringste Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass die Friedenssache, wenigstens auf dem Kontinente Europas, in paar Tagen die Oberhand ergreift, dass der schnellste und gerechteste Friede verbürgt wird und der Anschluss an einen solchen Frieden seitens auch der übrigen kriegführenden Mächte am schmerzlosesten vor sich geht.

Wenn ihr uns bei unserer Aufgabe behilflich sein werdet, die Einigung der Arbeiter mit den Bauern und den allmählichen Übergang zum Sozialismus in Russland zu bewerkstelligen, bei der Aufgabe, die für Russland allein unheimliche Schwierigkeiten darbietet, dann werden eure Organisationsfähigkeit, eure Erfahrung, eure Vorbereitung zur Bildung der Arbeiter-Massenorganisationen uns den Übergang zum Sozialismus unfehlbar sichern.

Eilt uns zu Hilfe! Im Namen der Arbeiter- und Bauern-Regierung haften wir dafür, dass unsere Soldaten keinen einzigen Schritt nach vorwärts machen werden, wenn ihr entschlossen die Friedensfahne in die Hände nehmt auch falls der Kampf für den Frieden innerhalb eures Landes einen Teil eurer Streitkräfte von unserer Front abzöge.

Genug des Blutvergiessens!

Hoch lebe der Friede!.

Hoch lebe der brüderliche Verband der Arbeiter aller Länder!

Hoch lebe die Internationale sozialistische Revolution!

Der Vorsitzende des Volkskommissärenrates,

Wladimir Uljanow (Ljenjin).

Der Volkskommissär des Äussern,

Leo Trotzky.

(Translation of the two foregoing pages)

To the German Soldiers!

Soldiers, Brothers!

On October 25th (old style) the workmen and soldiers of St. Petersburg overthrew the imperialistic government of Kerensky and placed the whole power into the hands of the Soviets of the Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. The new Government under the name of Council of the People's Commissaries was confirmed by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The program, to the execution of which the Government has immediately proceeded, consists in a proposal of an immediate democratic peace, which has already been communicated to all the combatant nations and their Governments, in the transfer without indemnification of all the land to the peasants for their use and of the realization of a workmen's control over the production and industry. The new Government of workmen and peasants has already accomplished all these tasks, partly or in full. The Government has entrusted us with the chairmanship in the Council of the People's Commissaries and the management of the foreign affairs of the state.

Our Government, the provisional workmen and peasant government, addressed itself October 26th a. c., with peace proposals to the Governments and peoples of all the belligerent Powers insisting on a speedy suspension of hostilities on all the fronts and an immediate commencement of the peace negotiations for the conclusion of an equitable democratic peace without annexations or war indemnifications.

We have taken all measures and we will in future not leave any unadopted, in order that all the belligerent Governments and peoples should be informed of the full context of our peace negotiations. In addition to the aforesaid peace proposition we consider it our duty to address ourselves particularly to you, as the representatives of a nation that is at the head of the coalition which is engaged in war against Russia on an extensive front.

Soldiers, Brothers! We ask you to stand by us and Socialism with all your might in this struggle for an immediate peace, as the latter is the only means to ensure an equitable and permanent peace to the laboring classes of all countries and to heal all the wounds which the present most criminal of all wars has inflicted on humanity.

Brothers, German Soldiers! The great example of your comrade, Karl Liebknecht, the most eminent leader of international Socialism, the perseverant and long-continued struggle that you have conducted by publishing newspapers, and pamphlets, by numerous demonstrations and strikes, the struggle for which your Government has thrown into prison hundreds and thousands of your comrades, lastly the heroic revolt of your sailors of the fleet serve as a guaranty to us that the mass of the laboring class of your nation are ready to enter the decisive struggle for peace.

Brothers, lend us a hand! If you will do so, there will not be the slightest doubt that the cause of peace, at least on the continent of Europe, will take the upper hand *in a couple of days*, that a most speedy and equitable peace will be ensured and that the other belligerent Powers will join such a peace.

