Peace—and the Revolution

Moreover, all the measures comprised in annexations and indemnities are of profit to Capitalism alone, to the industrial and financial magnates, to the oppressors of labor. A peace on the basis of Capitalism will heal the wounds of capital, but never of labor; only Social Revolution can heal the agonizing wounds inflicted upon the proletariat by the war.

Great Britain, France and Italy—and their Capitalism—are determined upon exacting the full measure of tribute from Germany; but this attitude will undeniably accelerate the revolutionary process, convincing the German proletariat that Social Revolution is the only way out; and the definite completion of the proletarian revolution in Germany might inspire the proletariat of the other nations to act, might even eventuate in the proletarian revolution of France and Italy, perhaps of Great Britain, would prove a natural ally of the Russian and German proletariat—and the general European revolutionary flame up into action. And if Great Britain, France and Italy relinquish annexations and indemnities, then their financial problems will become disastrously heavy, they will have to impose immediately new burdens upon the proletariat, the modernity of the war will haunt the proletariat and action toward revolution develop.

Real reconstruction can proceed only on a Socialist basis. Precisely as capital used the opportunity of war to enrich itself and oppress labor, so it will use the opportunity of reconstruction to enrich itself and oppress labor. Moreover, to really reconstruct, it is necessary that there be a release of the giant forces of production; but capital cannot allow this: it will limit reconstruction within the bounds of production for profit. Under Capitalism, reconstruction must first consider the profits of capital, and then the needs of the people. State control of reconstruction will not help, since the state is the bourgeoi's masters. At its worst, Capitalism will use reconstruction to sweat blood out of the proletariat; at its best, Capitalism tries to potter with "liberal" proposals and new concepts, which are really new problems, wrecked on the rock of class necessity.

The peace conference cannot solve these problems; and as it reveals the ineptitude of the representatives of Capitalism ("liberal" and "conservative") and proposes action against the Revolution, the European proletariat will swell the chorus: Peace with revolution!

Imperialism, which is the final stage of Capitalism and a desperate, futile attempt to solve the multiplying contradictions of Capitalism, has objectively introduced the social-revolutionary epoch; and this social-revolutionary epoch has been subjectively introduced by the democratic revolution in Russia and Germany...

Peace with revolution—that was the slogan of the Bolsheviks in Russia, that is now the slogan of the German Bolsheviks, that is the slogan of the developing forces of revolutionary Socialism in all European nations.

Peace with revolution—and it is the task of the American proletariat to prevent interference in the revolutionary determination of Europe's destiny.
The Revolutionary Age

Wednesday, December 18, 1918

The Revolutionary Age: A Chronicle and Expression of Events in Russia

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The Great Deception

A tremendous reception has been accorded President Wilson in France. Dignitaries of the Republie have been invited and dined, words of welcome have been bountied back and forth. A great historical moment, duly recorded by the press and the movies.

But the distinguishing feature of the reception is that a large amount of popular feeling was evoked, the same unconscious masses picturing President Wilson as the peacemaker of the new age and the new democracy. The intense longing of the masses for lasting peace after the inarticulate slaughter for a new world, are being expressed in a temporary acclamation of the President, whose generous use of the popular gesture is the most precious lesson of the American masses and a large section of the European masses.

This is another great tragedy of history. The American and European masses, as yet, do not see that their greatest problem is the world of words of democracy. As the enthusiasm of the war has passed, the deception of all of it is apparent; and apparent now will become the deception of the words of democracy. The bought tragedy of Capitalism is that it mobilizes the energy, the courage, the enthusiasm and idealism of the masses for the purposes of reaction; but already the masses are awakening to the recognition of this, and their energy and idealism is being transformed into the international struggle for Socialism.

Waging the Class Struggle

The great press reports that a French Socialist delegation met the President, who answered with an address, declaring that "this has indeed been a people's war" and that "those who lead your own great nation" are for a new world and a League of Nations. Clemenceau and the Ministry of Reaction, the Ministry of Reaction and the League of Reaction, will constitute the new world they create— it will be a world of capital and the tyranny of capital. The Socialists in France are again nobly waging the class struggle, precisely as the British Labor Party has waged the class struggle of the President's "14 points" by majority "Socialism" in France and England and by the British Labor Party has enormously complicated our task of awakening the American proletariat, as well as awakening the proletariat of France and Britain. The straight and sure tactic is—dependence alone upon the class struggle of the Socialist proletariat.

A Challenge to a Lie

The bourgeoisie press has never tried as often, as in- famiously, as it lies these days about revolutionary Socialist Russia. And it isn't simple the yellow gutter press that does it. The most pretentious lies are manufactured by the "respectable" and "intellectual" press: the gutter and the university, the intellectual and the roughneck, are a unity against Russia. The "Christian Science Monitor." in an editorial in its December 13 issue, lies stupidly and viciously.

Says the "Monitor": "The government, called to aid the aid the two international Jews Ulisloff [Yudin] and Bronstein [Trotzky] by conveyed them across territory to the Russian frontier."

Le No. 1: Ulisoff-Levin is not a Jew, but a pure Russian, of the Coastar petty nobility.

Le No. 2: Bronstein-Trotzky was not transported across Germany to Russia: he left New York, was seized by the British and interned at Halifax, released upon the fall of the British government, and entered Russia by way of Sweden.

Says the moral, intellectual and clean "Monitor": "And so, with all restraint thrown aside, and the vodkas opened, shops are being looted in all directions quickly degenerated into license and anarchy." (Under the Soviet regime.)

Le No. 3: The President of the United States opened the vodka shops; as a fact, the Soviets were the one great force against drink. Drink promotes the power of the Black Hundreds, not the power of Socialism.

Says the religious, God-fearing "Monitor": "In the German organization of Bolshevism in Russia..."

Le No. 4: Bolshevism is not German; on the contrary, the conception of Socialism violently opposed by Bolshevism was typified in the dominant Socialism of Germany. Fact: It is Germany that is now importing Bolshevism, not and Russia that imported Bolshevism from Germany.

We do not challenge the editoral liar of the "Monitor" to retract these stupid lies. It is useless to ask this of course; they have no real case against the Bolshevik, and must resort to lies; to retract these lies, might mean the awakening of the American proletariat; and that might mean—more Bolshevism!

