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The Immortal in the Russian Revolution

By G. Zinoviev.

The periodical *La Commune*, one of the most important periodicals at the time of the Paris Commune wrote with reference to the revolt of the Paris Communards, that it was not a question of the "Republic" but of the "Revolution". This was an unusually acute observation. These words are the more remarkable as they were written on the 31st of March 1871, i. e., two weeks after the commencement of the revolt. Yes, that was not the "Republic" but *the Revolution*; it was not a bourgeois republican uprising, but *the beginning of the Proletarian Revolution*. It was a movement which in its depth and in its historical significance for the first time merited the name of Revolution.

If that was true with regard to the Paris Commune, it is so much the more true with regard to our Russian Revolution. When we summarize the results of the first five years of the Soviet Power, we must with pride apply the words of the Paris periodical to our Revolution: *with us in Russia it is not a question of the Republic, but of the Revolution*.

"Tradition was overthrown. Something unexpected happened in the world. Not a single member of the ruling classes sat in the government." Thus was the Paris Commune characterized by Arthur Arnault. And P. L. Lavrov wrote in his celebrated book on the Paris Commune.

"The Revolution of 1871 decided for the first time in history, to place at its head "unknown men" from out of the people. The Paris Commune of the year 1871 was the first organization of society at whose head there stood Frankl, Varlin and other manual laborers. And in spite of all imperfections and failings in the rule of the Commune, they proved, that the working class can provide men capable of carrying out the functions of society; men who not only discharge their functions no worse than the functionaries from the intelligentsia—who up to now have looked upon administration as their specialty . . . In comparison with the decrees of Parliaments and Ministers, which are carefully drawn up by experienced statesmen, the legislation of the Commune scarcely merits any censure. The Bookbinders, the locksmiths, the gold-workers have proven themselves to be as well qualified in these things as the pupils of Lyceums and Colleges who have grown up among statesmen and

politicians. The Paris Commune during its short existence finally destroyed the illusion, that bourgeois education could give any priority for the filling of public positions . . . The great March days of 1871 were the first days in which the proletariat not only achieved a revolution, but in which it also stood at its head. *This was the first revolution of the proletariat.*"

These words of Arnault and Lavrov speak of what is immortal in the Paris Commune.

With so much greater right then, can our great Russian Revolution apply these words to itself. The difference between the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution is the difference between the child and the full grown man. The Paris Commune lived 72 days and died in the blood of its best sons. The victorious revolution in Russia is celebrating its fifth anniversary in a situation which fully guarantees that the hardest times are behind us and that the final victory of the working class is assured.

The great Russian Revolution has also created many transient and incidental things. Such a great river which raises such high waves will throw mud and dirt and rotting corpses on the shore. But the Russian Revolution has also accomplished many things which are eternal and immortal beyond dispute.

The immortal of our Revolution consists before all in that it has transformed the masses of the people. Our great Revolution is great because it has annihilated the fetish of the bourgeois state. The great storm of the Revolution has swept away all the remains of that mysticism which in the eyes of the "lower" masses, envelopes the secret of state power. The working masses of Russia saw with their own eyes how a state is made and how a government is brought about. And whatever hard fate was allotted to our working masses during these five years, one feeling remained in them vital and unchanged: the masses felt themselves to be *creators* of their new power, as *subjects* and not as mere objects of the state power.

For five years, "unknown men" have ruled that sixth portion of the earth's surface known as Russia. "The locksmiths and the bookbinders" hold the power in their hands, in the factories and workshops, in the mines, on the railways, in the districts, counties and provinces (of which many are as large as a whole state), and in the whole of Russia.

What gnashing of teeth there was on the occasion of the well-known statement of Lenin that the proletarian revolution will make any kitchen maid capable of governing a state. Look around you, you doubting Thomasses! Is not this prophesy being fulfilled? Are there no manual workers today ruling our state? Of whom do our Soviets consist of if not of manual workers.

But there are no Soviets in Russia!—we hear the Mensheviks and other followers of the bourgeoisie on all the street corners shout.—Your Soviets are only fiction! . . .

Have we then no Soviets? They say this to us because our Soviets do not resemble the bourgeois parliaments. Are there no Soviets? They say that to us in the fifth year of the Soviet Power when the Soviets have permeated the flesh and blood of the people.

There are no Soviets!

This gentry may look at the last elections for the Petrograd Soviets where, in this great reviving proletarian city, there was not a single worker, not a single working woman, not a single daily wage worker, not a single kitchen maid, not a solitary youthful worker, who had not in one way or another taken part in the election of the Soviets.

What is immortal in the Russian Revolution consists in this that the masses of the people, millions and tens of millions of workers have been transformed from objects of the State into its *creators*. It is just this fact which created a new Russia, opened up infinite sources of human energy, educated a new generation of youth, and evoked in our workers such courage and daring as the world never saw before. In former revolutions the thrones of the Tsars were not seldom shaken; but with us in Russia the throne of the bourgeoisie was for the first time overthrown. For the first time in the history of mankind there stands the 5 year old *Revolution*, (not bourgeois republic),—alive and growing.

In many countries with an advanced labor movement, in Europe and America, the workers are more educated and stand on a higher cultural level than our Russian workers. But our Russian proletarians on the fifth anniversary of the Soviet Power have an enormous advantage over their brothers, the workers of the rest of the world. The advantage is this, that our workers possess the *practical experience of the first proletarian revolution*. They not only saw how the revolution was made, but they made it themselves. In this sense we stand a head taller than all the rest of the workers of the world. In the glance of the backward Russian weaver, or of the unskilled worker, in the glance of the most unskilled apprentice who has not yet left the vocational school you could easily see—if you would but look—a little spark which does not exist and which cannot exist in the proletarians of those countries which have not yet made their proletarian revolution. This "something", this spark, was born of the victory of the Proletarian Revolution. This "something" expresses the whole realism of the great revolutionary years, and the whole heroism of the gigantic events of these sacred years. They saw *everything*, they lived through everything and they vanquished the bourgeoisie,—they, the sorrow-laden Russian working men and women. In this sense our Russian workers are more mature than the workers of the whole bourgeois world. But that does not mean that after some time the workers of the advanced countries will not overtake the Russian proletariat in many fields,—after they have vanquished their bourgeoisie.

Only those who have machines where their hearts ought to be, cannot see the immortal in the Russian Revolution.

And this practical experience also makes the Russian proletariat the advance guard of the international labor movement. It is this that in a few years gave the Russian workers the power to become the leaders of the whole Communist International.

Who serves whom? Soviet Russia the world revolution, or the world revolution Soviet Russia? Does the Soviet Power serve the Communist International or the Communist International the Soviet Power? Our enemies never cease to interest themselves in this question, some of them "elaborate" this theme more or less from calumnious intentions, others from simple stupidity. You wise heads? Which serves which? The foundation of a house—the roof, or the roof—the foundation. Ponder over this riddle?

A small but in its nature a great practical experience of the Paris Commune renders the revolt of the Paris Communards immortal, in that they showed to the workers of the whole world for the first time, how the bourgeoisie is to be overthrown. The sublime five years experience of the Bolshevik Revolution renders immortal the revolt of the Russian workers on an incomparably greater scale. The Russian proletarian revolution—whatever the sceptics and incredulous may say—lives in the hearts of the workers of the whole world, it is their model, their summons to fight, their hope and guiding star.

To put it quite shortly: The immortal in the Russian Revolution consists in the fact that it is the beginning of the World Revolution.

Five Years . . .

By Victor Serge (Kiev, 20th of Oct., 1922).

Let us recall what the workers of Russia have suffered and accomplished in five years. No other contemporary people has suffered more or accomplished more for the cause of Humanity,

1917.