If you will help us in our task to create a union between the workmen and the peasants and to bring about a gradual transition to Socialism in Russia, a task which for Russia alone presents immense difficulties, then your capacity of organization, your experience, your preparedness for the organization of the working masses will ensure without fail the transition to Socialism.

Hasten to our assistance! In the name of the Workmen and Peasant Government we guarantee that our soldiers shall not move a single step forward if you decisively take the flag of peace into your hands and even if the struggle for peace inside your country will take away part of your forces from our front.

Enough of bloodshed!

Long live peace!

Long live the brotherly Union of Workmen of all countries!

Long live the International Socialistic Revolution!

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries: VLADIMIR OULIANOFF (LENINE)

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs LEON TROTSKY

The Old and the New

Arthur Ransome in his "Open Letter to America" is using as a motto the following words of Emerson: "If there is any period one would desire to be born in,—is it not the age of Revolution; when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and by hope; when the historic glories of the old can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era? This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it."

The old and the new stand side by side in Russia, and admit of being compared. The new can well stand the comparison with the old. But there is one condition—the new must be freed from the calumnies and the exaggerations indulged in by the supporters of the old, and the old should be remembered such as it actually was.

"The Soviet regime remains in power only with the help of indiscriminate terror." "Lenine is executing his political opponents by the thousands." "Peters, a tool of Lenine and Trotzky, is signing death warrants without looking at the names of those who are sent to their death." Such is the daily food distributed by the press about Russia. When Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was assassinated, the news agencies reported that more than 500 members of the Social Revolutionary Party, including the old revolutionary worker, Maria Spiridonova, were summarily shot by the Soviets. "The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," Catharine Breshkovskaya, was reported thrown into prison by the Bolsheviki, and that she died there of privation and sorrow.

A few days ago I saw a man, not a Bolshevik,—not even a Socialist,—who recently returned from Russia, having left Moscow in the latter part of August. He admitted that during the period from April until he departed, about twenty people had been actually executed by the Soviets,—for reasons which under similar circumstances would lead to execution in any other country in the world. No one was executed indiscriminately. All had a fair trial, and all were absolutely convicted of ruthless plotting against the safety of the

country in times of stress. But Maria Spiridonova was not among those executed. She is still alive, although she is kept detained,—not in a vile prison—but surrounded with such comforts as the Russian workers are able to get for themselves.

Catherine Breshkovskaya has never been imprisoned by the Soviets. When she died,—not of privation, but of old age,—the Soviet Government, although she was its opponent on many questions of tactics and principles, gave her a public funeral and hundreds of thousands of Moscow workers, members of the Soviet, turned out to pay their respects to "The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution." Peters, depicted by the capitalist press as a brutal and murderous monster, is nothing of the sort. Recently I met a man who had lived for many years together with Peters. His personal recollections of the many gentle and humane acts done by that alleged monster impressed me much more than the wild, obviously invented and impossible newspaper stories about Peters' mass executions.

Let us admit, though, that even having eliminated all the obvious lies and exaggerations there still remains on the debit side of the Russian proletariat revolution many acts of stern reprisals and punishment, which bear out the well-known saying that a revolution never can be a pink tea-party attended by people dressed in evening clothes. But let us then compare the new with the old. Not to speak of the hundreds of thousands of victims of the Czarist regime who one by one were killed or tortured in the prisons of Siberia, let us remember a few of the instances of mass terror during the old regime. The murder of more than three thousand people at the Chodynka festival, during the coronation of Nicholas the Bloody, is not forgotten nor the "punitive expeditions" of the revolutionary period of 1906-1907, when thousands of peasants in Southern Russia, in the Baltic provinces, and in Siberia were massacred by the agents of the armies of the Czar. The workers of the world also have not forgotten the Lena massacres in 1913, when hundreds of striking workingmen were shot to death. Nor do the workers of the world forget that res-

ponsibility for the Lena massacres rests not only upon the tools of the Czar, but also upon certain western European capitalists who were the owners of the Lena mines, and who instigated the massacres.