The Beam in Our Eye

The psychology of the American ruling class, which makes it impossible to step into the consciousness of the workers, is very peculiar. The American ruling class boasts of "the utmost in democracy," and they couldn't if they tried; but practically every action of the government is a breach of democracy; it praises of "civilization" and "humanity," and tells the world that the world will have no civil war, while it is plotted and virtually engineered.

And it isn't simply the American press who are not struggling for a world of democracy, it also means depression for a world of democracy.

The President, in his annual message, in his "peace" address, in his "peace" conference favoring "democratic" intervention in Russia, by its virtual acquiescence in the expulsion of Maxim Litvinoff from England, by its conference with Kautsky for "democratic" intervention in Russia, by its bureaucratic through Arthur Henderson acting against every development of revolutionary energy and initiative in the British proletariat. The British Labor Party has been a typical party of laborism, in that it struggles for a place in the governing system of things, for petty advantages to the upper layers of the working class, instead of struggling for the overthrow of the governing bourgeoisie.

The British Labor Party has been and is a party of social-Imperialism, its policy in tendency the reactionary policy of majority Socialism and unionism in Germany,—except in the case of more radical, oppositional unions.

A characteristic of laborism is that it acts against the interests of the masses of industrial proletariat, against the unorganized proletariat of unskilled labor. The "labor" government in Australia, once in power, used planks that were occupied by absolute majorities of foreign-born workers in the Peace Conference, and indicates that Russia is one of the "backward nations" that the League of Nations should be bound to turn back to. This is the usual point of view.

The American War Trade Board has made definite plans to reopen trade relations with Russia—that is, with those parts of Russia not controlled by the Bolsheviks, which are incoherent. The process of starving Russia is still in action. And aliens troops are still in Archangels and Vladiwrapo.

The Labor Party

There is a movement developing among the working classes of the American labor movement to organize a Labor Party. The movement seems acquiring definite character and strength, central labor councils in a number of cities having approved of the proposal.

This may, in a measure, be a reflex of the similar movement among the Canadian unions. It is, in still larger measures, an expression of the new currents that the war and events of the class struggle among the world's working-class—expressed in immature and conservative form.

It is, accordingly, a more that, while it should not meet enthusiastic un- critical acceptance, merits the serious study of the Socialist who does not flee from reality by means of phrases, nor accepts every "reality" as real, but who studies the social alignment as a means of developing appropriate Socialist tactics.

The organization of an American Labor Party may prove a step forward for the A. F. of L., but not necessarily a step forward for labor. The A. F. of L., which has insisted all along upon "politics in the unions" while dikting and compromising with Democratic and Republican politicians, may develop an independence by means of independent politics. It may, moreover, by showing the futility of A. F. of L. politics, hasten the day of real Socialist political action by the proletariat.

The New York "Call" writes that there is no necessity for a Labor Party since the Socialist Party has been in the field for twenty years. This is either an admission that the Socialist Party is no more than a Labor Party, or a Menshevik refuses to admit the fundamental differences between a labor-Bolshevik and a Socialist Party. In either event it is counter-Socialism.

What is a Labor Party? The Labor Party, in England and in Australia, has been, from the standpoint of revolutionary Socialism, hopelessly reactionary and un-proletarian. The British Labor Party's policy is a petty bourgeois policy, a counter-revolutionary policy, as has been clearly apparent by its unity with imperialist Capitalism in the British Cabinet, by its declaration that the war was a war of democracy, by accepting petty bourgeois liberalism in the imperialist British Cabinet, by its imperialist nationalistic proposals concerning Ireland, by its virtual acquiescence in the expulsion of Maxim Litvinoff from England, by its conference with Kautsky for "democratic" intervention in Russia, by its bureaucratic through Arthur Henderson acting against every development of revolutionary energy and initiative in the British proletariat. The British Labor Party has been a typical party of laborism, in that it struggles for a place in the governing system of things, for petty advantages to the upper layers of the working class, instead of struggling for the overthrow of the governing bourgeoisie.

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of Hughen, and more radical currents are developing in the Australian Labor Party under pressure of the industrial proletariat and revolutionary Socialism, but the tendency still remains characteristic of a Labor Party.

When the transport workers, miners and unorganized workers in New Zealand in 1913 determined upon a general strike, the skilled labor unions refused to strike. The I.W.W. strike at Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914, was another episode in this trend. The I.W.W. unionism is an attempt to direct the energy of the unorganized laboring class against the industrial systems of society. It follows the trend of the industrial proletariat, but its recent workers.

The A. F. of L. is not the proletariat and the industrial proletariat because it seems that a new party was emerging to a full policy of labor. It acquired a proletarian class policy after the Dublin strike in 1913-14 and cooperates with the unskilled workers. During the war, it adopted a radical official attitude, but its recent decision to withdraw its parliamentary candidates in favor of the Sinn Fein candidates indicates an abandonment of the straight path of proletarian action for the tortuous ways of compromise bourgeoisie.

The tendency of laborism, of a Labor Party, is the petty bourgeois tendency of compromise, of conciliation, of securing advantages for ise itself by betraying the mass of the industrial proletariat and accepting Socialism.

An American Labor Party will express precisely the tendency and purposes of the A. F. of L. These purposes and tendency are reactionary and opportunistic.

The A. F. of L, is not interested in the great industrial proletariat of unorganized, unskilled labor—the bulk of the working class; in fact, the A. F. of L has repeatedly acted against and betrayed its strikes, particularly when directed by the I. W. W. The A. F. of L is largely an organization of "job trusts" of the industrial proletariat—such as the C.P. and others, and which has again and again united with Capitalism against Socialism and the proletariat.

The American Labor Party has been in existence only since the war has been even more reactionary than the most reactionary elements of Capitalism, amply satisfied that the war was bringing steady employment and high wages; and this bureaucracy, through Samual Gompers & Co., directly united with Imperialism in Europe against Socialism and the awakening of the proletariat—even the British Labor Party for too "radical" for Gompers & Co. Gompers developed into a tool of Lloyd-George and Clemenceau and is still a "radical" for the rich.

The tendency and purposes of the Labor Party, should it eventuate, will express the reactionary tendency and purposes of the A. F. of L. That is escarlat.

But, then, would a Labor Party be simply an evil? Not at all; it might indirectly promote progress by demonstrating on the larger field of politics the weak, petty policy of the A. F. of L, which might in that way prove an educational force, and clarify the situation in a large degree. That is, providing that Socialism would adapt itself to the new conditions and would not become a cat's-paw for the Labor Party.