For three years Europe was only a field of death and an immense factory for the production of death. Men were creating silence. Silence in the trenches as in the cemeteries. And in this silence was heard the crash of a collapsing Empire. Tsarism gave way, a Tsarism seven centuries old, the heritage of the emperors of Byzantium, and of the Mongolian Khans, built upon serfdom, consolidated from century to century by the blood which flowed from its gallows, ruined slowly by a succession of monsters and imbeciles, placed at the head of a stupid nobility of landed proprietors, this Tsarism crumbled at last.

Days of exultation at Petrograd and at Moscow. Crowds, beflagged and adorned with red, chanting the *Marseillaise*. The ascent from the peaceful and powerful suburbs towards the palaces. Financiers, wise parliamentarians, large manufacturers, for whose profit the slaughter existed, who wished to possess the Dardanelles, now thought: "We are the government of the Republic."

And the chorus of the two great Socialist parties echoed, "Yes, you are the government of the Republic."

Democracy. War to the end. Until complete victory. Order. Property. Social Reforms. Citizen Kerensky makes a big speech . . . This great cry which rises from the throats of a hundred and thirty million peasants and workers: *Bread, land, peace!* It will be stilled by the machine-guns. The artillery makes itself felt against the Soviet of Kaluga. Lenin, "German agent", awaits his hour. Kornilow proclaims himself dictator on the basis of the death penalty in the armies . . . The Social-Revolutionary Party is governing!

Enough. These workers and soldiers' assemblies, this party of dishonoured sectarians—this stuff good only for work, this food for cannon, and its brain—desire bread, land, peace, and still more: the liberation of all those who labor. In them lives the consciousness and the will of a class. They rise. On the 25th of October, the date fixed in advance by the Bolshevik Party, a new crash is heard in the silence of the trenches of Europe, in the heavy murmur of the canon: and it is a capitalist democracy which has crumbled . . .

1918.

Will this country now be able to apply itself to work, to peace, to liberty, and set itself up as a shining example? No. Five hundred thousand intellectuals are undermining by sabotage the daily vital task.—All the chancellories of the world are disturbed. Ambassadors, military missions, in the capitals are intriguing, spying, plotting, destroying. In all parts of Russia, whatever there remains of strength in the bourgeoisie and in the nobility, is preparing to re-establish order. Kornilov, Kaledin, Doutov, Alexeiev, Denikin, Koltchak, Skoropadsky,—and in turn, the Germans, the French, the English, the Greeks, the Americans, all the machinery of the old regime, all the military of the international bourgeoisie are getting ready to cut the throat of a revolution.

But what defiance! The land—socialized. The factories—expropriated without indemnity. The secret treaties, divulged. The loans,—repudiated. The banks—nationalized. The Jew, the Woman, the Child, the Soldier, the Convict,—free, all free! Finland—free, Poland—free, peace declared to all peoples without annexations or indemnities. The red flag over the cities, the red flag over the trenches.

The Constituent Assembly. Eloquence: "Democracy, representation of the people, socialization, fidelity to the Allies . . ." The sailor Jelezhiakov leans gently over to the president; "My men are tired, go away!"—and there is no more parliamentarianism in Russia.

—These are criminals, dreamers and fools!—says the fat bourgeois, folding up his paper,—Thank God, we shall soon see them all hung!

For the German armies are tightening their vice. Brest-Litovsk strips Russia of the Ukraine, with its abundant wheat fields, and of the Don basin with its precious coal. For the Czecho-Slovaks cut off the road to Siberia. For Democratic Socialism shoots down the proletarians of Samar, Saratov, Kazan. For the revolutionary Socialists of the Left are revolting against their brothers. For the torch kindles Yaroslav. For the English are at Archangel, the French at Sebastopol, the Japanese at Vladivostok, the whites everywhere. For a discontented "revolutionary" has just lodged two bullets in Lenin's chest.

"Bolshevism is going to pieces!"

Do you think so? Do you think that one can kill an entire class, conscious of itself as a class, standing on its feet? So much the worse for you, if you do.

The revolution which was progressing without hate, comes back, armed with a double edged sword: The Red Terror, The Red Army. Blood has not ceased to flow: but that of the poor is not the only blood being shed — and does not flow to the further enrichment of the rich! As another revolution in 1792 threw the head of a king to the Monarchist Coalition, so the Russian Revolution throws the head of the last Tsar to the capitalist coalition.

1919.

A year of war, of famine, of fabulous possibilities. Horses dying of hunger on the streets, passers-by white and swollen, scrofula, typhus, cold, hunger.—Treachery.—The causes for hope: Soviets of Bavaria, Soviets of Hungary, the *International* sung by two thirds of Europe. The blockade, untold misery,—nothing matters. Will there still be frontiers tomorrow?

The work of hate is however accomplished. 13 states,—all great powers among themselves—are in league against the barbarous Bolshevik, as Lord Churchill declares. Eleven thousand workers have just been massacred in Finland. In Berlin, Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Yoguiches, have been killed. Léviné is shot in Munich. Cervin is hung in Budapest. Jeanne Labourbe is killed at Odessa. Koltchak, supreme governor—with General Janin, reigns over Siberia. Denikin holds the South. Youdenitch—with General March—is at the gates of Petrograd. An iron circle is locked around the Russian Commune. From the Caucasus to Finland, from the Arctic Ocean to the Crimea, from the Ural to the Baltic, not one outlet! The International reaction stretches its barbed wire, sets up its instruments of execution, puts in motion its universal information dispensers, to spread the insane lie which is to dishonor the Russian Proletariat, about to have its throat cut.

Communist commissars, red commanders moulded in six months after leaving the factory, dreamers,—yesterday's apprentices—sailors, lads, students, workers in red caps, no one doubts any longer of what stuff you are made, of what feats you are capable, of what force lies in your fists. We learn suddenly that you are invincible when the Revolution—of which you are the soul and body—crushes at one time, in these October days of the second year, three armies of reaction.

You remain the only revolutionists standing on their feet in ravaged Europe over which the hangmen are the masters. And you invite your brothers of all lands to found the Third International of Workers

1920.

Shall peace come at last? The old world has understood that it will not succeed by killing off this people. The call issued from Smolny and from the Kremlin has resounded to Paris, to London, to Buenos Ayres, to Tokio, to San Francisco, to Sidney, to the Cape. Anarchists, Syndicalists, Socialists, all schools, all sects, all workers, all Humanity with the future in its heart, understood that this is truly the birth of a new world in the greatest pain and the worst agony.

The terror is ended. The treaties of peace are signed. The blockade is broken. A World Congress sits at Moscow.—The Communist edifice is about to be built. Communes of provisioning revive, factories are going to take new life. Money is abolished. Everything is for everybody. A united rational plan of production. Workers' universities. Proletarian culture. Electrification. Handing over of production to the unions. The International.

No, comrades, we are not so near to the end. Those who should bring to a successful conclusion the work which you have commenced are paralyzed yet by too much indifference, too great a lack of consciousness. You are still alone, in spite of the great enthusiasm which millions of workers show for you.

And since you are alone, a new attempt is to be made against you. Bring back the terror, be again the Red Army—not the Army of Work—France has recognized the Crimea of Wrangel, the Poles have entered Kiev

1921.

The harsh winter of want after the war. Nerves at the end of their force. The canon of Cronstadt. Sailors and peasants set up against the Communist Revolution because they are at the end of their power, they no longer understand, they only desire one thing after so much suffering: to work their land and to sell what they produce to assuage their hunger The peasantry needs rest. It has bled too much. Too many of its most clear-sighted sons have deserted it either dead or advancing too far for

the groping masses. A halt is necessary. And with the nightmare passed, Lenin gives the signal.

Yes, a halt is necessary! Nothing moves in Europe. Two Socialist Internationals, one Trade Union International mark time there, following with tiny steps old, old courses and ruts. Now after the ups and downs of civil war, a dry hot summer has burned the plains of the Volga. Thirty million peasants—five million of whom are children—are going to die slowly of hunger, unless some mighty effort is made to save them

Thus it is. The revolution will make concessions. Without renouncing anything. Keeping all its power. Remaining the Proletarian State, ready to help the workers, of whatever country they may be, to rise in their turn and accomplish their historic task. Retaining its schools, its libraries, its great socialized factories, its Red Army. Penetrating each day more profoundly into the awakened country with a higher form of life. Keeping its militant party ready for all developments. Remaining the home of the International.

