

ution, the Soviets after the accomplishment of their initial task, do not disperse, but acquire new strength and develop new action, usurping government functions,—developing from instruments of revolutionary action into organs of revolutionary government.

A revolution is not static; the moment it becomes static, it stagnates. The initial action must become general; the revolution must extend into all spheres of life, must completely alter the political and economic complexion of society. Unless this is done the revolution becomes weakened, collapses, and reaction conquers. Limit the revolution to parliamentary governments, and it is dead; only through the Soviets can the revolution develop and conquer all power.

Consider two aspects of the revolutionary situation in Germany.

The autocracy was overthrown, a "revolutionary" government is organized which acts together with the Soviets, now under moderate domination. But the old state machinery, the old bureaucracy, the old parliamentary forms for the deception and oppression of the masses is retained: the revolution has changed the personnel of the state but not the state itself, has annihilated the old personnel of the state but not the state itself; and the proletarian revolution has not conquered until this annihilation is accomplished.

Nor has the revolution fundamentally penetrated the army; just as Dr. Solf and Dr. Erzberger speak in the name of the "revolutionary" government, the old officers are still at the head of the "revolutionary" army. The army should be completely disbanded, and in its place a Soviet army organized, the military Red Guard of the Revolutionary masses, since the industrial and military might of the proletariat alone can defend and extend the conquests of the Revolution. The arming of the masses is necessary in Germany to crush the counter-revolution, to crush militarism, Capitalism, and reaction.

These are indispensable phases of the proletarian revolution, neither of which are, as yet, phases of a proletarian revolution in Germany. And they are, equally, phases of all power to the Soviets, all power to the revolutionary proletariat, all power to Socialism, in Germany as in Russia.

All power to the Soviets means that Germany consciously and definitely initiates the coming of Socialism,—instead of a bourgeois parliamentary republic, a Socialist proletarian republic. It means the complete destruction of the old state machinery,—the division of functions between legislative and executive, the parliamentary forms of bourgeois democracy, the organs of the judiciary, the army of bureaucratic officials necessarily hostile to the masses and to any radical measures the government might introduce: these are instruments of class rule. Necessary functions of government would be usurped by the Soviets, the producers. It would mean, in short the annihilation of the old political state, organ of class rule, the machinery for the oppression of the workers, the central expression of the tyranny of Capitalism. The new state of the Soviets would be a state based upon the organized producers in the factory and the farm, representing exclusively the useful producers. The Soviet state would recognize no other class but the working class, would exclude the bourgeoisie from participation in the government. Having organized a new state after decreeing all power to the Soviets, the new Socialist government would proceed to the industrial expropriation of capital, placing industry in the control of the working class organized in the Soviets, introducing the relations of the full and free democracy of Socialism.

All power to the Soviets would constitute a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship in relation to the bourgeoisie and a democracy in relation to the proletariat. It would be a temporary dictatorship, necessary until Capitalism had been completely expropriated economically and politically, after which the dictatorship would disappear because its functions would no longer be necessary.

By means of all power to the Soviets, to the Councils of Workmen and Soldiers, and by this means alone, can the proletarian revolution in Germany conquer all power for Socialism.

#### A CORRECTION

Owing to an error, the article in our third issue, "The Coming of the Final Struggle," was wrongly credited to Gregory Weinstein. It should have been credited to N. I. Hourwich.

## Bolsheviki and Mensheviki in Bulgaria

THE recent revolutionary events in Bulgaria, the spread of Bolshevism, is of great interest. Stambulevsky, who recently led a successful peasant revolt and proclaimed a republic, is an authority on agrarian matters, an admirer of Lenin's and a student of Lenin's agrarian theories. The chief proposal of Stambulevsky is the distribution of the great landed estates.

The Socialist movement presents interesting features, which were recently analyzed by A. Nyemanov in the New York "Novy Mir" as follows:

"The Socialist movement in Bulgaria is represented by two parties the Social Democratic Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party. The former party is termed 'broad' and the latter 'narrow.' The former can rightly be termed Menshevist-opportunist and the latter proletarian-Bolshevik. There is a bitter struggle between the two parties, a struggle of principles, and one must own that the Bolshevik policy is becoming ascendent. [This was written before the Bulgarian revolution.]

"The Bulgarian Mensheviki, the opportunist Socialists, are blood of the blood of the international opportunists. They recognize wholly the principles of opportunism which allows co-operation with bourgeois liberals. They stand for the unification of the large democratic sections of the population, refusing in reality to follow the policy of a consistent proletarian class struggle; in this party the peasants predominate and all shades of liberal intellectuals. We can justly call this party a party of petty bourgeois democracy.