There is element, in the Socialist Party whose policy is not at all Socialist, but the policy of reaction tendency, of unification who would welcome a Labor Party. These elements would insist that the Socialist Party identify itself in some way with the Labor Party, either become absorbed in it, or become the Independent Labor Party in England. This would be disastrous to revolutionary Socialism, identifying Socialism with laborism. The Socialist Party should maintain its independent Socialist identity.

But it must be admitted that the official majority of the policy of the Socialist Party is largely the policy of a Labor Party; and should the party retain this policy, it would be in such a Labor Party conquer. The organization of a Labor Party, accordingly, would be a call to the Socialist Party to recognize itself.

The nation represents the petty bourgeois tendency of the industrial proletariat, to reconstitute itself with the new revolutionary Socialist ideas now developing a new pulse in international Socialism—ideas which alone represent Socialism and Marxism.

The Socialist Party would have to irrevocably and uncompromisingly separate itself from a Labor Party which is committed to the "two-corner" theory. Not by promising more reforms than the Labor Party, but by a propaganda of revolutionary Socialism and industrial unionism, by awakening and directing the energy of the great mass of the industrial proletariat. This would mean a broadening of the conception and practice of politics—a broadening of the unity of revolutionary and social doctrine.

The A. F. of L does not represent the elements of the proletariat—the industrial proletariat massed in the larger industry. The A. F. of L, except in the case of anachronisms such as the miners represents the skilled workers, the aristocracy of labor, men who have skill and consider this skill "property." The ideology is a petty bourgeois ideology, and their domination of Socialism and the industrial proletariat would prove a calamity. The answer to the A. F. of L's compromise and petty bourgeois policy is the awakening of the industrial proletariat and the industrial mass movement.

Socialism must have an economic basis—industrial power. But this will not be provided by the A. F. of L or the policy of Labor—did the British Labor Party use industrial power to secure for its delegates access to international conferences held outside of England? The industrial power of Socialism must come out of the militant proletariat in the larger industry, from the propaganda and practice of industrial unionism and industrial mass action.

Should the Labor Party eventuate, this reconstruc­tion of the Socialist Party policy become imperative; thus reconstruction is equally necessary should the American Labor Party exist. The Socialist Party must assume itself to the rhythm of new ideas is international Socialism.

There is no magic in "labor,"—it depends upon what "labor" represents, its tendency and action. There is no magic in "Socialism," either. Both may prove reactionary and counter-revolutionary. The great task of international Socialism at this moment is its own reconstruction—the final struggle against Capital and Imperialism is on!

Bolshevism in America

By John Reed

N response to anxious queries from our capitalist acquaintances as to the danger of a Bolshevik Revolution in the United States within the next two weeks, we wish to settle the question once for all.

1. The American working class is politically and economically the most uneducated working class in the world. It believes what it reads in the capitalist press. It believes that the wage-system is ordained by God. It believes that Charlie Schwab is a great man, because he can make money. It believes that Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor will protect it as much as it can be protected. It believes that under our system of Government the Millennium is possible. When the Democrats are in power, it believes the promises of the Republicans, and vice versa. It believes that Labor laws mean what they say. It is prejudiced against Socialism.

Note: Organized Labor's candidate for Governor of California, Mayor Rolfe, was a very ordinary type of bourgeois politician. Through a technicality his name was removed from the ballot. This meant his certain defeat. Labor said it would put its weight solidly behind the Socialist ticket. "Oh," answered Labor, "the Socialists will never get elected. What's the use of throwing away your vote?" I am told that Labor wrote Rolfe's name on ballots, and Stephens won.

2. American Labor disapproves of the Russian Soviets, the German Revolution, and other manifesta­tions of "anarchism" or "Bolshevism." If the British Labor Party is "going too little too far?" it seems to be dominated by "nuts." As for the French and Italian movements, who cares what the "wops" do?

Note: On November 7th some Socialists had a pamphlet printed to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Government. When they went to get it at the trade union office, the member of the Great American Union said, "I don't know whether I'll give you this stuff or not. It's all about the Bolsheviks. You guys ought to be arrested!"

There is the exception of the Jewish workers, other foreigners, and a devoted sprinkling of Americans, the Socialist party is made up largely of petty bourgeois, for the most part occupied in eating Alder­man's sandwiches, serving time-serving politicians, and in explaining that Socialism does not mean Free Love. The composition of the English-speaking branches is: little shop owners, clerks, doctors, lawyers, farmers (in the Middle West), a few teachers, some skilled workers, and a handful of intellectuals.

Nothing is farther from the normal desires of the American Socialist party than a Revolution. It is really the refuge of almost all intelligent humble people who believe in the principles on which the Ameri­can Republic was founded. It has never alarmed the Bolshevik. It applauds the German Revolution largely because it thinks that the Ger­mans are more radical.

4. There has been a definite shift or Revolutionary wing in the Socialist party. This fact has driven many workers, dissatisfied with industrial conditions and disillusioned with politics, to join the Labor­ers, clerks, doctors, lawyers, farmers (in the Middle West), a few teachers, some skilled workers, and a handful of intellectuals.

5. This is just another proof that in America the Socialist movement is diverted from the great mass of the working classes whose interests between this country and Europe is that in Europe the Labor Unions were organized by the Socialists, on class­organizational lines; while in America Organized Labor is in theory a defensive group of citizens with similar interests in a theoretical democracy where all men are equal.

6. In the United States the Socialists have some power. They can swing a million votes. The official majority in the Socialist party is more interested in "swinging" these votes than in Socialism. But they cannot compete with bourgeois reform groups like the Progressives, or the Democrats under Wilson.

7. Nothing teaches the American working class to prepare hard and represent it. Hard times are coming, repression is organized on a grand scale. In America for a long time there has been no free land, nor freedom of workers to organize and the Red flag suppressed. The working class does not yet know this.

The very fact that for the next decade America promises to be the most reactionary quarter of the globe is sure to have its effect.

8. If Tom Mooney stays in jail, if wages go down, if Socialists are arrested and the red flag suppressed, there will be a revolutionary movement in this country in five years. Bismarck couldn't stop it in Germany.

The War Trade Board has laid plans for reopen­ing trade relations with those sections of Russia not controlled by the Bolsheviks. We wonder if this is another way of saying that business is to be continued with Stockholm.

Perhaps the new "Russian" Government recently organized in the Swedish capital has placed an order for writing materials with which to carry on its functions.