But it is not necessary to go as far back as the pre-war period in order to compare the old with the new. Not a single voice has been raised by those in power in protest against the horrible massacres of Finnish workingmen and women in the spring and summer of 1918. Nearly ten thousand workingmen and women were executed by the Finnish White Guard

and by the Germans, and over twenty thousand were sent into cruel slavery to Germany. And in Russia today, wherever the counter-revolutionists succeed in seizing the power, a bloody massacre takes place directed against members of the Soviet. At any time we would invite statisticians to compile the number of massacres on both sides and there is no doubt that the number of those massacred by the old will mount sky high in comparison with the number of the victims of the new.

SANTERI NUORTEVA.



Guard at Entrance of Smolny

A Diplomatic Correspondence on the Red and the White Terror

DIPLOMATIC NOTE SENT BY THE SWISS MINISTER E. ODIER IN THE NAME OF THE NEUTRAL STATES

The representatives of the Diplomatic Corps in Petrograd, having determined that persons of every age and sex are being made the victims of wholesale arrests, that soldiers of the Red Army are daily passing summary sentence upon defenseless citizens requested the Commissary Zinoviev for an interview and were received by him on Monday, September 3. They declared that it was not their purpose to interfere in the struggle between political parties that is going on in Russia; that they desired merely, in the name of humanity, to express the deepest horror at the regime of terror that has been established in Petrograd, Moscow, etc.

Led solely by the desire to still their hatred against the whole class of bourgeois in Russia, without legal authority, armed men are breaking into private homes at all hours of the day and night, stealing, plundering and arresting, are throwing thousands of unfortunates into jail who have had nothing to do with the political struggle, whose only crime lies in the fact that they are members of the bourgeoisie whose destruction the Communist leaders are preaching in their newspapers and their speeches. Their desperate relatives are unable to discover the whereabouts of their nearest kin, they are refused permission to see the imprisoned men and women or to provide them with the necessary food.

Such acts of terror are incomprehensible in men who boast that they will bring happiness to humanity. Their brutality arouses the indignant horror of the entire civilized world.

The diplomatic corps deems it necessary therefore to express its indignation to the People's Commissary, Zinoviev. It protested emphatically against these acts of brutal despotism that are occurring from day to day. The representatives of the neutral governments insist, in the name of their governments, upon the right to demand adequate redress and legal responsibility of per-

sons who have or will become guilty of such high-handed acts.

The diplomatic corps requests that you bring this matter to the attention of the Soviet Government.

Petrograd, September 5 (18).

The Swiss Minister,

(signed) E. ODIER,

Dean of the diplomatic corps in Russia.

* * *

The Answer of the Soviet Government

To the Gentlemen representing the Capitalist Neutral Nations:

The note presented to us on the 5th of September by the gentlemen representing the neutral powers represents an act of *gross interference into the inner affairs of Russia*. The Soviet Government would be justified in ignoring this act. But the Soviet Government is glad to grasp any opportunity of explaining the nature of its political tactics to the masses in all countries, *for it is the spokesman not only of the Russian working-class, but of exploited humanity all over the earth*. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs therefore gives answer, hereby, to the matter in question.

In their description of the treatment that is being accorded to the suppressed Russian bourgeoisie, the neutral powers are plainly trying to arouse the sympathy of the bourgeoisie all over the world. We do not propose to disprove the fiction of the gentlemen who represent the neutral nations. In their note they repeat all the slander that has been invented by the Russian bourgeoisie to discredit the Red Army. We will not refute individual occurrences, first of all because the gentlemen who represent the neutral powers have presented absolutely no concrete occurrences, secondly, because every war—and

we are in the midst of a civil war—brings with it excesses on the part of individuals.

