

had denounced as a "senseless imperialistic slaughter." At the bidding of the Allies and the Russian imperialists, they countenanced the July offensive, which was contrary to the very principles of the Revolution, and resulted in the demoralization of the Russian army. Depending on the capitalists, they were reduced to begging the Russian and Allied imperialists to renounce their imperialistic aims—and were contemptuously ignored.

On the other hand, the "moderate" Socialists in the Government could not accomplish anything toward the settlement of the problems of Land and Industry. In fact, their dependence on the capitalists forced them to act against the masses: "Socialist" Minister Kerensky reintroduced capital punishment in the army; "Socialist" Minister Avksentiev sent Cossacks to suppress agrarian revolts against the land-lords; "Socialist" Minister Nikitin broke the railway strike; "Socialist" Minister Skobeliev tried to dissolve the Workers' Committees.

Thwarting the will of the popular masses, the "moderate" Socialists gave the capitalists an opportunity to organize and attempt the overthrow of the Revolution by force,—the Kornilov counter-revolution.

This destroyed the last faith of the masses in the "moderate" Socialists. Behind Kornilov was plainly visible the mailed fist of the propertied classes; and yet, in the face of the bitter resentment of the whole country, the "moderate" Socialists insisted on forming a new Government with the same propertied classes!

When the Bolsheviks seized the power in November, the army was starving and demoralized; there was no food in the cities; transportation had practically ceased; strikes, lock-outs, and agrarian troubles were everywhere; the capitalists, in the Council of the Russian Republic, were stronger than before; and the "moderate" Socialists were telling the people: "We can't do anything—but wait for the Constituent Assembly!"

The Bolsheviks said to the people:

"The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries promised you Peace, Land and Industrial Control eight months ago. Now they tell you to wait for the Constituent Assembly.

"Like the Provisional Government, the Constituent Assembly is an expression of existing class-relations. If the capitalists control Russia, the Constituent Assembly will do their will or be dispressed. If the working class controls Russia, the Constituent Assembly must do *our* will.

"The whole Governmental structure is built to serve and protect Capitalism; it can do nothing else.

"*You must seize the power, destroy the entire political edifice, and build a new one, controlled by yourselves alone, and fitted to serve the working class only. Fortunately you have one ready to hand—the Soviets. All power to the Soviets!*"

On November 7th, 1917, the Soviets—which in the meanwhile had developed a Bolshevik majority—took over the Government. And the Provisional Government, supported by the "moderate" Socialists, was unable in all Russia to rally to its aid more than a handful of Cossacks, junkers, and White Guards!

The Constituent Assembly, elected from lists of candidates made up four months before, accurately reflected the "coalition" of capitalists and "moderate" Socialists which was in power at that time. It refused to ratify either the People's Government of Soviets, or the popular demands. So the people dissolved it—and the dissolution provoked not a ripple of protest among the Russian masses; only the "Socialist intellectuals" and the New York Times objected.

Several months ago the seventy Constituent Assembly members who held together, with the President, Victor Tchernov, joined the Soviet Government. No opposition to Bolshevism based on the Constituent Assembly is valid any more.

Bolshevism is sweeping Europe. In every country in the world it has captured the imagination of conscious workers. It smashed Imperial Germany; said the German General Hoffman, in a recent interview, "*We did not use Bolshevism. Bolshevism used us!*"

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Any discussion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace is now purely academic. It accomplished its purpose in giving Soviet Russia a respite in which to prepare for the Revolutionary war—a war of propaganda—which finally resulted in the defeat of Imperial Germany, and has won back for Russia all the "surrendered" territories which have not been invaded or held by Governments subsidized by the Allies.