The Fifth Anniversary

By Sydor Stoler.

The fifth year on the way to victory; the fifth year of the acid test passed; the fifth year of hope justified in a world of darkness, misery, ruin, disintegration, blood. The fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Let us rest for a moment from our daily struggle towards our ultimate common goal, and pass our eye over this earth of ours, and see what it looks like, what is passing on it, what it is in the present and what it holds for us in the future.

Germany, the Germany that was to rule the world,—subdued and throttled, outraged by its own rulers and by its rulers' rulers. Its people naked, starved, enslaved, sweated and bled, picking semblances of food from the manure heaps—the brave people that overthrew its grand oppressor only to get hundreds of bestial and sadistic Noskes instead; the people that made a final desperate effort in March 1921, when it realized its cynical fate,—from Hohenzollern to Noske—only to be crushed in blood; it was too weak, its enemy too strong and cruel.

France, the rich, beautiful country, "Sunny France", exhibiting its wounds to a world grown indifferent to suffering; its fields sown with millions of young seeds that were once flesh and blood, and that could, in a better world, have grown to be producers, creators adding to the store of the good and beautiful of which the earth is capable. Misled by the prostitutes clad in frock coats and top hats, and intoxicated to rejoice at its own wounds, the French people is beginning to open its eyes, to clear from its stupor,—another giant awakening.

Great Britain, the mighty oppressor, is playing her last card; the little ignorant man in Downing Street who ruled the world for so long is overthrown,—but only after he steeped humanity in blood and received a pound sterling for each bloody word that came from his bloody reminiscences.

Austria, starved until she was compelled to sell her body and soul to the first bidder.

Italy, ruled by the black shirts; and her bravest men who are fighting for the amelioration of her own and mankind's misery, tied to elegant touring cars (the product of capitalist science and "civilization") and dragged through the streets of Rome . . . to satisfy the sadist body-guard of King Capitalism.

Hungary, the Hungary that one morning thrilled a working world with the news that it had contributed a battalion to the Worker's Red Army . . . turned into a White Guard paradise, where the most cruel white terror is raging unabated.

Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Finland, the little "independencies", offsprings of the war and the "victors", turned into so many thorns to plague the vanquished and to ward off the "Red Peril".

Roumania, crowning kings and anointing them with the blood of Communists

Spain, clamouring for attention from the capitalist world of terror and stretching out her bloody arm into foreign lands for the victims she chose to sacrifice on the altar of capitalism.

America, the land with the tallest statue of liberty, the largest and technically most perfect sweat-shops on earth, the land of unheard-of opportunities, where the most corrupted politician can become Supreme Court Justice and the dullest professor president, the home of Daugherty and the Ku Klux Klan, (the founders of the Fascisti School), the country where more labor leaders are hung in one year than in the whole of Europe in a decade; America the richest country in the world, rich enough to burn grain as fuel (the mad spite of capitalism), while

hundreds of thousands of workers are starving within the country, and desperate famine-stricken Russian mothers are eating the bony cores of their children

All this and more that revolts, that defies pen and word,—all this constitutes the picture we still see within the gilded frame of capitalism. Be proud King Capitalism,—for this is thy own creation.

But is this our final word? Are we despondent, lost in pessimism. Are we grown stagnant because of lost hope and callous indifference?

No! A thousand times no!

We are alive, active, working, proud of our successes, wiser through our failures, cheerful, filling and consolidating our ranks, recruiting men and women, free men and women for our army,—the army which five years ago still had all to conquer and nothing to defend, but which today has a fortress, a powerful strategic stronghold to defend, and many, many more to capture. There is *Soviet Russia, the first Worker's and Peasants' Republic*, the first column torn from the capitalist structure, the first concrete victory.

The fifth anniversary of the Soviet Republic of Russia, the Russia that was transformed almost overnight from the black dread of everything human and free to the citadel of the oppressed, the persecuted, the bled and starved. Do you realize what it means to say: "*the 5th year of the Soviet Power*", and to be conscious of all that this conveys?

It is well nigh unbelievable. Look,—a simple people of over one hundred millions, rising to throw off the chains that shackled it for centuries: its simplicity not yet eaten up by the worms of capitalist sophistication, thus enabling it to grasp the simple truths of Socialism more easily than is the case with the more "civilized", (sophisticated) Westerner; and in its simplicity calling an enemy an enemy and a mask a mask; one hundred million Russian workers and peasants seizing power and maintaining it for the fifth year. Five years of bitter struggle with Denikins, Koltchaks, Yudenitches, Kerenskys; five years of systematic isolation and blockades on the part of the capitalist world; five years of combat against the paid agents of the Entente within Russia, and of armed attacks from the little hirelings that compass the vast Russia. Then an untold elemental catastrophe,—the famine that mowed down millions of human beings like you and me, while in every city and village of the gluttonous and rotten capitalist world, champagne bottles popped, and corn and wheat were thrown away and burnt because they could not yield enough profits, profits, profits

That was not all. There were yet those that came to put salt on the wounds and sores of Russia. The international Social Democracy seeing its existence threatened, turned flunkey and body-guard of the proletariat's enemy. Campaigns of lies and slander, intended to besmirch the Revolution that could not be downed by force, followed. Social Democratic traitors, who were rewarded for their treachery to the working class, by ministerial posts, had the audacity to enter within the gates of the Revolution to defend the Revolution's murderers and poisoners.

But in vain! The revolution stood its ground. The world proletariat which had failed to spread the battle along the whole front, and to win the final victory, realized that if it did not defend the only trench that had been captured, its own struggle would be retarded lamentably; it rose like one man to fight the deadly famine. The critical point was passed; constructive relief begun.

Washington, Genoa, and the Hague,—the three fiascos instituted to delude a sick world and to cross swords with the Revolution, failed to intimidate Soviet Russia.

Revolutionary Russia was destined to live.

American and Japanese armies and ammunition, allied mercenaries and threats, and Social Revolutionary counter-revolutionaries at home, and Social Democratic lies and slanders, and the isolation, the famine, the epidemics,—all, all failed. Soviet Russia is alive. The Revolution is celebrating its fifth birthday. Its flags are flying high over the Kremlin in Moscow, in Odessa, in the Urals, over the former Tsarist building in Berlin; its star is proudly pinned upon millions of breasts throughout the world; it has an army of 300,000 strong in Germany, the country that will pass the word *Revolution* further on to the West; another army of 250,000 in the little country of Czecho-Slovakia (with a population of 14 millions); its Italian divisions already skirmishing with the consciously organized counter-revolutionary Fascist bands; its French divisions are being consolidated and made fit for the struggle.

This,—after five years of existence.

Today on the 7th of November 1922, the IV. World Congress will be opened in Moscow. Militants from every corner of the earth will be present. They will hear the achievements of the past year in the various sections of the International Army, report on the situation and strength of the forces in their own lands, receive instructions, transmit what they have heard and seen to an expectant many-millioned army, and await the favourable moment.

Yes, you sincere pacifists who mistake wars, both civil and international, for an *individual disease*, instead of seeing in them the *social disease of capitalism*, the last war has yet to be fought. Let us hope it will also be the next one,—but until that final decisive class-war is over, and the world proletarian army victorious, your peace is a mere wish, a dream with no basis in reality.

You soldiers and sailors who are still serving your masters and enslavers, look upon the Red Workers' Army, the defender of the First Workers' and Peasants' State, and ask yourselves, whose battles you are fighting, whose blood you are shedding, and why?