The gentlemen representing the neutral powers did not protest against the individual misdeeds of irresponsible persons, *but against the regime that is being carried out by the Government of the Workmen and Peasants against the exploiting class.*

Before entering into the reasons why the Government of the Workers and peasants uses the Red Terror that has called forth the protest of the gentlemen representing the neutral powers, *permit us to ask a few questions.*

Do the representatives of the neutral nations know that *an international war has been raging for almost five years, into which a small clique of bankers, generals and bureaucrats precipitated the masses of the civilized nations of the world?* That in this war these masses are destroying each other, cutting each other's throats that capitalism may earn new millions thereby? Do they know that in this war not only millions of men were killed at the front, but that both belligerent parties have attacked *open cities with bombs, killing unarmed women and children?* Do they know that in this war one of the belligerent parties doomed *millions of human beings to death by starvation* by cutting off their food supply in direct contradiction to the tenets of international law, that the belligerent party hopes to force the other, by starving its children, to surrender to the victor? Do they know that the belligerent powers *have imprisoned hundreds of thousands of unarmed, peaceable citizens in the enemy's country, sending them to places far from home into involuntary servitude, depriving them of every right of self-defense?* Do they know that in all belligerent nations the ruling capitalist clique has deprived the masses of the *right of free press and assemblage and the right to strike?* That workingmen are being imprisoned for every attempt to protest against the *White Terror* of the bourgeoisie, that they are sent to the front that every last thought of human rights may be killed within them?

All of these instances of the destructive force that is being directed against the working-class in the name of capitalist interests, all these pictures of the *White Terror* of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat *are more than familiar to the neutral nations and their representatives in Russia.* Nevertheless, either they forgot their high ideals of humanity or they forgot in these

cases to remind the blood-dripping belligerent nations of their misdeeds.

The so-called neutral nations did not dare to utter a word of protest against the White Terror of the capitalist class, nay, more, they did not wish to protest, for the bourgeoisie in all neutral nations have helped the capitalist powers of the capitalist nations to carry on the war because they are earning billions in war contracts with the belligerent nations.

We beg leave to ask another question. Have the gentlemen representing the neutral powers heard of the crushing of the *Sinn Feiners* in *Dublin*, of the shooting to death, without due process of the law, of hundreds of *Irishmen*, with *Skeffington* at their head? Have they heard of the *White Terror* in *Finland*, of the tens of thousands of dead, of the tens of thousands of men and women who are languishing in jail, against whom no charges have ever been, or ever will be made? Have they never heard of the mass murder of workmen and peasants in the *Ukraine?* Of the mass murder of *workmen* by the *brave Checho-Slovaks*, these hirelings of French capital? *The governments of the neutral nations have heard of all of these things, but never before did it occur to them to protest against the despotism of the bourgeoisie when it oppresses the working class movement. For they themselves are ready, at any moment, to shoot down workingmen who fight for their rights. In their own countries they stand ready, in the name of the bourgeoisie, and in defense of its interests, to crush out every vestige of working-class uprising.*

It is sufficient to recall that labor demonstrations were recently routed by military force in *Denmark, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, etc.* The workers of *Switzerland, Holland and Denmark* have not yet revolted, but already the governments of these countries are mobilizing their military forces against the weakest protest of the working-class. *When the representatives of the neutral nations threaten us with the indignation of the entire civilized world, and protest against the Red Terror in the name of humanity, we respectfully call their attention to the fact that they were not sent to Russia to defend the principles of humanity, but to preserve the interests of the capitalist State; we would advise them further not to threaten us with the indignant horror of the civilized world, but to tremble before the fury of the masses who are arising*

against a civilization that has thrust humanity into the unspeakable misery of endless slaughter.

In the entire capitalist world the *White Terror* rules over the working-class. In Russia the working-class destroyed that Czarism whose bloody regime brought no protests from the neutral nations. The working-class of Russia put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie who, under the flag of the Revolution, again amidst the deep silence of the neutral powers, slaughtered soldiers who refused to shed their blood in the interests of war speculators, killed peasants because they claimed the land they had cultivated for centuries in the sweat of their brow.

