

mediately are harmful to our diplomatic relations. We may say with certainty that the intervention of the Allied powers would not have taken place if in the Spring of last year we had such a strong and well-organized Red Army as we have now; if the Allied powers had not considered Russia easy bait, which would not cost them much effort to conquer.

As is known, the Czecho-Slovak revolt acted as the indirect excuse for the intervention of the Allied powers. It gave a ready dependent wall in one of the most tender parts of the Russian territory, on the railroad artery which connects European Russia with Siberia. The uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks was itself possible only because at that time Soviet Russia was absolutely disarmed and the Czecho-Slovaks had the opportunity to take all those important strategic points and railroad inter-sections. These were taken without much trouble and thus they stationed themselves near the border of European Russia and Siberia.

All of us who have taken account of our foreign policy after the Brest period remember the hardships we were forced to undergo, when month after month the life of the Soviet Russia hung on a hair, when our safety and independence hinged upon the good will or caprice of the German victor, upon the calculations of German capitalists who would rather cheat us in a peaceful manner than at the cost of a war of ruin, upon the desire of the German militarists not to divide their forces and not to take upon themselves the responsibility for all the complexities to which the occupation of vast foreign lands would lead. We all felt every moment that the wall which separated us from foreign occupation and incalculable misery for the people, with crushing blows to the Russian revolution, was very thin and weak. We recall those dangers as they were called forth by all sorts of new moves of the German armies within the bounds allowed, by literal understanding of the Brest treaty, to the German occupation.

We experienced and felt then what the sword hanging over the head of Damocles really means. But out of these hardships Soviet Russia came forth with the mighty arms of youthful strength and hope—and with the ventures of the Red Army. The organization of the Red Army had a great indirect influence upon the minds of Western Europe, making them respect not only the strength of Soviet Russia but the Soviet power itself, which was capable so quickly notwithstanding all sorts of hardships, to organize a strong and well-disciplined new army. The representatives of the German official circles admitted to us that the organization of our army was to them an amazing surprise, revealing to them the moral strength of the Bolsheviks. It had a great propaganda significance; it proved to the entire world the seriousness, depth and internal might of the people's revolutionary Russia and the outlook for the future development of the worker-peasant Soviet regime. Facts are more salient than words and the existence and heroic deeds of the Red Army were mightier propagandist factors than the countless leaflets and brochures. The pathos of its organization in the midst of untold hardships, of the new-born regime fighting against countless foes supplied with the latest instruments of military technic and with full equipment of first class armed power, deeply impressed millions of the onlookers of the entire world as something coming out of the Russian revolutionary hearth.

Our good Red Army, heroically battling against pillagers making an effort to crush the liberty of the working masses deeply stirred the imagination of the laboring masses of all lands. They began to take joy in it and to learn to love it as the vanguard leading them in their fight for power, fighting for them. The fight which we have to wage against the entire ideology of the old bourgeois militarism and patriotism, which mark the strengthening of the power of the ruling classes over the peoples, is made most effectively through the pathos of the workers revolution fighting for its own salvation. It is made in the psychology of the Red Revolutionary Army, the power upon which the worker-peasant revolution in Russia depends to ward off the attacks of world counter-revolution from all sides.

Being the uncompromising foe of militarism to the end, we distinguish ourselves from the bourgeois pacifists, such as the English Quakers, in that we wish to put the bourgeois army out of existence, as the enemy to the working class, and to put in its place a workers' revolutionary army.

Looking over foreign newspapers we see that Soviet Russia is a great power in the world arena, occupying the minds and awakening the wonder and hopes of one side and the unbounded hatred of the other. And in the first place, in the centre of the historic process which Soviet Russia chose, are to be found those who lead the struggle for the historic fortunes of Russia with their heroic deeds and death on the field of battle, those whose courage and revolutionary ardor lights up one country after another with the fire of revolutionary enthusiasm. In our foreign policy, i. e., in the historic effort of Soviet Russia in world events, one of the most powerful elements of her historic activity is the glory and pride of Soviet Russia, our young, heroic Red Army.