You deluded intellectuals, open your eyes and minds and ask yourselves why the capitalist world so obstinately persists in its spiritual blockade of Soviet Russia. Why? Because free Russia, which is thirsting for knowledge, has created a soil upon which the scientific and technical achievements and discoveries of humanity can be made to serve humanity and make man a better and more intelligent being. Because a free Russia with plenty of machines tools and books, and having free intercourse and exchange of ideas with the outer world, might convince you scientists and intellectuals that there is a higher mission for Universities and Schools than to produce entertainers and comforters for the fat parasites, while subjecting the majority of mankind to torture and suffering.

Workers, yours is the next war and yours the next victory. Capitalism is condemned to death by its own contradictions and rottenness.

The introduction to a new era has already been made. With the Soviet Republic began a new volume in the history of civilization. Five years have passed in which an immense work of clarification and reorganization of forces after the first victorious encounter has been accomplished. Soviet Russia has been waiting for reinforcements for the last five years. How much longer will you keep her waiting?

The Russian Revolution and the Anglo-Saxon Lands

By M. Phillips Price.

Once again the annual celebration can be held of the foundation of the *first proletarian state* that has yet risen in the comity of nations. Once again our thoughts go back to the bitter struggles that characterized the birth pangs of the Russian Soviet Republic, as we survey the long series of events which led the Russian workers and peasants through the civil war, the fight against internal economic disruption, the fight against famine to the new economic policy, and the slow but steady commencement of economic reconstruction on a Socialist basis of society.

When we consider the influence which this great revolution has had on the people of the Anglo-Saxon lands, particularly of England, we shall find that two important aspects must be borne in mind. First, the effect of the Revolution on the ruling classes, and secondly the effect on labor. As regards the first it may be said that the first effect of the revolution was one of fear. It was expected that the actions of the Russian revolutionaries, particularly the nationalization of the key industries and the annulling of the war loans, would give an example to Labor in England. As England, however, was not interested to the same extent in the debts of the Tsarist government, this actual fear of heavy financial losses did not play so great a role, as it did with France. Nevertheless the fear was great enough to cause the British government to submit to the desire of the French militarists and to sanction the armed intervention of the Allies in Russia in the summer of 1918.

With the defeat of Denikin and Koltchak a new period in the relations between England and Russia began. The ruling classes of England, seeing that they could not overcome the Russian revolution by force, tried to come to terms with it for the purpose of weakening it from within. This was considered desirable partly in order to secure a "peaceful liquidation of Communism", whereby the British investors in Russian industrial securities hoped to be able to continue their exploitation of the natural resources of Russia, and partly in order to prevent a strong Russia from acquiring too much influence over the suppressed peoples of Asia. The old anti-Russian policy of Lord Beaconsfield has been for some some time past the key-stone of

the policy of certain of the English statesmen, particularly of those of the Anglo-Indian school. At the same time the motive for the fear of Russia with these people is different from what is was in the days of Beaconsfield. Whereas then the Anglo-Indians feared, or pretended to fear the extension of the Empire of the Tsar in Asia at the expense of the territories which they ruled, today the fear is that the example of Russia, in throwing off her semi-feudal, agrarian aristocracy, is likely to be followed by the peoples of India, Egypt, Persia and Mesopotamia and that the latter will receive diplomatic support from Russia in attaining their ends.

When we come now to consider the effect of the Russian Revolution on British labor, we find considerable lack of clear understanding. The actual revolution without doubt created widespread sympathy, for the most part inarticulate, among the broad masses of the workers. British labor through the special Trade Union Conferences in the autumn of 1919, summoned to decide on action against the Allied intervention in Russia, showed that it was ready for direct action to defend the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Again in the summer 1920 it formed the Councils of Action to stop England entering the Russo-Polish war on the side of Poland.

But this action was not followed to its logical consequences. The leaders of the Labor movement in England took care to prevent the movement from going beyond the bounds of a purely pacifist, anti-war action. What they failed to do on August 4th 1914, they decided to do six years later and again in this last month, when they threatened to act against participation in the Greco-Turkish war on the side of the Greeks. Thus it comes about that the movements among the British labour masses in support of Soviet Russia have always taken the form of anti-war demonstrations. They have prevented the ruling classes of England from using the British army and navy to defend the interests of the British concession hunters in Russia and the East, but they have never gone so far as to declare war on these concession-hunters in their own country. For this reason the British labour movement tends to be pacifist and its leaders are a prey to all the dangerous illusions and fallacies of people who see half the truth but are frightened of looking at the whole truth. Hence the support which the British Labour party through the Second International has given to the campaign for "poor little Georgia, suppressed under the tyranny of Bolshevik bayonets". These people, who demonstrate against war, fail to see how they are being used as tools of British Imperial policy in the East, when they follow the illusions of "an independent Georgia". They fail to see in that Georgia what Trotsky so well described as "an area of the Russian civil war". The process of educating the British labor movement in the principles of Communism and the class struggle will take some time but it will undoubtedly be accelerated by the breakdown of the economy of the British Empire, the heavy taxation and before all by the creeping paralysis of unemployment.

Calendar of the Russian Revolution

The men who make history have not the leisure to write it; not even to take note of dates, when they are the moulders of a society against which is leagued the whole universe. So that at the present time there is not yet a history of the Russian Revolution, nor a complete chronology of its events. The one which follows has been set up from some Russian documents, principally from the remarkable Workers' and Peasants' Calendar of 1922, published by the State Library of Petrograd. It cannot be denied that this history contains a great many deficiencies; its value will be none the less real until we can get at better sources. It suffices to recall the great struggles of the Russian Revolution; it can and should foster the desire to study the history of the Revolution — infinitely fertile in lessons. To him who will attentively follow it, this chronology will even give a correct idea of the various stages of the Revolution, as well as of its extent and depth. It will be seen, for instance that during the time that Prince Lvof, Milioukov and citizen Kerensky, simultaneously or successively, believed themselves the governors, that the Workers and Soldiers' Soviets were multiplying throughout vast Russia, and were taking fundamental revolutionary measures, which the provisional government could only later incorporate. The Revolution may be seen founding, in the midst of counter-revolutionary conspiracy, civil war, foreign intervention, and the terror,—the only workers' school, and looking after the interests of its youth! It will be realized, in a word, what a tremendous debt, the humanity which labors and which is striving towards a better future, has contracted, in the course of these years, towards the workers and peasants of Russia.

1917

MARCH.

The Fall of Tsarism. — Democratic Revolution. — The Government of Prince Lvof. — Formation of the Soviets.

8. First encounters in the streets of Petrograd, between the demonstrators and the Tsar's police. First victims.
12. Formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets of Petrograd.
13. Arrest of high officials of the old regime, and of the Ministers (Petrograd). — Capture of the Bastille of Schlüsselburg. — Publication of the first number of the *Izvestia* of the Petrograd Soviet.
14. First decree of the Petrograd Soviet abolishes the old military discipline and founds the elected Regimental Committees. — Formation of the Moscow Soviet.
15. Abdication of Nicolas II. in favor of the Grand-Duke Michael (Pskov). — Formation of the Provisional Government. — Formation of the Nijni-Novgorod Soviet.
16. Abdication of the Grand-Duke Michael. — The ambassadors of the foreign powers recognize the Provisional Government. — Formation of the Soviets of Ivanovo. — Voznesensk and of Tula.
17. Liberation of the political prisoners in Siberia. — Formation of Workers' Soviets at Perm and at Irkutsk.
18. The publication at Petrograd of the first issue of the *Pravda*.
19. The Provisional Government sets free the political and religious prisoners of the old regime.
21. The arrest of Nicolas Romanov at Mohilev and of the Empress at Tsarskoye-Seelo. — The Petrograd Soviet invites the workers of the world, in its first manifesto to them, to make peace and to reestablish the International.
23. The Petrograd Soviet decrees the eight hour day.
25. Tremendous demonstrations in the large cities, against the war and for the eight hour day. — The Provisional Government abolishes the death penalty.
27. The Petrograd Soviet urges the workers to resolutely demand peace, and recognizes the right of subject nationalities to independence.
28. The Provisional Government recognizes the independence of Poland.