It looks very like Italian-determination for the Jugoslavs.

Speaking at Nottingham, England, the other day, "J. R. Clynes, ex-labourite, frankly admitted that he thought the Bolsheviks were a threat to the country. ..." says a press dispatch. If his confession was voluntarily it ought to be considered in his favor,
Japan and Siberian Intervention

By Sen Katayama

The Hara ministry has been very favorably reported in the foreign press as the first of the Japanese party governments whose premier is a commoner, or a party title. Truly Hara is the recognized leader of the Socialist party. The Russian Bolshevik expedition and the popular demonstration against the militarism of the Terauchi ministry, in the form of force fed riots, were the chief causes of the present government.

Baron Uchida, the former ambassador to Petrograd and present Minister of Foreign Affairs, led the fight against intervention in Siberia, and finally succeeded in overthrowing Terauchi. If he possesses any conscience, his first act as Minister of Foreign Affairs should be the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Siberia.

Even under the Terauchi ministry the Japanese press frequently characterized the sending of troops to Siberia as "a meaningless act," or more severely as "an outrageous proceeding," but still the Japanese soldiers are in Siberia. All we know about the attitude of the Hara government towards Russia and the Russians is that so far it has not expressed any insinuated feeling towards the Bolsheviks. Premier Hara has even gone so far as to state that his government will not withdraw the Japanese troops in Russia, "Bolsheviks or otherwise."

Japan's foreign policy, or, rather, lack of foreign policy, is inherently weak and is consequently easily influenced by the inner movements. But it is apparent that the Hara government will recognize the Bolshevik government as it becomes increasingly clear that it is the stable government. The prediction, made while we were still beset with the retrograde views of the seat of the Russian Soviet Republic, that Bolshevism was "the world-wide power that will eventually dominate Europe—first Austria-Hungary, then Germany and finally end the present war," shows that Uchida must have been impressed by the Bolshevik ideas of freedom. But now he is the foreign minister of the present government...

Divide and Rule

Divide and rule—such is one of the basic principles of the imperialistic policy. With this principle in mind, imperialists among the Allies are being guided while they aid and deepen the separatist movement in the former Empires of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs. The more Chinese Walls are built around the numerous peoples in Germany and the more petty states are being increased by nationalism and the worse for the cause of the proletarian revolution. In this respect, the interests of the proletarian revolution and the interests of imperialists among the Allies are directly opposed.

Let us take the most striking example. The Austrian-Germans quite definitely expressed their desire to join the German proletarian republic. The interests of the proletarian revolution can but gain because of this. Moreover, the decision of the Austrian Germans to join Germany is quite natural from the purely national point of view. Why, then, a question arises, should obstacles be created against this normal desire?
The so-called Central European federalism is a dream which the imperialists among the Allies, however, have already begun to protest. The organ of Parlia asli, "the Matin," declares against the political union of Austria, Hungary, and the German-speaking parts of the Empire. Germany's national policy is the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Deschanel, states openly that the Allies will take care that this union should not be realized. Probably, threats will be used to create the fear of the part of the foreign powers of the anxiety of the inhabitants of these nations. A union of all Germans, from the point of view of the imperialists among the Allies, is inadmissible. Of course, the matter changes when the thing concerns the possible disunion of such a people. The rumor that Bavaria intended to separate from Germany was met with loud approval. Such an attitude of the Bavarians among the imperialists among the Allies need a weak, broken-up Germany, since such a Germany will not become an international capital. However, Germany may become a Socialist republic, and a strong Socialist Germany might become a deadly menace to international capitalism.

Let us go further, however. The existence of a long row of small independent states will create the political atmosphere of perpetual national conflicts, the classical example of which were the Balkans. The annexation of the large State Imperialism found it very convenient to catch fish in the waters of mutual distrust and nationalistic passions among the small states. One ought not go far to see an example. The Polish nationalistas in Galicia have already begun a deadly struggle with the Ruthenian nationalistas. In the vicinity of Lvov and Prezmysl, the conflicts, the so-called 'national' contests, the so-called 'national' battles have already taken place. And this is merely a beginning!

The so-called Great-Serbian aspirations are far from being ideal. The Slavs of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia have an open hostility brooked. This will play into the hands of Italian Imperialism, which is always ready to step up to the shoulders of its neighbors. The Balkans, the region of the large State Imperialism and in name. But the Hara ministry is termed a People's government, is formed. Mr. Noda, Minister of Transportation, represents the Fukushui, the so-called "People's party," which is a "party of the people," but really represents Mitsui, the millionaire, and the cotton and coal industries of Japan. Mr. Nakashima, Minister of Education, represents the millionaire of Kitakata and Osaka, and also the Osaka Merchant Marine Company. Mr. Yamamoto, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and Mr. Taka­

As experience shows the labor movement loses a great deal where national conflicts and disagreement dull the edge of the class struggle. There were cases, as, for instance, in Boehmia, where the workers must drop from the Russian proletariat and put themselves on account of an important figure in that ministry: Minister of the Army Tanaka. Tanaka, representing the Choishu clan, is a well-known Japanese general— the von Mohlke of Japan—and an ardent advocate of intervention in Siberia. As long as this imperialist is Minister of the Army, the policy of Russia will be dominated by militarists. Moreover, the destruction of German militarism and the miserable fall of Kaiser Wilhelm will be the check on the Japanese militarists, while Uchida's influence will be strengthened by the power of Bolshevism in Europe.

The Hara ministry is a camouflage popular government, a party government supported by the Japanese capitalists and at bottom by the same old autocratic influences. At the same time this corrupted, capitalist and oppressive government will hasten the final crash of the Russian autocracy. The recent awakening of the workers in Japan is nothing remarkable, but they have already realized the threat of the increased power and the power lords develop, each and all these people will more or less attempt to ca as a commoner, or a party title. Truly Hara is the recognized leader of the Socialist party. The Russian Bolshevik expedition and the popular demonstration against the militarism of the Terauchi ministry, in the form of force fed riots, were the chief causes of the present government.

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I believe our present situation, despite all the contradictions it contains, can be characterized by two theses: First, that we never before stood so near to the international proletarian revolution as at present; second, that we on the other hand never found ourselves in such a position as this.