## The Red Army and The Counter-Revolution.

By N. Bucharin.

THE war correspondent of a large English newspaper, "The Times", wrote: "At the time when all the armies of the world are decomposing and falling apart, only one army exists which continues to grow and develop. This is—the Red Army of the Soviet Government."

The bourgeois press is diligently threatening the civilians of the world with the danger of the Red Army. In order to antagonize the mass of property holders against the revolutionary proletariat, they continually exaggerate the strength and size of our army. But, nevertheless, the war correspondent of "The Times" was quite near the truth. Where is the wonderful army of Wilhelm? It has disintegrated, disappeared. Where are the Czarists "good" regiments? Already forgotten. Where is the famous Hungarian cavalry? It has perished. Where are the first class artillery divisions of Austria? They also have disappeared.

And this is not all. Even the victorious Allies feel that the revolutionary germ has infected imperialist discipline, crushing the spirit of obedience and slavery. Already the French and English armies are beginning to pass through an experience similar to that of the armies of the Czar, of Kerensky, Wilhelm and Karl. And just at the time when the armies of the world pillagers are falling to pieces, the Red Army springs into being, first as volunteers, growing little by little, and then expanding by way of

compulsory training of workmen and peasants.

And now it is clear to everyone that international imperialism did not crush us, just because with their first blows our army began to grow—our army of workers and peasants. The world counter-revolution tried to choke the Russian workers with the hands of that Czecho-Slovaks; in this they did not succeed. The counter-revolution organized excellently in the Don—but now that grey murderer, the hangman Krasnow, is already shedding tears on the grave dug for him. The fugitive bourgeois, generals, archdukes, ministers, landowners, with the aid of German and Allied imperialists, will build a strong fortress of reaction in the Ukraine.

But the Red Army did its work here too, unsaddling the enemies of the working class. The international reaction could not draw us into its greedy jaws neither from the Don, nor from the Ukraine, nor from the Baltic Sea, nor from the Urals.

We owe this victory to the Red Army which grew by the strength of tens of thousands of the best comrades—workers, who gave and are giving their revolutionary spirit, their energy and their lives for the organization of the Red Army.

World imperialism did not expect such a reception. The Bolsheviks were famed all over as destroyers who could burn, ruin, overthrow, but who could build or organize nothing. And the capitalist pillagers thought their attack upon us would be but an easy and jolly excursion; they thought they could take the Russian proletariat with their bare hands, but they only succeeded in burning their fingers. Their policy shifted: on the one hand they sought to defend themselves against the Red Army,—on the other hand even the maddest imperialists changed the subject from cannon to a consideration of diplomatic notes.

Of course, we are not so naive as to believe in the kindness of the world gendarmes. We know they will do all in their power to find the opportune moment to crush the revolution.

The Russian revolution has long since become an international revolution. And the Red Army is a division—the largest, the best organized and the strongest, of the world revolution. So the German, the Austrian, the Hungarian and the English Communists consider it.

But there is a closer tie between the movement abroad and our Red Army.

When the Soviet Power organized workers' regiments, not only Russians, but Lettish, German, Hungarian and even Chinese workers joined. The Chauvinists and the bourgeois patriots, beginning with the radicals and ending with the "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign comrades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of supervisor-fighter. And if we look at the movement in the West we shall see that its leaders are our comrades, our former "war-prisoners", who became Red Guards, and thereby received military revolutionary experience and a revolutionary ardor in the ranks of our Red Army.

The war correspondent of "The Times" was right. The capitalist army is decomposing and perishing. From its mass of ruins the power of the workers is growing the world over. And the stronger, the better organized the working class, the more powerful will its class army be, the sooner will it crush capitalism, and drive into its grave the present pillaging regime.