APRIL.

The Growing Power of the Workers' Soviets.

1. First All-Russian Congress of the Workers' Cooperatives.
2. Abolition of the laws of religious and national oppression. — The Moscow Soviet decrees the 8 hour day.
5. The solemn funeral rites at Petrograd for the 1382 militants of the March Revolution, fallen for liberty.
7. Provincial conference of Soviets at Moscow. — Moscow, Voronej, Nijni-Novgorod, Sormovo, Kozlov, Smolensk, are represented.
9. The Provisional Government declares itself against all annexation and proclaims its fidelity to the Allies.
11. The All-Russian Conference of Soviets at Petrograd.
16. Arrival of Lenin in Russia.
17. Lenin sets forth, before the Social Democratic Party, his thesis on "the task of the proletariat in the revolution".
20. At Minsk, the Congress of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets from the Western front and from behind the lines.
26. Conference of peasants at Petrograd.
29. At Wolmar (Lithuania), Congress of agricultural workers and of landless peasants.

MAY.

Kerensky's Regime.

1. Labor Day is for the first time celebrated in freedom. — The Provisional Government affirms its desire to fight on the side of the Allies: "to the final victory". Governmental crisis. Public manifestations of indignation.
6. The Cronstadt Soviet declares recognition of the Provisional Government, but at the same time declares that it is working for the seizure of power by the proletariat.
7. The All-Russian Conference of the Bolshevik Party (140 delegates).
13. Conference of the Factory Committees of Petrograd.
14. Ministerial changes. Kerensky enters the ministry as Minister of War. Milioukov leaves.
17. The Ekaterinburg Soviet condemns the war and the coalition.
18. Formation of the ministerial coalition of the bourgeois and Socialist parties. — All-Russian Congress of peasants.
26. The peasant Congress approves all the steps taken by the Soviets for the revival of the International.

30. The Cronstadt Soviet refuses to obey the Provisional Government and proclaims itself the only lawful power. — The Soviet of the Lettish sharp-shooters issues a proclamation against the offensive, for fraternization at the front, for the power of the Soviets.

JUNE.

7. The Peasants' Congress creates Land Committees to prepare for the nationalization of the soil without indemnity.
15. Proclamation of the *Declaration of Rights of all the Russian peoples*.
16. The first All-Russian Congress of the Workers and Soldiers' Soviets meets at Petrograd.
19. The Soviet seizes power at Sebastopol.
21. Petrograd. Third All-Russian Conference of Unions.
27. Petrograd. Conference of the Bolshevik organizations of the front and interior.
29. The All-Russian Congress of the Soviets plans a workers' peace demonstration for July 1st.

JULY.

First Attempt of the Proletarian Revolution.

1. Petrograd. Impressive workers' demonstrations, "all power to the Soviets", "against the offensive", "against the capitalist ministers".
15. The meetings of the Petrograd garrison demand the handing over of power to the Soviets. Work is stopped in the factories.
16. The Cadet Ministers resign. Workers' insurrections at Petrograd under the slogan: "*All power to the Soviets*".
17. Kerensky denounces the Bolsheviks as German agents and causes the insurrection to be suppressed by the Cossacks and the soldiers recalled from the front.
21. Shooting in the Petrograd streets. — Kerensky disarms the doubtful regiments. — The Bolsheviks are hunted out. Arrests.
29. The Congress of the Executive Committees of the Soviets (in which the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks still have the majority) declares for a coalition government.
31. The Provisional Government orders the dissolution of the Finnish Sejm (Parliament).

AUGUST.

3. The Conference at the Winter Palace, in which all political groups except the Bolsheviks take part, decides to allow Kerensky to change the Ministry at his will.
5. Formation of a new coalition government comprising five Social-Revolutionaries and three Social Democratic Mensheviks.
8. Sixth Congress of the Russian Social-Democracy (Bolshevik Party) at Petrograd. — Ninety delegates representing 200,000 members are present.
13. The general strike at Helsingfors forces Kerensky to recognize the autonomy of Finland.
21. The Finnish Sejm, dissolved, holds session again under its own authority.
22. Kerensky suppresses the Bolshevik sheet, *The worker and the Soldier*.
25. Publication of the Program-Manifesto of the Bolsheviks.
26. Opening of the governmental conference at Moscow. General Kornilov demands strenuous measures for the re-establishment of discipline in the armies. The Conference is concluded on the 28th.
26. The proletariat of Moscow, protesting against the "Democratic Conference", goes on strike. 400,000 strikers.

SEPTEMBER.

Defeat of military dictatorship.

8. General Kornilov tries to assume the dictatorship, provided in a secret agreement with the provisional government. He launches a cavalry division against Petrograd. The energy of the Soviets prevents the success of the counter-revolution. This gives a new impetus to revolutionary agitation. Kornilov is arrested some days later.
14. The provisional government proclaims Russia a Republic.
15. The Executive Committee of the Soviets decides to invite all the democratic organizations to meet and to place the question of power before the Constituent Assembly.
17. Trotzky arrested after the July revolt, is freed on a 3000 ruble bond.
19. The Petrograd Soviet adopts the Bolshevik motion on the seizure of power. The Executive of the Soviets (Tcheidze, Gotz, Skobelev, Tchernov, Tzeretelli) resigns.

19. The Bolsheviks declare at the Petrograd Soviet, that "the hour has come to seize power".
21. At the election of the Petrograd Soviet, the Bolsheviks obtain the majority.
24. The Committee of Sailors of the Black Sea Fleet demand the handing over of power to the Soviets and the nationalization of land without indemnity.
25. The Petrograd Soviet delegates Lenin and Zinoviev to the "Democratic Conference".
27. The Soviet seize power at Tashkent and a Astrakhan.
29. The workers' delegation to the "Democratic Conference" decides to demand that power be handed over to the Soviets.

OCTOBER.

Towards the Social Revolution.

6. Opening of the Democratic Conference (Pre-Parliament) at Petrograd.
7. The Bolsheviks have the majority in the municipal elections of the capital.
8. Trotzky is elected President of the Petrograd Soviet.
10. At Reval, all the military and workers' organizations of Esthonia demand the dissolution of the Pre-Parliament and declare themselves ready to participate in the seizure of power by the Soviets.
14. The Provisional Government creates a Provisional Council for the Republic.
19. The Provisional Government dissolves the *IV. Duma*.
20. First meeting of the Provisional Council of the Republic. The Bolsheviks march out after having demanded the power for the Soviets.
25. The Provincial Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets of the North adopts the Trotzky motion on the immediate handing over of power to the Soviets.
30. First All-Russian Conference of the Factory Committees at Petrograd.

NOVEMBER.

The Proletarian Revolution.

1. By a majority of 332 votes to 207, the Moscow Soviet decides to grant all the workers' demands, without waiting for the decisions of the government, to arrest the capitalists sabotaging production, and to call the masses to take over the management of production. The unions cooperate with the Moscow Soviet.
2. The Ivanovo-Voznessensk Soviet passes a vote of censure against the provisional government.
3. The Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee requests the garrison to obey its orders only.
5. The Provisional Government sends troops against the Kaluga Soviet, which is dispersed.
7. (= October 25th, old calendar). The Petrograd Soviet and the Military Revolutionary Committee seize power in the capital. Seizure of the Winter Palace, arrest of the members of the government, flight of Kerensky. — Opening of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
10. and 11. Street fighting at Moscow between the workers and soldiers grouped around the Soviet, and the Cadet schools, the officers and the students grouped around the Municipal Duma. The Soviet seizes power at Saratov.
11. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets places Lenin at the head of the government.
12. The Cossacks of Krasnov and of Kerensky, on the march to Petrograd, are defeated by the Red Guard at Tsarskoe-Selo.
13. Decrees of the Workers' Government (Council of People's Commissars consisting of Bolsheviks and Left S.R.'s) on the eight hour day and the formation of a proletarian militia.
14. Decree to the District Committees for the redivision of the land. Capture of General Krasnov by the Reds. (He is soon freed on his word of honor no longer to carry arms against the Revolution.)
15. Publication of the Declaration of the Rights of the Workers. — Victory of the Reds at Moscow.
20. Battle of Vyborg (Finland), between white Guard and the Reds. — The Soviets seize power at Ekaterinoslav and Lugansk.
21. The Council of the People's Commissars begins the publication of the secret treaties. — The Soviet seizes power at Krasnoyavsk, Siberia. — The Soviet of landless peasants in Latvia likewise decides to take over power.
23. Funeral services of the victims of the October battles at Moscow. — Order to arrest the *Committee for the Safety of the*

Fatherland and the Revolution. At Petrograd, Second Extraordinary Peasants' Congress.

