

tage of the present situation, however, is, that it so very clearly brings out the actual desires and tendencies of all the reactionary elements throughout the world. German militarism and imperialism, Japanese imperialism, the real nature of the Russian bourgeoisie, the nature of Finland's capitalism, is being shown up in bright light. The present situation in Russia has brought about the crystallization of the class lines all over the world to an extent which certainly will be of great advantage to the rallying of the forces of the labor movement. It is also obvious that the present situation is much more likely to complicate the internal policies of Austria and Germany and to strengthen the position of the revolutionary elements in both countries. A peace on the basis of the Hoffmann terms would, on the other hand, have temporarily created a certain amount of satisfaction on both sides which would have made more possible a stabilization of German-Russian relations on the basis of capitalistic intercourse.

Thus I frankly maintain that as far as the tactics of the Russian Soviets have contributed to the creation of the present situation there is nothing which they could have done otherwise and there really is nothing which they should have done otherwise.

The question then arises, to what degree other elements are responsible for the present situation in Russia and to what degree they can be relied upon in the work of liberating Russia from the grip of the Germans and international imperialism.

The German social democracy can not escape the responsibility for the present situation, although we fully understand that forces not within the control of the German socialist leadership in the German labor movement, contributed to the betrayal of the Russians by the German socialists. Yet, it is a fact that the German majority socialist leaders deliberately subdued such revolutionary activity which, in spite of all, actually existed among the German masses, as the general strike in February clearly shows. The German majority

socialists never will be able to wipe off their face the brand-mark of deliberate traitorship toward Russia. Even the independent socialists, although we fully realize the limits of their possibility of action, cannot be fully released from blame for not having more desperately tried to call the attention of their people to the black crime being committed against the world in regard to Russia.

In this regard I would wish to refer to an article in the Finnish daily *Raivaaja*, which shows some of the reasons why no revolution took place in Germany at this time. It says:

As certain as it is that in Germany, sooner or later, there will be a revolution against the Kaiserism, and at the same time a social revolution, it is not at all sure that such revolution will happen at the present stage of the world crisis.

We have hoped for a revolution in Germany at this time and we have based our calculations on this hope. Our Russian comrades based the foundations of their tactics on such a hope. But now we find that the evolution of events is not as rapid as we would like it to be.

A war which to all appearances is a victorious one and which at least holds out the hope of victory is not apt to encourage revolutionary movements, because a revolution is not to be had at the wish of conscious leaders. A revolution becomes a fact only in as far as such conditions arise which set into motion the broad masses, who are not able abstractly to grasp problems well understood by minds schooled in world politics.

Although the far seeing leaders of the labor movement well understand, that the German government is planning and committing an outrageous crime against the world, although they understand that the temporary advantages arising from that crime to Germany very soon must change into distinct disadvantages, and although they understand that the crime is too great to become permanent and to be recognized by the world as an accomplished fact which can not be changed, the tragedy of the situation is that there is no human power which has at its disposal words and persuasion only which were great enough to arise to sacrificing action people ridden by military discipline. It is a misfortune, but it is a fact, that the nemesis of the crime first must