"The Bulgarian Mensheviki, as represented by their leaders, accepted the world war in the spirit of German social-patriotism. In 1916 a few prominent leaders of the 'broad' party visited Germany, where at big meetings they declared themselves faithful to the 'democracy' of the Central Powers 'who were fighting Czarism.' The Bulgarian government on several occasions declared that the support rendered by these 'broad' Socialists had been very valuable. It is not surprising, then, that the treacherous government of Ferdinand paid them in confidence—and easy jobs.

"The Bulgarian Bolsheviki of the 'narrow' party are very influential among the proletarian masses, predominating in almost all industrial centres, uncontested by the opportunists.

"In the question of internal and foreign policy our comrades, the Bulgarian Bolsheviki, have always been guided by a consistent conception of the class struggle. They have always been bitter enemies not only of Bulgarian reaction, but also of Bulgarian liberalism. They have never accepted the Menshevist philosophy of 'the unity of the democratic forces,' that is union with the 'radical' and 'liberal' bourgeoisie.

"The Ferdinand government, of course, imprisoned our comrades by the hundred. According to the figures of 1917, more than one thousand members of the 'narrow' party were in prison, and over six hundred men, under and above military age, had been impressed into the army.

"But they have always demanded an end of the war and a democratic peace. Inspired by the Russian Revolution, they increased their propaganda; and they are rallying the masses successfully."

A characteristic example of how the American press gives information to the local population about Russia can be gleaned from the article of a certain New York merchant in the World's Work.

The New York merchant informs us:

Martov has been appointed a Bolshevik Ambassador to... Siam!

A certain negro from the North Carolina is an assistant Commissaire for internal affairs.

Trotsky's wife acquired millions and went to Stockholm to dissipate.

Mr. Williams, contributor to the respectable Times, again raises an alarm about the fate of Russia and this alarm is being echoed by the whole bourgeois American press.

The Germans left Russia—says Williams.

Well and good. Now it is the Allies' turn—every logically thinking man will say.

## Bolshevikjabs

KERENSKY has broken into the newspapers again giving a lot of advice to the Russians. Teddy Roosevelt is continually acting in the same way with regard to this country, and only the other day Carl Hapsburg gave some hints to the Austrians through the public prints, and while the Kaiser is not saying anything he is doubtless thinking a good deal about what the Germans ought to do.

We are glad to see these ex-employees taking an interest in their old firms, but it can be overdone and these people should remember that they have been fired for good. Of course we know that things are never managed as well as they used to be, but even today modesty is still a virtue.

As we have remarked before these Bolsheviki are really remarkable people. A few days ago the papers told us that they had been overthrown and that Lenin was en route to the frontier on a fast train, now comes the news that they have made a triumphal entry into Dvinsk. Variety is the spice of life.

The workers murmur. Mooney is granted "clemency". The workers move. Mooney is released!

The high cost of living is going down—limousines have suffered a serious decline in price.

It is positively denied that Henry Ford is going to be one of the delegates to the Peace Conference.

The newspapers report that the United States Government has refused William H. Taft's application for a passport to Europe. On the grounds, we suppose, that the League to Enforce Peace has done quite enough harm at home.

Owing to the spread of Bolshevism the price of milk has again been raised. Seems to be something wrong; perhaps we have got it the wrong way round.

Duluth "Truth" observes that under Socialism the non-producer will get the full product of his labor. There's nothing like living up to one's name.

"Royalty is selling out," says a newspaper headline. In other words: Dirt—cheap.

It is said that the difference arising between America and England over the "freedom of the seas" is largely typographical.

Bulls are well known to cherish an aversion to the color red, but we are glad to see that none of the Socialist aldermen insulted the bulls.

The soldiers' and workmen's councils of Germany are going to have a convention in Berlin on December 16. We would strongly urge that the present government be given at least two weeks notice and not fired on the spot, as was the case in Russia.

Postmaster-General Burleson has barred Lenin's pamphlet, "The Soviets at Work." It is believed that the Postmaster contemplates issuing a correct account of the work of the Soviets and that the stoppage of Lenin's version was only undertaken because of its inaccuracy. It is said that such authorities on Russia as Creel, Sisson and Root are aiding the Postmaster in the preparation of his pamphlet and that due thanks will be rendered to these men in the introductory note.

The New York Board of Aldermen has passed an ordinance making the display of the Red Flag an offense punishable by either fine or imprisonment because, as one of the learned "city fathers" said, it is a badge of anarchy and, of course, New York would not tolerate anarchy. The black flag is also forbidden, presumably because it is the badge of piracy.

Of course we have long known the spirit of democracy that pervades New York City's officialdom, but we must protest. This is carrying democracy too far. Because it becomes a regrettable necessity to bar the Red Flag of the international anarchy of working men, that is absolutely no reason why Wall Street should be deprived of the pleasure of displaying its emblem. We sincerely hope that the people of this country will not stand silently by and see the capitalists oppressed in this manner.