And the most serious part of our situation consists in the fact that the broad masses of the people are fighting the bourgeoisie. They are not satisfied. Therefore it must be one of the principal tasks of the Soviet representatives to make the present situation entirely clear to the broad masses—no matter how difficult this task may sometimes be. The worst objection that was raised against the Soviet Government, not only by the bourgeoisie but also from the ranks of the lower middle class that had lost faith in Socialism, was that we allegedly had begun the Socialist revolution in Russia in a reckless manner, as the revolution in Western Europe was not yet due.

Comrades, now in the fifth year of the world war the situation is a different one. Imperialism is an evident fact: now it is clear that the revolution in all the belligerent countries is unavoidable. We, however, whose existence at the beginning was counted by days or weeks, at the most, have done more in this year of the revolution than ever has been done by any other proletarian party in the world. The bourgeoisie no longer de

The International Revolution

By N. Lenin

Speech delivered before the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee on November 22, 1918, then sent to the Russian Finland, in order then to announce their solidarity with the of the Russian Provisional Government.

Russia, has become so far in the fifth year of the war. Therefore, we also declare that we never were so near to the world-wide revolution as we are today. Our allies are millions and millions of proletarians in all the countries of the world. If we all do our duty, we shall win, however great the difficulties may be.

Immediately following the conclusions of the peace of Brest-Litovsk we began the positive work of building up the Socialist republic. As soon as we gave an opportunity to the peasants actually to get along without the land owners, and a chance to the industrial workers to arrange their own life without the capitalists, as soon as the people understood that it could manage its affairs itself, without capitalist rule and exploitation, then it became clear to everyone, and also manifested itself in practice, that no power and no counter-revolution in the world would be able to overthrow the Soviet power, i.e., the government of the workers and peasants. It required many months for us to come to this conviction in Russia.

In the cities the revolution has consolidated itself already in November, 1917, but in the countryside it did not do so until the summer of 1918. In the Ukraine, on the Don, and in various other places, the peasants have had occasion to feel the power of the Constituents and the Czecho-Slovens in their own affairs. This required many, many months, but our victory is the victory of the agricultural population of Russia. The peasants finally became aware of the danger menacing them from the side of the capitalists and the land owners, but they were not frightened, and merely said to themselves: "We have learned much in a single year, but we shall learn still more." The West European bourgeoisie, that up to now has not taken the Bolsheviki seriously, is now becoming aware that it has to stand there above which is able to assure true freedom and a genuine spirit of self sacrifice in the masses. When this proletariat is in the school of war, when the bourgeoisie of the world that it has, must reckon with this army. And so the International bourgeoisie begin to unite more closely in proportion as we draw nearer to the proletarian world revolution which flared up, nowhere, now here, now there.

Now the situation for us, for the Russian of the Soviets, has changed and events are following their course at a quickened pace. Before, we had to deal with two groups of imperialistic robber States, that were striving to destroy each other. But now they have noticed, especially by the example of German Imperialism, that their principal enemy is the revolutionary proletariat. By reason of this a new danger for us has now arisen, a danger that as yet has not quite unfolded itself, and is not yet fully visible—due danger that the Anglo-French Imperialists are quietly preparing for us. We must keep this danger clearly before our eyes so that, with the aid of the leaders of the masses, with the help of the representatives of the workers and peasants, may make the broad masses of the people aware of this danger.

In German Government circles we may now observe how two lines of plans are being used as it were, if there can be any talk at all of salvation. One group says: "We want to gain time and hold out until Spring; perhaps we may succeed in winning by that time the sympathy of the German proletariat." This line of conduct is not in harmony with the situation at present but with the need of change at an agreement with England and France at the expense of the Bolsheviks. In this connection one might believe that between the English and French on the one side, and Germany on the other, a tacit agreement something like this exists: "Don't you Germans leave the Ukraine so long as we have not arrived there. See to it that the Bolsheviki don't get us in, then everything else will be adjusted." And the Germans take great care to do so, for they know that a poisoned weapon, they, too, will get some on the lot.

This is the judgment of the Anglo-French imperialists, for they very well understand that the bolshevism of the occupied districts—Finland, the Ukraine, or Poland—will not be able to hold its ground a single day after the withdrawal of the German garrisons. And the bourgeoisie of these countries, who only yesterday sold their territory to the Germans, are today offering their fatherland to the English and the French. This conspiracy of the bourgeoisie of all countries against the revolutionary workers and the Bolsheviki is constantly becoming more clearly outlined and becomes consciously apparent. So it is our direct duty to point out this danger to the workers and peasants of all the belligerent countries.

But for us, comrades, the German revolution is favorable. Considering the power and the degree of the destruction of the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will not only join the world power and will be so well organized that it will solve a hundred international problems. Only we must keep our power intact, pure and intact, not to run ahead of it and injure it, but to help it. And our comrades, the communists of the Ukraine, must bear this in mind. Our principal work must be every day to propagate, but a daring, persistent propaganda.

We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link of the entire revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends on the success of the German revolution, and success degree upon Germany. We must not fail to consider the changes and exacerbations accompanying every change in the struggle of the classes, not against the bourgeoisie, but against internal Bolshevism.

We must direct our entire attention at present to our southern front, where the fate, not only of Russia, but also of the international socialist, is to be decided. We have many prospects of victory. But what favors us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people have grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not a dis
cipline of the club, but the discipline of Socialism, the discipline of a society of equals.

The army is turning out thousands of officers who have gone through the course of study in the new proletarian military schools, and other thousands who have only gone through the hard school of war itself.

The Socialist of Scotland have even come out openly for the Bolsheviki.

We have many prospects of victory. But what favors us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people have grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not a disci

cipline of the club, but the discipline of Socialism, the discipline of a society of equals.
**The Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

By S. J. Rutgers

P.1918

"POLITICAL power properly so-called is merely the organized power of one class oppressing another," says the Communist Manifesto. At present the political power of the capitalist class, organized as a coherent state apparatus, is needed in order to protect and enforce the exploitation of the proletariat. Class division excludes democratic representation of interests of one class, the ruling class, must prevail. The ruling class always has been a minority class, as it would not be necessary for a majority class. Every minority is, incoherently and inconsistently associated with a society based on class antagonism, no form of bourgeois "democracy" can ever be real democracy.