24. Elections to the Constituent Assembly. — The Archangel Soviet assumes power.
25. Decree on the abolition of castes and civil titles. — The Congress of the Finnish Social Democracy discusses the seizure of power and does not exclude the policy of coalition. The Bolsheviks seize the General staff of the Western Front.

DECEMBER.

The Beginning of Civil War.

3. Arrest of the Commander-in-Chief Doukhonin. He is killed by the Red Marines.
4. The Congress of the Armies of the Western Front meets at Minsk. 633 delegates: 407 Bolsheviks, 103 without any party affiliations, 74 Left S.R.'s. The Ensign Miasnikov is elected Commander-in-Chief.
5. Signing of the Armistice with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. — Decree on the right of recall of the Soviet deputies. — At Orel and Podolsk, the institution of Soviet power.
7. Cessation of hostilities with Germany and the beginning of demobilization.
8. Suppression of the State Banks, of the Nobility, and of the large landowners. — At Belgorod, General Kornilov's troops give battle to the Reds.
9. The Soviet government calls upon the workers to combat the armed counterrevolution in the South and South-East. Generals Kaledin (Don), Kornilov (Don and Kuban), Dutov (Ural, Caspian), the nationalist Rada of Ukraine, have taken up arms. — Armistice on the Roumanian front. — Seizure of power by the Soviets of Torela, Kherson, Yaroslav, Eletz, Invanovo-Voznessensk.
11. At Petrograd, attempt at a putch by the Constituent Assembly.
13. Discovery of a Cadet-Monarchist conspiracy at Petrograd. — Signing at Brest-Litovsk of a general armistice on all fronts, including the Caucasian.
15. Confederation of the Soviets of Siberia.
16. Message of the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Trotzky, to the people and governments of the Allies.
17. Ultimatum of the Soviet Government to the Ukraine Rada. — The participation of the Allied missions in Kornilov's coup is discovered.
18. Decrees on the formation of the Superior Council of Economy and on State Control.
22. Opening of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk.
23. Second Congress of Soviets of the Roumanian front.
25. The People's Commissars decide to set aside for the needs of the revolutionary movement, the sum of 2,000,000 rubles. — All Russian Congress of Railway Workers.
26. The German Delegation at Brest Litovsk accepts the basis for negotiations as presented by the Soviet Government.
27. Decrees on the nationalization of banks and the inventory of the treasury.
28. Kornilov's troops occupy the Don basin.
29. Decree abolishing grades and outward demonstrations of respect in the army. — All the military are declared to have equal rights. — Decree on the transfer of power in the army to the Soldiers' Committees and on the eligibility of commanders of units.
30. Demonstrations in the large cities for peace.
31. Institution of civil marriage by decree.

1918

JANUARY.

The Red Army is formed.

1. Decree forbidding the purchase and sale of land in the cities.
3. Decree on the formation of Revolutionary Tribunals.
5. Decree on the simplification of orthography.
6. Reform of local administration: settling of the rights and duties of the local Soviets.
8. Arrival of the Russian Peace Delegation at Brest-Litovsk.
9. The Rada proclaims the Ukraine an independent republic.
10. The Don proclaims the Soviet Republic.
11. Appeal of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies, Krylenko, for the formation of a Red Army.
17. Decree creating the State Library.
18. Opening and dissolving of the Constituent Assembly, in which the Right S.R.'s have the majority.
28. Decree creating the Red Army, to be formed of volunteers. — Proletarian Revolution in Finland.

FEBRUARY.

5. Decree on the separation of Church from State, of School from Church.
8. Decree on the introduction of the European calendar in Russia.
- Decree on the confiscation of private banks. — Decree on the nationalization of the merchant marine.
10. Repudiation of Russia's foreign debts. — The Russian Delegation at Brest-Litovsk refuses to sign the imperialist demands of the Central Powers, does not sign the peace, but declares the discontinuance of the war, and announces the demobilization of the Russian forces.
11. Repression of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the Esthonian rural nobility.
14. Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Council of Soviets on the organization of the Red Navy.
18. Germany declares the armistice at an end and begins an offensive against Russia.
19. Decree on the socialization of land.
23. All educational institutions of education are placed under the direction of the Commissariat for Public Education, by decree. — The Council of People's Commissars decides to sign the plunder peace of Brest-Litovsk.

MARCH.

Germany imposes upon Russia the imperialist peace of Brest-Litovsk.

3. The Russian Delegation signs the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, without further discussion.
7. Decree on the tribunals.
8. The Seventh National Congress of the Bolshevik Party adopts the name "Communist Party", and modifies the program of the Party, adapting it to the necessities of the transition period from Capitalism to Communism.
10. Formation of the Council of People's Commissars of the Northern Provinces.
11. The capital of the Soviet Government is transferred to Moscow, Petrograd being menaced by the Germans.
14. Opening of the Fourth All-Russian Congress which is to ratify the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
17. Second Pan-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets.
20. A Revolutionary Tribunal, formed to decide matters of urgency, begins to sit at Moscow.
24. Foundation of the Tartar-Bashkir autonomous Republic. — The troops of Kornilov are annihilated at Kuban.
30. Congress of the Kuban Soviets.
31. Second Workers' Cooperative Congress.

APRIL.

Allied Intervention.

1. A Commission is charged to draw up the Soviet Constitution.
3. German troops land in Finland to suppress the Proletarian Revolution.
5. The Anglo-Japanese descent on Vladivostok.
6. Joffe is named ambassador to Berlin.
7. The All-Russian Executive of Soviets invites Siberia to form a Red Army, to defend herself against reaction and against Japanese intervention.
9. The Germans enter Kharkov.
10. Decree on the right of asylum of political and religious refugees in Russia.
12. First news of an English landing at Murmansk.
13. Decree instituting the Consumers' Communes (immense cooperatives assuring the provisioning of entire cities).
18. General Kornilov is killed near Ekaterinodar.
21. First Women Workers' Conference in Moscow.
22. Decree monopolizing foreign commerce.
23. Arrival of the German Ambassador, Count Mirbach, in Russia.
26. Decree on the obligatory military training of all citizens from 16 to 40 years. — Decree on obligatory military service for a period of six months.
28. Third All-Russian Congress of P.T.T. Workers.

MAY.

The Grain Requisitions.

1. Decree abolishing inheritance.
2. Nationalization of the sugar industry.
11. All-Russian Congress of International Social Democrats.
12. Decree on the fight against corruption.
14. Decree of the All-Russian Soviet Executive on the requisition of surplus wheat, on the wheat monopoly, on the pitiless fight against speculation, on legally fixed prices. — Decree forming the Committee of State Enterprises under the

Supreme Economic Council. — The Petrograd Soviet consents to the formation of a coalition government.

