

izers of the capitalist production—the owners of plants, factory owners, bankers with all their clique of lackey partisans (officials, engineers and others) fed on the crumbs of the profiteers attempt to utilize the coming crisis so that the deadly grip of hunger and disorganization will tighten the noose on the necks of the working class and thus crush the revolution.

Every worker, soldier, peasant,—all the sons of the revolution must at this crucial hour unite and consciously use their capabilities, strong hands and mighty shoulders to preserve our economic system from that disorganization. Enterprises released from war orders and labor organizations must adapt themselves to the production of the vital necessities for national consumption. Everyone must now remember that he works not for accumulating profits for capitalists but for the benefit of all the toilers; that the workers and peasants are becoming the real masters of our country and all must regard the factories, plants, other enterprises and forms of work with such unselfish considerations as befits the Socialist state of society.

The slowdown of war orders, the horrible disorganization which results in the cessation of work at the plants would bring grief to the worker's heart, and the spectre of hunger and the fear of oncoming unemployment hovers over the heads of the large toiling masses. This fear inherited from our enslaved fathers keeps our vigorous thoughts in capitalist captivity, dwarfs our great aspirations for the emancipation of the whole mankind from the yoke of exploitation, and overcomes them with fears for the morrow.

Only when the control shall rest in the hands of labor organizations, central as well as local, and energetically and actively applied, not hesitating even to use most drastic measures against capitalists, should the latter deliberately neglect the duties imposed on them;—only when the control shall be put in close and direct contact with the general regulation and organization of production, in individual enterprises, as well as in a whole branch of an industry—only then will it accomplish its aims and justify the expectations held out for it.

Control should be precisely understood as a **transitory step** towards an organization of the whole economic structure of the country on a social basis, as the immediate and necessary step in that direction, made by the masses themselves, and parallel with the work done in the central organs of the national economy.

Petrograd, July, 1918

## FACSIMILES OF SOVIET CIRCULARS

issued to Foreign Soldiers on Russian Soil

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

### Why have you come to Ukraine?

To British and American soldiers.

Fellow workmen!

Why have you come to Ukraine? Do you not know that the war is over? An armistice is declared on the Western front, and preparations are being made for the peace conference. Yet instead of arrangements being made for you to return home, to those dear ones, who with keen longing will be expecting you, you have been brought here to start a new war in Russia.

What have you got to fight for now?

When the allied governments invaded Russia from the North, in Mourmansk, and Archangel, and the East from Vladivostok, they publicly made a solemn declaration that they had no hostile intentions against the Russian people. They said, they had come in fact to help us to get out of the clutches of German Imperialism. President Wilson gave as an additional reason that he desired to protect the Czecho-Slovaks, who he alleged were in danger of being betrayed to the Germans.

These were merely hypocritical pretences. Russia was not in the grip of the Kaiser. Russia did not want the kind of assistance of the Allies. The Czecho-Slovaks were in no danger of betrayal. They were at perfect liberty to leave Russia unharmed, but they were bribed by the Allies to take up arms against the Russian Republic, and were until we had defeated them, a source of danger to us.

But what excuse is there now for this fresh landing in the Ukraine, openly directed against Russia? It may be that you have been kept in ignorance of the tremendous events that have taken place during the last month, although that is hardly possible. We tell you then, that there have been revolutions in Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary and Germany.

Prussianism has been overthrown by the German workers and soldiers. Kaiser Wilhelm has fled to Holland. The Crown Prince has been shot. There is a new Government in Berlin controlled by a Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

On the west front fighting has ceased and the German, French, and British soldiers are fraternizing.

In Austria-Hungary too the old order has been overthrown by the workers. The Emperor Karl has abdicated. Hungary has broken away from Austria, and the Czecho-Slovaks, as well as the other nations hitherto under the dominion of the Hapsburgs have established their independence.

What pretext have the Allied governments now for invading Russia from the South? The menace of Prussian militarism no longer exists thanks to the German Revolution. We have offered to the Czecho-Slovaks all facilities to return to their own country, to join their liberated countrymen. There is no excuse at all for your landing in the Ukraine. If there was ever the slightest doubt as to the intentions of the Allied Governments, there can be none now. The purpose of the Allied invasion of Russia is to crush the Socialist Republic, and re-establish the reign of capitalism and landlordism. You surely cannot be unaware of the tremendous change that has taken place in Russia. We have abolished capitalism and landlordism. The land belongs to the whole people. So, too, do the factories, mines, railways and all the means of wealth production. All these things are under the direct control of workers and peasants. We are constructing a new society in which the fruits of labour will go to those who work. But the financiers of Wall Street and the "City" have greedy eyes for our vast storehouse of wealth. They want to control the rich coal basin of the Don, the oil wells of Baku, the cotton fields of Turkestan and minerals of the Caucasus, the great timber forests of the North, and the vast corn lands of the South. They want to convert the million of workers and peasant of Russia into wage slaves to grind out profits for them.