Real democracy must secure conditions and decisions in accordance with the interests of society as a whole, and if we find that a "democratic" government is used to secure the interests of a minority class, there is something wrong with that kind of democracy. Without going into details how the so-called "democratic" system accomplishes its special aims, we know as a fact that there is some scheme to prevent democracy working out democratically. In fact the prevailing institutions of the capitalist class society largely have no other purpose than to create sentiments and conditions which operate to make people support their own class. To work for a smaller group whose interests are one with the interests of the working class, largely through intellectual and moral influences, are brought to betray their ultimate class interests. Such is the power of control over the economic conditions and over the instruments of civilization (economic and social classes, public opinion, newspapers, science, art, etc.).

Only to a very limited extent, only to the extent to which the ruling class needs a certain amount of freedom in its own interest, can the oppressed class counteract this control by propaganda and education. If the capitalists could put each worker in a separate cell to sweat out profits without contact with his fellow-workers, the system might be perennialized altogether and no amount of general suffrage and vote casting would be of any effect.

The present situation under Capitalism, is not quite so "perfect," but still conditions are maintained in such shape as to enable a minority to rule. Even though we may not always be able to find out how it works, we know by its results that the scheme works all right, because otherwise the majority would not accept the minority rule. Under present circumstances, "democracy" is one of the most effective devices to subdue in the political power of the majority, and the strength of this and other means to the same end is the more remarkable since the material means of power largely have to be put in the hands of the underling class. Even the ultimate power of militarism is in the actual control of the workers only they could overcome the mental and moral obstacles raised by their masters.

Without going into details of the schemes of bourgeois democratic government and the multitude of ways to accomplish it, an anti-democratic aim, it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that parliamentarism adapts itself to the most brutal forms of autocracy. Even Germany has elected to be ruled by large suffrage, a general suffrage more "democratic" than that of the United States. But while the Reichstag is all the more a part of the anti-democratic reality, and the strength of this and other means to the same end is the more remarkable since the material means of power largely have to be put in the hands of the underling class. Even the ultimate power of militarism is in the actual control of the workers only they could overcome the mental and moral obstacles raised by their masters.

The power in the hands of the Soviets without recognizing the bourgeois interests was the first demand of the Russian proletarian revolution. And the Soviet society was by no means organized with the purpose of expressing the most ideal form of democracy but to give the most efficient expression on democracy's political demands. In the Soviet class position workers are represented through their direct delegates, the soldiers who, under the special conditions of this world war, proved to be an active revolutionary, and party members, as well as the peasants who want the land and know that the bourgeoisie is not willing to give it to them.

And this Soviet has quite a different character from the old bourgeois parliaments. It is highly important to mark this difference, as a clear illustration of the fact, pointed out by Marx: "that the victorious proletariat cannot seize the ready-made machinery of the state and use it for its own purposes." It has to build new organizations based, not on the government of persons, but on the organization of things. The Russian Soviet through its many subdivisions and committees controls the actual economic structure of society. The organization of factories send their delegates to the local Soviets and so do the army corps, and the penury. Food distribution and the regulation of housing problems, requisitions, etc., are managed through local committees representing a block, a quarter, etc., and finally co-operating with the local Soviets.

All this is an organic structure in course of development under most difficult circumstances and far from complete or perfect, but nevertheless it functions, it has maintained itself already during one year against the solid opposition of the old bureaucracy and it becomes stronger every day. It is a unity of representative and executive functions, a combination of industrial and territorial government. To use the great lesson and the great hope in the social revolution, all the revolutionary forces grow into one force, all the tendencies in the class struggle come into unity. There is no longer any conflict between economic and political action, all the revolutionary groups and factions in the class struggle unite under the counter-revolutionary building of a new society. Development of actual facts and conditions solve problems quicker than debates on a question that remains however, the fundamental division in the class struggle: whoever is not for the social revolution supports the counter-revolution and has to be dealt with as such.

Withdraw from Russia!

(Continued from Page 6) allied, now that they see the vision of their aspirations about to become the reality of a new society, they are asked to acclaim alien troops who represent forces that wish to crush their revolution and annul all their achievements and aspirations.

The Soviet Republic has endured during more than thirteen months of internal counter-revolution and external imperialistic pressure. Every attempt to destroy it from within has met with disastrous failure.

The Soviet Republic has endured because it expresses the Revolution, organizes the endowments of the masses for self-government and liberation, courageously and sincerely establishes the conquest of the Revolution.

It is this proletarian Republic that the Allies threaten to overthrow.

International Capitalism and Imperialism are united against the Republic of the proletarian Revolution. As the governments of France and Germany united to crush the Paris commune, so international imperialism is now uniting to crush the first proletarian revolution in Russia.

The International Revolution

(Continued from Page 5)

this force will swell and will even become more terrible than the Spanish influenza. The seriousness of the situation must be apparent to every worker who knows what he is aiming at and he must make the mass movement himself. The mass of workers and peasants is mature enough to be allowed to know the whole truth. The danger is great, but we must, and shall overcome it, and for this purpose we must denounce every deviation and every possible deviation from the correct line. We must make it ten times as strong and large as it is. Our forces must grow with every day, and this is our guarantee, as before, that international Socialism will triumph.

[Lenin's speech was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm, and a resolution was passed embodying his proposals.]
The Bolsheviki will catch you if you don't watch out

By Julia Hill

papers, the spokesmen of Capitalism, seized upon it with avidity.

The Bolsheviki became, over night almost, fund inspectors. Tales began to filter through the columns of the press of their excesses. Every crime in the calendar was charged to their account. As a matter of course they became German agents in the Allied counterfeits, and Allied agents in the Central European states. Vague accounts of slaughter feats in the whole of the Russian Press are the only evidence of their occurrence. Disparities of the appearance and manner of these Bolsheviki were so vivid that the average newspaper reader got a confused idea of a Bolsheviki as an animal, somewhat resembling a man, with a large bushy beard, uncombed hair, unorthodox ways of speech, small beady eyes and an unpreaching style of speech for the blood of a very harmless and good section of the Russian people known as the Bourgeoisie.

The Bolsheviki recognized that, in order to carry out this program, it is necessary that the people of all classes to temporarily suit the needs of the present system of society, and that, where it has not yet captured the world, to proceed with the utmost energy in performing useful work, except while they were bathing or putting on clean collars. Sob stories about the beauty of their homes, the cleanliness of their babies, the gentleness of their voices, their spotless linen and the culture and refinement of their womenfolk, filled the pages of the press. Then one morning a horrified world learned that the Bolsheviki had killed the Czar about once a week, every morning just before daybreak, then he was slowly tortured to death, then imprisoned in a mob, then he was tortured in prison, then given a slow and very painful poison and finally he was bodeled to the accompaniment of delirious yells from a mob of Bolsheviki.