18. Decree instituting the inspection of labor.
23. Second Congress of Labor Commissars.
25. Decree giving citizens the right to change their names.
26. First All-Russian Congress of Economic Council.
30. Discovery of the relations existing between secret counter-revolutionary societies of Moscow (directed chiefly by the S.R.'s.) and the White insurrections in Saratov, Siberia, and the Don. — The All-Russian Soviet Executive orders the Commissariat of War to mobilize within 8 days several classes at Petrograd, Moscow, in the Don, and Kuban.
31. The Education Commission establishes compulsory education (mixed schools for boys and girls).

JUNE.

Conspiracy, Assassination, Intervention.

1. Discovery of the conspiracy of the *Union for the Fatherland and Liberty* (Moscow). — Arrests. — Recognition of Georgian independence.
2. The Congress of the Kuban Soviets approves the policy of the Moscow Government.
5. Death of G.V. Plechanov.
6. The Baku Soviet and the Congress of Mussulman Peasants votes for union with Revolutionary Russia. — Decree nationalizing the Tretiakov Museum of Moscow.
11. The Council of People's Commissars decides to mobilize five classes in the provinces threatened by counter-revolution, to crush the counter-revolution and to open the great Siberian routes. — (*Czecho-Slovakian insurrection and S.R. Government of the Volga.*)
12. Decree on the organization of peasant relief.
13. Repression of the Finnish Revolution continues. It is learned that nearly 80,000 workers have been arrested.
14. Exclusion of the Mensheviks and of the Right S.R.'s., accomplices to the counter-revolution, from the All-Russian Executive of Soviets.
16. Suppression of the local Council of People's Commissars of Moscow.
18. Creation of the Socialist Academy of Social Sciences.
20. Assassination of the Commissar for Agitation and Propaganda in Petrograd, Volodarsky, by a member of the Soc.-Rev. Party.
23. Proclamation of the Azerbeidjan Republic.
28. Protest of the Soviet Government against the English landing at Murmansk.
30. Decree on the nationalization of the large industries and of wholesale commerce.

JULY.

The Coup d'Etat of the Left S.R.'s.

2. Conference of the new Social Democratic Revolutionary Party of the Left (Internationalist).
4. Opening of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
6. By order of the Central Committee of the S.R. Party of the Left and in the hope of provoking war between Russia and Germany, Count Mirbach is killed. — Insurrection of the Left S.R.'s (Spiridonova, Kambov, Alexandrovitch), who attempt to seize power, and to govern alone. — The insurrection is suppressed the next day.
10. The Fifth Soviet Congress adopts the Soviet Constitution. The Left S.R. Party splits. Many militants of this party join the Communist Party.
12. Muraviev, commander of the Red Troops of the Eastern front (Volga-Ural) attempts to pass over to the enemy, and failing, kills himself. — Vatsseit is replaced. — Decree on the creation of the Socialist Academy.
13. Fifty officers who refused to fight against the Soviets at Omsk are shot.
16. Nicolas II. is shot by order of the Provincial Soviet of the Ural.
19. Decree on the nationalization of the property of the Imperial family and of the Court.
20. Railroad strike in the Ukraine (then occupied by the Germans).
21. Counter-revolutionary insurrection of Yaroslav, organized by Boris Savinkov, and set in motion by Noulens, is suppressed.
22. Decree calling to arms all citizens from 18 to 45 years, hitherto not subject to military service (The Red Army having begun at the beginning composed exclusively of workers and peasants).

AUGUST.

The S.R. Crimes.

2. A decree opens the institutions of higher learning to all citizens over sixteen years.

11. The workers' organizations are called to take part in the grain requisitions.
17. Defeat of the Czecho-Slovaks, on the Bieloja.
23. Introduction of the system of "rationing by classes" in which the bourgeois classes are allowed a much smaller share than the working-class.
23. Fanny Kaplan, Right S.R. seriously wounds Lenin with two revolver shots. — The President of the Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution, Uritsky, is killed in Petrograd by a Popular Socialist.
29. The Soviets repudiate the treaties concluded by the Tsar with Germany and Austria.
31. Decree abolishing real-estate ownership in the cities.

SEPTEMBER.

The Red Terror.

1. Commissariat of the Interior orders the arrest of hostages from the bourgeois class. — The Red Terror sets in.
11. The Red Army takes Simbirsk.
20. Creation of the *Order of the Red Flag*, and decree on the insignia of the ranks in the Red Army.
21. Landing of Italian troops in the Extreme North of Russia.

OCTOBER.

10. Decree compelling non-workers to furnish themselves with a workman's time book.
16. Decree on the Unified Vocational School (reform of primary education).
18. The Ataman Krasnov, ruler of the Don, is defeated by the Reds.
20. First Congress of the Russian Communist Youth.
30. Revolution in Austria.
31. Revolution in Budapest.

NOVEMBER.

The German Revolution.

2. Decree on the revolutionary extraordinary tax.
6. Opening of the Sixth Congress (extraordinary) of Soviets. — The Russian Workers propose immediate peace to the Allies. (*Abdication of William II, and German Revolution.*)
9. (*Armistice between the Allies and the Central Powers. — Formation of a Workers' Council at Munich.*)
12. (*Proclamation of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria. — At Vienna, abdication of the Emperor Charles I.*)
13. Decree annulling the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
16. All-Russian Congress of Women Workers at Moscow.
17. Formation of the Reval Soviet (Estonia).
18. Latvia proclaims itself an independent democratic republic.
24. (*The Allies threaten Germany with invasion if the Workers' Councils should take over the power there.*)
24. Aided by the counter-revolution (S.R.'s and Mencheviks), the English occupy Baku. — The Omsk Government entrusts Admiral Koltchak with the dictatorship.
28. (*Beginning of the Spartacist insurrection in Germany.*)

DECEMBER.

11. First All-Russian Congress of all rural organizations (Committees of the Poor, Agricultural Communes, etc.).
14. Overthrow and flight of Skoropadski, placed in power in the Ukraine by the Germans.
16. A proletarian government is formed in Vileika, Latvia.
18. The Minsk Soviet decides to unite White Russia with Great Russia.
19. Second Congress of the Economic Councils in Moscow.
22. Decree on the inventory of technical resources of Russia. — The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party declares itself opposed to the reconstruction of the Second International.
27. The Soviets seize power in Riga.
31. Separation of Finland.

1919

JANUARY.

The Red Wave passes over Europe.

- (6. *Spartacist insurrection at Berlin.*)
10. The Soviet Delegation of the Red Cross is assassinated in Poland.
12. Soviet Russia proposes peace to the United States.
- (13. *Workers' insurrection at Berlin is suppressed by the Social Democracy.*)

- (15. *Workers' Republic in Luxemburg. The movement is suppressed by French troops. — Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are assassinated in Berlin.*)
16. Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress.
25. The Allies invite Soviet Russia to the Prinkipio Conference.
26. Eight Communist Parties invite the workers to prepare the First Congress of the Communist International.
30. The Soviet Government of Latvia decrees the nationalization of the land. — (*Death of Franz Mehring.*)

FEBRUARY.

2. Opening of the first workers' faculty at the University of Moscow.
3. First Congress of Soviets of White Russia.
5. The All-Russian Executive of Soviets recognizes the independence of White Russia.
6. First Congress of Science at Petrograd.
8. Decree forming the Council of Child Protection. — Decree on the use of international time.
- (10. *Proletarian insurrection in Berlin.*)
20. Decree on the organization of agricultural communes by proletarian groups.
- (22. *Assassination of Kurt Eisner in Bavaria.*)
- (22. *Proclamation of the Soviet Republic in Munich.*)

MARCH.

Birth of the Communist International.

2. First Communist International Congress at Moscow.
- (10. *Street fighting between Communist workers and troops in Berlin.*)
13. Burial of Comrade Sverdlov, president of the All-Russian Executive of Soviets. — Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party which adopts the program of the Party.
- (22. *Hungary becomes a Soviet Republic.*)
23. Decree on farm work upon the land cultivated by the Red Soldiers.

APRIL.