The majority of the Russian people, in the person of the second Congress of the Workmen's, Peasants', Cossacks' and Soldiers' Council, placed the power into the hands of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government. A small handful of capitalists who desired to regain the factories and the banks that were taken from them in the interests of the people, a small handful of landowners who wished to take back the land that had been given to the peasants, a small handful of generals who wished again to teach the workmen and the soldiers obedience with the whiplash, refused to recognize the decision of the Russian people. With the money of foreign capital they mobilized counter-revolutionary hordes with whose assistance they tried to cut off Russia from its food supply in order to choke the Russian Revolution with the bony hand of hunger. After they became convinced of the futility of their attempts to overthrow the working-class republic that enjoyed the unbounded confidence and support of the working-class, they arranged counter-revolutionary uprisings in the attempt to crowd the Workmen's and Peasants' Government from its positive work, to hinder it in its task of ridding the country of anarchy that had taken hold of the country in consequence of the criminal policies of former governments. They be-

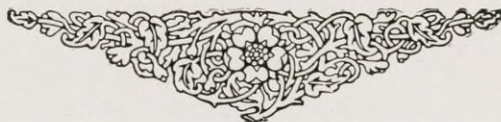
trayed Russia on the South, North and East into the hands of foreign imperialistic states, they called foreign bayonets, wherever they could muster them into Russia. Hidden behind a forest of foreign bayonets they are sending hired murderers to kill the leaders of the working-class, in whom not only the proletariat of Russia but all the massacred humanity sees the personification of its hopes. The Russian working-class will crush without mercy this counter-revolutionary clique, that is trying to lay the noose around the neck of the Russian working-class with the help of foreign capital and the Russian bourgeoisie.

In the face of the proletariat of the whole world we declare that neither hypocritical protests nor pleas will protect those who take up arms against the workers and the poorest farmers, who would starve them and embroil them into new wars in the interests of the capitalist class. We assure equal rights and equal liberties to all who loyally do their duty as citizens of the Socialist Workmen's and Peasants' Government. To them we bring peace, but to our enemies we bring war without quarter. We are convinced that the masses in all countries who are writhing under the oppression of a small group of exploiters will understand that in Russia force is being used only in the holy cause of the liberation of the people, that they will not only understand us, but will follow our example.

We decidedly reject the interference of neutral capitalist powers in favor of the Russian bourgeoisie, and declare that every attempt on the part of the representatives of these powers to overstep the boundaries of legal protection for the citizens of their own country, will be regarded as an attempt to support the counter-revolution.

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

G. W. TSCHITSCHERIN.



The Russian Revolution

More than one hundred years ago, Napoleon visualized Russia as a power that might make all Europe Cossack. For years thereafter, Czarism was "the gendarme of Europe," the most brutal and reactionary force against humanity and liberty. Russia was indisputably a menace.

Today, Russia persists in being a menace—a menace to reaction, to Capitalism and Imperialism, a menace to the hosts of tyranny everywhere. The reactionary world of imperialistic Capitalism today visualizes revolutionary Russia as the force that may make Europe, and the world, all Socialist.

In the early days of the great war between the two belligerent powers, there was a third power, silent, unseen, but preparing to burst forth in irresistible might,—the power of the Russian Revolution. During the days immediately preceding the declaration of war, when German Imperialism was trying to create a war psychology by exploiting the fears of Czarism, certain German Socialists acutely insisted that there was a power in Russia that should be considered in a real evaluation of the situation, a power mightier than Czarism, and that was the Revolution. But this was not heeded, and was forgotten by the German Social Democracy in the wild orgy of social-patriotic insanity that ensued.

Yes, there was this third power of the Revolution, destined to become the decisive factor in the war. And it consisted of the *proletarian revolution* in the making.

That the coming Russian Revolution was a proletarian revolution, was evident. The Revolution of 1905, betrayed and maligned by the bourgeois liberals; the subsequent counter-revolutionary period in which the bourgeoisie consolidated its power, accepted Imperialism and autocracy, and abandoned all revolutionary convictions, made it clear that the Socialist proletariat alone could make a revolution. This was emphasized by the bourgeois attitude during the war,—enthusiastic acceptance of the war and of its imperialistic objects, the abandonment of even ordinary liberal opposition in favor of victory and a bourgeois Czarism.