The Czar, however, had few friends in the world, even amongst the most tender-hearted, so the newspapers left him alone and turned their attention to the Bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie were described as that section of the population who were always engrossed in performing useful work, except while they were bathing or putting on clean collars. Sob stories about the beauty of their homes, the cleanliness of their babies, the gentleness of their voices, their spotless linen and the culture and refinement of their womenfolk, filled the pages of the press. Then one morning a horrified world learned that the Bolsheviki had killed the Czar about once a week, every morning just before daybreak, then he was slowly tortured to death, then imprisoned in a mob, then he was tortured in prison, then given a slow and very painful poison and finally he was bodeled to the accompaniment of delirious yells from a mob of Bolsheviki.

So the Bolsheviki becomes the modern bogey. The Bolsheviki hold the key to the solution of the world's problems. The average man, he does not understand his masters' methods as to know that bogeys are necessary, but he does not understand the result of an inquiry into present day conditions by those who suffer under these conditions, and ignorance as to the actual result of such an inquiry, on the one hand; the fear of the most tender-hearted, so the newspapers left him alone and turned their attention to the Bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie were described as that section of the population who were always engrossed in performing useful work, except while they were bathing or putting on clean collars. Sob stories about the beauty of their homes, the cleanliness of their babies, the gentleness of their voices, their spotless linen and the culture and refinement of their womenfolk, filled the pages of the press. Then one morning a horrified world learned that the Bolsheviki had killed the Czar about once a week, every morning just before daybreak, then he was slowly tortured to death, then imprisoned in a mob, then he was tortured in prison, then given a slow and very painful poison and finally he was bodeled to the accompaniment of delirious yells from a mob of Bolsheviki.

The Bolshoi recognized that in order to carry out this program, it is necessary that the people of all classes to temporarily suit the needs of the present system of society, and that, where it has not yet captured the world, to proceed with the utmost energy in performing useful work, except while they were bathing or putting on clean collars. Sob stories about the beauty of their homes, the cleanliness of their babies, the gentleness of their voices, their spotless linen and the culture and refinement of their womenfolk, filled the pages of the press. Then one morning a horrified world learned that the Bolsheviki had killed the Czar about once a week, every morning just before daybreak, then he was slowly tortured to death, then imprisoned in a mob, then he was tortured in prison, then given a slow and very painful poison and finally he was bodeled to the accompaniment of delirious yells from a mob of Bolsheviki.

The Bolsheviki, or it must continue the evolution of society as a whole. Bolsheviki recognize that, in order to carry out this program, it is necessary that the people of all classes to temporarily suit the needs of the present system of society, and that, where it has not yet captured the world, to proceed with the utmost energy in performing useful work, except while they were bathing or putting on clean collars. Sob stories about the beauty of their homes, the cleanliness of their babies, the gentleness of their voices, their spotless linen and the culture and refinement of their womenfolk, filled the pages of the press. Then one morning a horrified world learned that the Bolsheviki had killed the Czar about once a week, every morning just before daybreak, then he was slowly tortured to death, then imprisoned in a mob, then he was tortured in prison, then given a slow and very painful poison and finally he was bodeled to the accompaniment of delirious yells from a mob of Bolsheviki.

The Berlin workers by their action in suspending the issues of the newspapers show that if they can't have the truth they are at least determined that they shall have no lies.
Withdraw from Russia!

The news coming out of Russia since armed intervention, in a measure, has been all for or against the Soviet autocracy. But it poses or, in the might of Czecho-Slovakia the question intrigued for us a couple of months ago: Do the Russian people want a11 alien intervention? They proceed to answer: We do not want the alien intervention. They are either a hundred million or a helpless mass of the alien military pressines. We beg the Russian people to restore them to the greatness they were when the war ended, as the German Imperialists are determined to restore it to Germany. Meanwhile, we are waiting for the answer.

The immediate objective of intervention, that the Czecho-Slovaks might act as the centre for the counter-revolutionary overthrow of the Soviet Government, or, in the words of Lloyd-George, that intervention might create "a center for the elements opposed to Bolshevism," has collapsed miserably and completely. The theory was that the Russian people were helpless under the domination of a few unscrupulous individuals, that the Soviet Government was not representative of the masses. Intervene, was the theory of intervention, and the Russian people will itself sweep aside the Soviet autocracy. But more than five months have passed since intervention was initiated, and the Soviets are still supreme. More than five months have passed, and the counter-revolution from within has not materialized; and its petty, isolated expressions have been easily crushed. More than five months have passed, months of enormous pressure, and the strength of the Soviets is the strength of the revolutionary masses. What now? Shall one million, shall two million, American, British, and Japanese troops march against the Russian people? Shall the Soviet Republic be crushed by the overwhelming might of alien military power?

According to all present indications, the Czecho-Slovaks disorganized the food supply of the country, increasing starvation, interfering with industrial and social reconstruction. The Allies are blockade-running Russian, increasing starvation. And one of the purposes of intervention was to relieve the starvation of the Russian people!

We are familiar in this country with the hypocritical "humanitarianism" of the Imperialism to force intervention in a country in which they have brutal purposes to promote. When American interventionists speak of the terrible famine that has spread through America, they are indirectly pressuring with heart-rending stories about "mass starvation" in Mexico; enough crocodile tears were shed to convince the sentimental—and the gullible. But after intervention became imminent, the American press did not any longer concern itself with "mass starvation" in Mexico. . . . But if Russia is starving—why not ship food? Is the proper means of relieving starvation bread or bullets? The Russian people do not beg for food, they do not ask for charity—that is a bourgeois characteristic: the Russian people ask for their rights.

The Russian people do not want charity. They want all alien troops to leave Russia, so that they can proceed in their own way with the tasks of reconstruction. They want the blockade of Russia to be lifted, a blockade which gives the lie direct to all claims of being interested in relieving starvation in Russia; they want the troops—both military and of commerce—out of the world. The Russian people do not plead—they demand: they demand that the international proletariat should act on their behalf.