3. First All-Russian Congress of Physical Culture.
6. Decree on the Workers' and Peasants' Militia.
- (7. *Bavaria proclaims itself a Soviet Republic.*)
12. Decree on state control.
- (14. *Overthrow of the Bavarian Soviets. — The Soviet Regime is reestablished on the 16th, but does not last more than a few days.*)
- (19. *Beginning of the Roumanian offensive against Soviet Hungary.*)
23. The Soviet government calls upon the proletariat to protest against the blockade of Russia.
27. Decree on State aid to artists.

MAY.

The first attack against Petrograd.

9. The first "Communist Saturday". The Communist workers of the station depot of Moscow (Kazan line) decide to work voluntarily on Saturday from six o'clock in the evening to eight o'clock in the morning to repair the locomotives.
13. The Whites of the North-West (General Rodzianko) supported by the Estonians, begin their offensive against Petrograd. — Bulak-Balakhvitch occupy Odov and Pskov.

JUNE.

20. Petrograd is threatened by the White troops. An English fleet holds the sea before Cronstadt. The *Krasnaya Gorka* Fort passes to the Whites. — The Red Army repels the troops of Rodzianko. The Red sailors attack the Fort of *Krasnaya Gorka*.

JULY.

Military Successes.

14. The Red Army having repulsed and beaten Koltchak enters Ekaterinburg. The Volga and the Ural are freed.
19. The Americans evacuate Archangel.
28. In Moscow, the unveiling of the obelisk commemorating the Soviet Constitution, the first monument in stone erected by the Soviet Government.

AUGUST.

- (4. *Betrayed by the Social Democratic leaders, Soviet Hungary is overcome.*)
5. The Red Army takes Yamburg and saves Petrograd.

SEPTEMBER.

The Leontievsky Outrage.

10. Negotiations for peace begin with Esthonia.
18. Esthonia interrupts the negotiations in order to learn the attitude of the other Baltic States.
15. Resumption of relations with Red Turkestan. — The White troops of Orenburg are defeated.
19. Congress of the Finnish Communist Party (Petrograd).
26. The Social-Revolutionaries of the Left and the "secret anarchists" throw a bomb — in conjunction with Makhno — into the meeting room of the Communist Committee of Moscow (Péroulok Leontievsky outrage). 12 militants are killed, fifty wounded.

OCTOBER.

The Russian Commune in danger, the fall of the Whites.

5. Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Youth.
8. Beginning of "Communist Recruiting Week" in Moscow. The Party enrolls 14,581 workers and soldiers as members during this week.
12. The second White offensive against Petrograd begins. Yudenitch seizes Yamburg.
13. The White Army of General Denikin, which occupies the entire Ukraine, marches on Moscow and reaches Orel (Central Russia).
17. Yudenitch occupies Tsarskoe-Selo and Gatchina.
21. Yudenitch's advance is checked by the Red Army at Pulkovo, at 10—15 kilometers from Petrograd. The defeat of the Whites becomes disastrous.
- End of October, the defeat of Denikin, beaten by the Red Army. North of Orel — The recovery of Orel by the Red Army on the 23rd — becomes likewise irretrievable. The White Army of the South retreats to the Black Sea. (This disordered retreat is to end in February by the frightful panic and evacuation of Novorossiisk.) Peasant insurrection embraces all Siberia. Omsk is threatened by the Reds.*

NOVEMBER.

The collapse of the Omsk Government.

- (8. *Communist executions in Budapest.*)
10. Evacuation of Omsk by the Koltchak government. The Reds take possession on the 14th.
25. Discovery in Petrograd of the conspiracy called "Tactical Center", in which the instigators were acting in cooperation with Yudenitch.
29. First Congress of the Mussulman Communists at Moscow.

DECEMBER.

5. Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
24. Insurrection of Irkutsk against the Koltchak government.

1920

JANUARY.

3. The Irkutsk insurrection is victorious. Mid-January. The French general Yanin, fearing for his own safety, delivers Koltchak over to the Red insurgents. The "Commander in Chief" is shot.
15. The revolution appearing now to be out of danger, the Extraordinary Commission of Repression abolishes the death penalty. (This is not reestablished until the Polish offensive.) The Council of Defense changes the Third Army in to the First Labor Army.
24. Third Congress of the Economic Councils in Moscow.

FEBRUARY.

Peace.

2. The peace of Youriev is signed with Esthonia.
4. The All-Russian Executive of Soviets ratifies the Youriev Treaty.
7. The Second Army, transformed into the Labor Army, is assigned to restore transportation in the South-East.
13. Decree on the organization of a Labor Bureau.
26. The First Congress of Red Cossacks meets at Moscow.

MARCH.

6. Decree abolishing imprisonment of delinquent minors.
8. International Labor Day.
29. Opening of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

APRIL.

28. Death of the Russian naturalist K. A. Timiriazev, at Moscow. His last words are: "I have always been for the Revolution."

MAY.

1. Celebrated Throughout Russian by a day of communist work.
10. Arrival in Russia of the first workers' foreign delegation, that of the English trade-unions.
18. Victory of Enzeli. The entire White fleet of the Caspian Sea falls into the hands of the Reds.
22. The Commissariat of Roads and Transportation takes extraordinary measures for the reestablishment of the railroads.
29. Decree on the formation of the autonomous Tartar Republic.
30. The Poles burn the city of Borissov.

JUNE.

Polish Aggression.

7. Arrival of an Italian Workers' Delegation.
10. Second All-Russian Agricultural Conference.
12. The Polish offensive is broken. Entrance of the Red Troops into Kiev. In evacuating the city, the Poles blow up the St. Vladimir Church, the station, the electricity works and the water reservoir. — War against the White Crimea (Wrangel).

JULY.

12. Peace between Soviet Russia and Lithuania is signed at Moscow.
14. The victorious Red Army enters Vilna.
19. The Second Congress of the Communist International opens at Petrograd.
- 20.—25. The Red Army marches on Warsaw.
29. First international conference of Communist Women.
31. A Revolutionary Committee is created on Polish Territory.

AUGUST.

28. Beginning of the census in Russia.

SEPTEMBER.

The first Revolutionary Congress of the Peoples of the Orient opens at Baku. Thirty seven peoples are represented there by 1,890 delegates.

2. The Soviet Republic is proclaimed at Bukhara.
16. The "Organization Week" of the Communist Party opens at Moscow.

OCTOBER.

Wrangel is crushed.

30. The Red Army takes Perekop. The Crimea of Wrangel has no further chance.

NOVEMBER.

1. The evacuation of the Crimea by the Whites takes place. Wrangel hands over to France the last ships of the Black Sea Fleet. — There are no more Whites in European Russia.

The last months of 1920 are filled by an intense effort at organization. The Soviet Government strives to work out a plan for an almost entirely nationalized production. Projects for the electrification of Russia are studied. By the free services of all the public departments of administration, of transportation, lodging, articles distributed by communal stores, and by the suppression of small business, the abolition of money, which has become useless, is on the point of realization.

1921

The beginning of the year 1921 is marked by the insurrection of Cronstadt (1st—17th March) and by the exploits of the peasant troops of the Social Revolutionary Antonov in the Tambov Province (same period). These movements point to the fact that the proletarian revolution is entering on a conflict with the rural backward masses, who still have the petty-bourgeois psychology. To remove the causes of this conflict and in order to relieve Workers' Russia and the exhausted peasantry, the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (on the 12th of March and days following) introduces the *New Economic Policy*, embracing the end of requisitioning in the country and institution of taxes paid in kind, the re-establishment of small business and small industry, the grant of industrial concessions to private and to foreign capitalists.

The Proletarian State declares however, that it is firmly opposed to political concessions, that it will not denationalize at any price the large industries, that it will conserve the monopoly on foreign commerce, that it will limit very strictly the rights of property and inheritance of wealth by individuals, and that it will continue its work of social reconstruction, progressively and in proportion the extent to which the country recovers its strength.