The Russian bourgeoisie was partially critical, truly, but it was within the limits of Czarism, a criticism based upon the fact of Czarism pro-

ducing defeat instead of victory. When the "great Duma" met in March 1917, it did not concern itself with the needs of the people, the mass agony and starvation: the Duma refused to grant powers to the Petrograd municipality necessary to provide food for the people; the Duma liberals were interested exclusively in the war and victory.

Then came the elemental mass action of the workers of Petrograd—mass strikes, demonstrations, food riots, revolutionary action against Czarism, that annihilated the reactionary regime mercilessly and completely, and which was the signal for the revolt of the soldiers. The bourgeoisie did not participate in this revolutionary action; their attitude was comprised in intrigues to depose the Czar in favor of a Grand Duke who would bring victory and recognize bourgeois requirements, in participation in the plots of Anglo-French capital directed against the Czar and a separate peace. It was the proletarian masses that marched to the assault against Czarism, that placed itself at the disposal of the Revolution. The bourgeoisie wanted a "constitutional monarchy": this was admitted by M. Milyukov as late as March 13; and as it was the revolutionary mass action that gave the Duma courage to disobey the Czar's ukase to dissolve, so it was the proclamation of the Petrograd Workmen's Council, on March 14, declaring the old regime gone forever and insisting upon a republic, that imposed the acceptance of a republican program upon the bourgeois Provisional Government formed out of the Duma opposition.

But the Provisional Government was bourgeois, the government of the capitalists, and accordingly counter-revolutionary. Its personnel was part and parcel of the imperialistic forces and purposes instinct in the war. It established the usual bourgeois freedoms; and it prepared to wage more aggressively the imperialistic war waged by Czarism, accepting the agreements and obligations of the Czar to other nations. Foreign Minister Milyukov, of the Provisional Government, insisted that revolutionary Russia would fight until it secured Constantinople; and the Provisional Government accepted Milyukov's attitude. But the masses, who made the Revolution in the name of peace, bread and liberty, negated the proposition; on May 2 and 3, the

revolutionary masses in Petrograd demonstrated against Milyukov, the Provisional Government, and all imperialistic aims. As a consequence of this and other pressure, Milyukov and others were compelled to resign, and on May 18 a new Provisional Government was organized, a "coalition government" which contained representatives of the revolutionary democracy, of the Soviets,—coalition being accepted against the violent protests of the Bolsheviks.

At this stage, a bourgeois revolution had been definitely accomplished, not by the bourgeoisie, but by the proletariat, who momentarily, however, allowed the bourgeoisie to usurp power. It was a political revolution. But with this change at the top, there was a movement at the bottom, an elemental bursting forth of the revolutionary activity of the people. This activity alone, destroying and reconstructing fundamentals, could accomplish *the* Revolution.

The revolutionary masses had constituted as instruments of revolutionary action their Soviets, of Workers, of Soldiers and of Peasants,—the self-governing units of the organized producers, completed forms of the "sections" and "communes" of the French Revolution. These Soviets constituted the only real power; but under the influence of the moderate Socialists, all power was yielded to the bourgeois Provisional Government. The Soviets were class organizations characteristic of the proletarian revolution; under the pressure of revolutionary events, they usurped powers of government, developing from exclusive instruments of revolutionary action into instruments of revolutionary government. The moderate Socialists, under the guidance of the Mensheviks (representing the dominant opportunistic Socialism) and the Social-Revolutionists, wanted to degrade the Soviets into a "parliamentary opposition"; the revolutionary Socialists, represented by the Bolsheviks, wanted all power to the Soviets, a revolutionary government of the Soviets alone. This was the decisive struggle of the Revolution,—the struggle between the bourgeois Provisional Government and the developing proletarian government of the Soviets.