"We must restore Russia!" clamor the hypocritical representatives of Imperialism, who also want to restore Russia—"in what way and for whom?" Is Russia a country of the workers and of whom? Is Russia to be restored by intensifying her disorganization through invasion, preventing the recovery of the country and multiplying the factors making for starvation? Is Russia to be restored through a "Peace

"The Peace for Intervention of Warsaw," imposed by means of crushing the revolutionary masses with indemnities? Is Russia to be restored to the imperialist bourgeoisie and the Czarist blue? Is Russia to be restored by crushing the revolution? These are the inevitable consequences of successful intervention: the revolutionary masses are resisting intervention and invasion to the death.

The imperialistic press prints all sorts of lying about us. But did this press ever propose intervention in Russia against the terror of Czarism? This is a stupid pretext. Capitalist industry is a terror. Capitalist government is a terror. Capitalism is an organized terror against the proletariat. It is because revolutionary Russia struggles to end this bourgeois terror and that bourgeois hirings everywhere insist upon the crushing of the Soviet Republic—to end terrorism! This end of "terrorism" in Russia would mean the initiation of a new international terror against the proletariat, against civilization.

Is the use of troops and policy during strikes mere terror? Was the murder of women and children at Larlow not terror? This is terror against the proletariat and civilization; what terrorism there is in Russia is for the protection of terror and civilization.

Bourgeois morality admits the necessity of war under certain conditions; and a war is a giant, organized terrorism. Was the recent war a pink-satin affair, with its tens of millions dead and maimed? So be it; revolution is a form of war—a civil war. Every revolution flares up into civil war—the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Russian German Revolution. Terrorism was used in all these revolutions; and it was justified. Civil war rages in Russia; in our own civil war, was the fight waged with bow-ands and spears of perfume? Progress proceeds in the shadow of the valley of death.

Consciences of terrorism in Russia are sheer hypocrisy. There is terrorism in Russia, the necessary terror of every revolution; but it is silly exaggerated by the imperialist press: there is no need to dwell in each revolution in which the masses of people are foe the Soviet Republic and the counter-revolution within has been dispersed.

But—the Bolsheviks are pro-Germans! Are they? Was their revolutionary agitation against the Czarist, their co-operation with revolutionary Socialism in Germany, "pro-German"?

This argument never had a shred of validity; that is now apparent: but alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok! . . .

Let us consider the "pro-German" argument.

The usual form of this argument was that the Bolshhevik, Lenin and Trotsky, were agents of German Imperialism. This was obviously silly; not even the forged documents offered "evidence" by the Cred Committee could make one believe this stupid fairy-tale.

More appropriate was the argument that the Brest-Litovsk treaty had been forced on Russia by Germany. But this revision has now been accomplished by military disaster—and the inevitable revolution in Germany; but—alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok! The revision of the Brest-Litovsk treaty was indisputable; but the problem was: who shall do the revising, and in the interests of whom? Should this revision be accomplished by crushing the Soviets and the Revolution, the revision would be more infamous and disastrous than the original treaty itself, and would have the same result: national revolution, promoting imperialist revolutions.

Revolutionary Russia realized the enormity of the Brest-Litovsk peace, and used all its energy, to bring about the revolution. The allegro socialists wrote about its results; its theories; about all the aspects of the new revolutionary situation in Germany. In September the Bolshhevik Zinoviev, speaking in Petrograd, said: Don't worry about the supplementary clauses in the Brest treaty; Comrade Lenin signs them without even reading the text; they do not matter; the German Imperialists have come and destroyed its imperialistic plans of Germany.

The Revolution did come; German Imperialism died. But alien troops are still in Archangel as in Vladivostok.

Another argument made in favor of intervention was that the eastern front should be restored. September 1915, Lloyd George said: that it was not America's intention to restore the eastern front; but American troops stayed in Vladivostok! Now there is no necessity of restoring the eastern front; but alien troops are still in Archangel as in Vladivostok!

Let us consider this "restoration of the eastern front," that Russia should be dragged back into the war. Let us dismiss the property, the decency as an excuse, of forcing a nation into war with its will. This procedure was a crime only when perpetuated by Imperial Germany; and, therefore, it has not been answered. These four and a half years of war has proven that war today is largely a problem of produc- tive capacity. The military machine, depends absolutely upon a properly functioning industrial machine; behind the industrial downs; industry determines the capacity of a nation to fight; industrial collapse inevitably means the collapse of a military power. Is Russia? Industrial disintegration was general, a disorganization produced by the regime of the Czar an accomplished by the bourgeois("Socialist") regime of Kerensky. The heritage of the Soviet Republic was industrial chaos. Under these conditions, to have come into the war would have been sheer madness, the end of the war would have been a bourgeois victory, and the Russian people would have assumed the mili- tary of history against Germany, either by in the midst of a revolutionary war, only after industry had been stored. The political, the social, the military, the public; Russia all resolve into one central problem: the restoration of normal conditions of production, that the development of industrial power out of which ultimate military power.

Moreover, Soviet Russia was not thinking in term of war, but in terms of the class war, of the revolution ary war. Soviet Russia's policy was determine the question of whether the war could be won only in Germany, as a preliminary to the proletarian revo lution in all Europe. In urging ratification of the Brest treaty, Lenin stated: If this is an infamous peace against the Revolution, but it will fail, precisely as the more onerous Tbilis treaty of Napoleon failed to crush Prussia; then only a few bourgeois intellectuals made; history: now, let us put our feet on the emotional moves with the speed of a locomotive; if we try simultaneously to carry on a war against our own Imperial ism and foreign Imperialism, we shall lose both wars. Capitalism and reaction will come back to power in Russia, and the revolution in Germany will be post-poned indefinitely, but if we, through peace, however, can, can concentrate on the inner problems of our Revolution, and crush forever Russian Imperialism and the counter-revolution, then later will inevitably come our victory against international Imperialism. Our peace will not end the war or assure German victory: the war will flare up more intense and violent than ever; the economic and social crisis will be feverishly accelerated, will inevitably produce the Revolu- tion—and then Russia will come into her own

It was a sober analysis of the facts, a brilliant formulation of revolutionary socialism—totalitarian Revolu tionary Russia did conquer! . . . When the revolution started in Germany, Soviet Russia offered the German proletariat help—and a million troops! . . . Our friends of the Imperialists must be surprised to know that the Russian people are resisting the counterrorvolutionary invaders. Apparently, the Russian workers and soldiers have no fear of the troops that exist and without resistance allow their own revolution to be crushed, a revolution that they have accomplished by means of unparalleled struggles, in blood and tears and agony. And now that their hopes are being re-