There was nothing else for the Bolsheviks to do but make peace. When the Soviets came to power, thanks to the criminal policy of the Provisional Governments, *there was no Russian Army.*

This was recognized by all parties; by Kerensky's Minister of War, General Verkovsky, when, on November 2 he announced that the Russian army could fight no longer; by Dan, representing the moderate "Socialists" at the last meeting of the old Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on November 6, when he said, "Unfortunately, Russia can no longer support the continuation of the war. There is going to be peace, but not permanent peace—not a democratic peace;" and finally by the lamented Constituent Assembly itself.

The first acts of the Bolshevik Government were to propose to *all nations*, three distinct times, to enter negotiations for a general democratic peace. This invitation was contemptuously ignored, leaving the only resource of the Soviet Government to make a separate peace with Germany.

Trotsky wanted to drag out the negotiations as long as possible, so that, first, the Allied peoples might see the sincerity of the Soviet Government and force their Governments to join the Conference; and second, that the German proletariat might be roused to revolution.

Lenin's theory was: "The Allies are dominated by Imperialists. The German proletariat is not yet ready to rise. We must sign a peace in the end. If we do not accept the first peace terms offered, then we shall have to accept worse ones later. And no matter how many people believe in our sincerity, the moment we sign the inevitable peace treaty we shall be called German agents by the bourgeoisie of the world."

Trotsky's plan was adopted—and Lenin's prophesy came true.

Says Lenin: "We were forced to sign a 'Tilsit peace' . . . The Peace of Tilsit (Napoleon, 1807) was Germany's greatest humiliation, and at the same time the turning-point toward the greatest of national revivals. . . .

"Because the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie hoped to re-establish the Eastern front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of war, they refused to attend the peace negotiations, and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It ill-becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace on our shoulders. . . .

"We are in a beleaguered fortress as long

as no other international Social Revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours. They grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer Imperialism with its brutalities continues. Working men the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gomeperses and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably, labor is approaching Communist Bolshevik tactics—is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

"We are invincible. The proletarian Revolution is invincible."

3. Proletarian Dictatorship and Democracy.

The Social Revolution has arrived. The first battle of the working class for control of the world is now being fought in Russia. Lenin said, before the Fourth Congress of Soviets, March, 1918:

"The civil war brought about by the desperate resistance of the propertied classes, who are well aware that this is to be the last, the determining conflict for the retention of private ownership of land and of the means of production, has not yet reached its climax. In this conflict the victory of the Soviets is certain, but for some time our intensest efforts will still be required. A period of disorganization is inevitable—that is the case in all wars, all the more so in a civil war—before the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken."

Until this resistance is broken—until the capitalist class is eliminated through the confiscation of its property and the abolition of private ownership, *democracy is impossible.* The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the only means by which this can be accomplished. And as soon as the capitalist class has disappeared, the Dictatorship automatically ceases.

In all countries state of war exists between the working class and the capitalists. In most countries the Dictatorship of the Capitalists keeps the workers down by force, but cannot abolish them, *for the workers are indispensable.* In Russia, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is abolishing Capitalism—for the capitalists are not necessary to society.

Political Democracy is a fake.

Modern nations have two governments; the political government, in which every man theoretically has a vote—and the economic government, in which the few who own industry and control production are autocrats over millions of workers. The policies of "democratic" governments are dictated by the "interests." Woodrow Wilson, in his "New Freedom," indicates this when he points out that the United States Government is in the hands of the great corporations.

Political democracy simply means that everybody may vote for a Government which must serve the "interests."

"Political power, properly so-called," says the *Communist Manifesto*, "is merely the organized power of one class oppressing another." The institutions of modern "democratic" governments are designated to protect and enforce the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. Therefore, even if the working class should capture the political power by a majority of votes, that power could only go on exploiting the workers—*unless industry were taken out of the hands of the capitalist class.* The capitalists would resist this by force—as they have in the past—as they are doing in Russia and Germany today.

But it is impossible for the workers to get control of the state through the machinery of political democracy. They must forcibly seize industry, abolish the present form of government, and set up a new one in the interests

(Continued on page 10)