The world concerned itself much with the attitude and proposals of the politicians during these early days; but the decisive events of the Revolution were being prepared by the masses. The bourgeois political tendency, which aimed simply at a change in the forms of government,

enthroning the bourgeois republic and bourgeois supremacy, was superficially dominant; but the real factor was the economic revolutionary tendency of the masses, which aimed at a complete annihilation of the old regime and a reconstruction of the industrial system. This was apparent in the peasants seizing the land, in spite of the prohibitions of the Provisional Government; this was apparent in city after city, where, even at this early stage, the Soviet usurped the functions of government, in the workers electing Shop Committees to control factory production, and seizing factories closed down by owners as a measure against the Revolution.

The Provisional Government, being bourgeois, paltered on the land question, since confiscation would be inimical to the interests of the bourgeois peasants, capital and the banks; the Provisional Government, being imperialistic, had to dodge and bluster about the war and the purposes of the war, and lie about peace while continuing to wage war; and the Provisional Government, being capitalist, had to protect the interests of the capitalists in all vital measures. The old bureaucracy had been retained; and all progressive measures were sabotaged by these hang-overs of the old regime, as the capitalists sabotaged production. The crisis developed more acutely; the revolution had only begun. But revolution is the great educator and developer of class action—temporary reverses created a new opportunity.

Czarism having persisted beyond its historical necessity, its overthrow found the proletariat highly developed, much stronger than the bourgeoisie; the breach created in the old order, by the momentarily joint attack upon Czarism, provided an opportunity for the revolutionary proletariat, directing the poorer peasantry, to break through for action and the conquest of power. Revolutionary Socialism seized the opportunity.

The bourgeois—"Socialist" coalition government did not improve matters: the crisis dragged along miserably and agonizingly. Words instead of action, promises instead of accomplishment, reaction instead of revolution—this was the course of events, supplemented by starvation and disorganization. Victor Chernov, Social-Revolutionist, was compelled to resign from the Provisional Government, because his measures to prevent

speculation in land (used as a means to cheat the coming distribution) were rejected; the bourgeois Minister of Trade and Industry resigned because he considered Socialist Minister of Labor Skobeleff's measures too radical. The peasants were discontented because of the prevailing chicanery on the land problem, the workers because industry was being consciously demoralized, the mass of the people because an imperialistic war was still being prosecuted. Where was peace, where was land, where was freedom? All that the petty bourgeois Socialist representatives accomplished by accepting coalition (which, in fact, however, was not accepted but *forced* upon them) was to deceive the masses, to stultify and hamper the class struggle, to provide a popular sanction for the reactionary bourgeois policy of the Provisional Government. The bourgeois-"Socialist" government paltered miserably on all the vital problems of the Revolution.

But everywhere the tendency of the masses was at work, the local Soviets assuming more and more the functions of a revolutionary government, peasants seizing the land and workers taking control of the factories. The Bolsheviks, adhering firmly to the class struggle, awakened the masses to class-consciousness and definite revolutionary action. There was never any doubt that the revolutionary Socialism of the Bolsheviks would conquer among the industrial workers; the real task was among the peasants, and the Bolsheviks secured their support by intensifying the agrarian class struggle, by splitting the peasantry and aligning the poorer peasants and the agricultural workers against the conservative, bourgeois-rich peasants. An agrarian revolution was necessary in Russia; but, owing to peculiar historical conditions (development of Capitalism while Czarism persisted) this agrarian revolution could be accomplished only as a phase of the proletarian revolution.

On June 18, the Petrograd workers, under the inspiration of the Bolsheviks, determined upon a demonstration against the Provisional Government. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets, then in session in Petrograd, issued a declaration against the demonstration, and the Government prepared to crush it by force. The

Soviet moderates had become definitely counter-revolutionary; the demonstration was abandoned; but it broke out on July 16-17, after the ill-fated July offensive, (determined upon as a diplomatic trick,) and after the bourgeois ministers had resigned because of a disagreement on Ukrainian autonomy. The demonstration was to have been a peaceful one; but counter-revolutionary gangs and government troops provoked the masses, and for two days there was savage fighting in the streets, resulting in a victory of the Government. Then followed a reign of terror: the masses were disarmed, Bolsheviks arrested, including Trotsky, and an order issued for Lenin's arrest, who went into hiding, from where he continued to direct the revolutionary campaign. The All-Russian Soviet Central Executive Committee, dominated by the moderates, aligned itself with the Government: the moderate Socialists had become the real enemy of the Revolution. The proletariat and poorer peasants, the proletarian revolution, could conquer only by the annihilation of moderate Socialism.

But the crisis had become more acute. The pressure of the masses increased; and a new Government was organized with the "Socialist" Kerensky as Premier: "Socialism" was now the last bulwark of defense of Capitalism. The first important act of Kerensky was to restore the death-penalty in the army, a restoration demanded by counter-revolutionary generals as a measure against the soldier democracy, and to call a Conference at Moscow in August, at which convened all the reactionary forces of Russia, and where it was openly declared that the thing necessary for Russia was the abolition of the Soviets. It was apparent at this Conference that the counter-revolutionary forces were preparing a *coup* against the Revolution. The *coup* materialized early in September in General Kornilov's revolt, which Kerensky had invited to crush the revolutionary masses of Petrograd, but which Kornilov transformed into a *coup* equally against Kerensky, and which Kerensky thereupon opposed. The revolt was crushed; but it convinced the masses of the force of the Bolshevik contention—either all power to the Soviets, or the defeat of the Revolution. The aftermath was swift and certain: in Soviet

after Soviet the Bolsheviki became ascendant, and Leon Trotsky was elected President of the most important Soviet, that of Petrograd. The final struggle approached: the masses prepared for all power to the Soviets, the reaction for the drastic suppression of the Soviets, while the coalition government, symbolizing a fictitious unity of all the classes, was marching to destruction.

Kerensky tried to bolster up his declining prestige and power, by means of a Democratic Congress and a Preliminary Parliament, which declared Russia a Republic. But Kerensky was completely discredited; he could talk, but he dared not act, hesitation, compromise and intrigues characterizing his desperate policy. With the discrediting of Kerensky came the discrediting of the moderate Socialists in the Soviets. This process was feverishly accelerated by the problem of peace. Kerensky had tried, and vainly, to secure a revision of the war aims of the Allies; the Soviet Central Executive Committee, still controlled by the moderates, elected Skobelev to represent it at the Paris Allied Conference which was presumably to discuss war and peace aims; but the Entente Governments declared that they would not recognize Skobelev, and that, moreover, the Conference was simply to discuss military measures. The conclusion was clear: only by means of class action and the revolutionary struggle could peace be secured, only by means of the uncompromising struggle against *all* Imperialism and the repudiation of petty bourgeois Socialism.

This was at the end of October; some time earlier the Bolsheviki had called for a meeting of

the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. This created consternation equally among the bourgeoisie and the moderate Socialists: the Congress, it was clear, would accept the program of the Bolsheviki. The Central Executive Committee, in spite of the fact that a Congress was due, refused to call it; but the Bolsheviki issued their call for a Congress to convene November 7. This initiated the definite proletarian revolution in Russia, of which the uprising of November 6 in Petrograd was an incident: the revolution had been accomplished in the local Soviets, which accepted Bolshevism, and which had become organs of revolutionary governments as well as instruments of revolutionary action. The Congress on November 7, decreed all power to the Soviets, created a workers' and peasants' government—the proletarian revolution had conquered! It had conquered by means of the class struggle, by means of revolutionary Socialism, by means of the Bolsheviki's magnificent capacity to transform a general revolutionary situation into definite revolutionary action.

All power to the Soviets constituted a proletarian revolution, necessarily; a Soviet government implied the adoption of revolutionary Socialist measures, the initiation of the process of introducing the institutions of communist Socialism, *and the struggle for the international proletarian revolution*. In all its activity the Soviet power has adhered to its Socialist ideals, its revolutionary honor and the interests of the international proletariat—and *this* is the full measure of revolutionary Russia's achievement and our appreciation.

F.

