

# WHAT BOLSHEVIKI WANT AND WHAT THEY OPPOSE

mediate Socialism With Strength to Establish an Effective International as Guarantee of Peace to World," Is Aim of Russia's Prime Minister.

Against All Form of Annexations by Capitalistic Governments" Bolsheviki Overthrew Other Russian Parties by Firm Adherence to People's Demands.

Proletariat to Supplant Standing Army in Republic; Lands to Be Confiscated and 200,000,000 People to Be Brought Under Council Government.

By Nicholas Lenine,

Bolshevik Dictator and Prime Minister of Russia.

Translated by the former Petrograd correspondent of the New York American, John Crozier Long, from statements by Lenine.)

primary and only real cause of the victory of the Bolsheviki over the opposing elements, in undiluted form, Class, Capitalism, Imperialism and Exploitation of the masses—those who were the trend of events—imagine here is clear-cut opposition to the so-called Bourgeoisie, or the educated classes on the one hand and the Social-Democrats on the other, the toiling masses on the other. That view is untrue. Russia is not a land of class. The Social-Democrats are not a factor of opposition to the Bolsheviks. The Social-Democrats, Militarists and Bourgeoisie are great part of our Social party does not represent. While professing Socialism, they keep in touch with the Social party. That is, the Social party has never been a party of extreme reaction, it is a party of the right, it is a party of the right, it is a party of the right. The Reactionaries are the retrograde members of the Social party. They stand for the old Russian monarchy, the old Russian constitution, or a state in which the bourgeoisie and the police force are the real heart of the Romanoff dynasty, and the Reactionaries stand for the old Russian standing army and the old Russian police. They are

opposed to the Bolsheviks' demand for the abolition of the official class. Their motive here is plain. They belong to that class, and their ginsmen recruit, that class. The Reactionaries stand for the war. Their motives is that they and their families profit from war, and that war causes disunion in the toiling mass. They are in favor of secret treaties. They opposed the publication of the treaties of spoliation made between the ex-Czar Nicholas and his European allies. They dread light being let into the dark places of capitalistic international intrigue. With one important limitation, they are annexationists. They oppose seizures of territory by the brigand William the Second and the brigand capitalists of Germany. But they want Russia to maintain in subjection the non-Russian races who were victims of Nicholas's despotism; and they would like her, if victorious, to annex all she can. The Bolshevik demand that the people should immediately take possession of banks, industrial monopolies, and other great aggregations of capital is naturally opposed by the Reactionaries. From their capitalistic and landowning standpoint this view is inevitable. Such in brief is the platform of the most conservative of Russia's four parties, which I call the Reactionaries.

**Liberals—Party of the Cadets.**  
The second political factor of Russia is "Liberal." The Liberal party consists of the Cadets, of which the world hears so much (that is, the so-called "Party of Popular Freedom"); it consists also to a certain extent of the Moscow "Industrial Group," of the National-Democrats, and in general of the propertied "Intelligentsiya."

This element of Russia is always shocked when it is classed with the Reactionaries. The Reactionaries, it claims, are a handful of autocrats, Pan-Russian fanatics and Jew-baiters, whom the honest Liberals regard with horror. In reality these two parties, though separately organized and in the past inimical, have been

represented by the revolution into one party. Their programmes are the same. In nearly all the questions above mentioned the Liberals agree with the Reactionaries. One superficial difference is in the question: monarchy or republic? After the March revolution the first important act of the Liberals, under Professor Milukoff and the ex-War Minister Gutschkoff, was to proclaim for monarchy and to offer the throne to Czar Nicholas's brother, Michael. Only when they saw that Russia would not tolerate Czarism in any form they declared themselves Republicans.

On the question of political power the Liberals agree with the Reactionaries with the differences that, instead of demanding a Czarist or military dictatorship, they want power to remain in the hands of the capitalists.

After the revolution the Liberals did all they could to prevent an expression of the people's will. They tried to delay the convoking of the Constituent Assembly. All that reactionary professors and lawyers—who are the backbone of the Cadets and other "Liberal" parties could do—was done in order to delay the Constituent Assembly.

On the war issue, the Liberals are at heart quite as predatory as the Reactionaries, but they try to deceive the masses by claiming that Russia is fighting for Russia's liberties and that she aims at dethroning the despot William the Second. They stand for forcing Germany to disgorge the conquests which she has made, but they stand with equal resolution for keeping Germany's conquered colonies.

On the subject of land ownership, Russia's Liberals are insincere. They want to save the proprietors' land, Shingarien, their former Minister of Finance, expropriated all the lands belonging to the Czar and to the grand dukes, but he threw up his hands in horror when asked to expropriate land belonging to the noble proprietors.

On the great question of a Socialist-International, which is the one means of abolishing war and realizing a fraternal union of nations, the Liberals are insincere. They profess to stand for the International, but demand that the Socialists who control the International shall be "Tame Socialists" who stand in line obediently with the present capitalistic governments. An International on such a basis is an absurdity. To prove their insincerity the Liberals oppose fraternization of soldiers of the belligerent States, although this is the first and indispensable step toward an International.

"Tame Socialists"—the Menshevik. The third factor in Russia, and the factor which, since it calls itself "Socialist," is hardest for real Socialists to tackle and defeat, is the "Tame Socialist" Party. That is the Menshevik, or Moderate Socialist Party. In its class composition this party is not Socialist, at all. It does not represent the toiling masses; it represents fairly prosperous peasants and working men, petty traders, many small and some even fairly large capitalists, and a certain number of real but glib, proletarians who have been caught in the Bourgeois net.

This party of "Socialists" professes to share the view of the Bolsheviki, and to differ from them only

on questions of tactics. The "Tame Socialists" claim to be moderate and opportunist in their policy. But when it comes to a test the "Tame Socialists" almost always meekly follow the Capitalist and Imperialist lead.

The Mensheviks proclaim they want a genuinely Socialist State, but they add that Russia must have patience in realizing that aim. They declared immediately after the revolution that the Socialists alone could not rule Russia; therefore the capitalistic government of Prince Lvoff, and the more or less capitalistic government of Kerensky must be left in power while the real Socialist Parliament, that is, the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, remained outside, and was allowed merely to "advise" the Government. The "Tame Socialists" professed to believe that if the councils assumed all power anarchy would result; and they therefore supported the former Provisional governments of Lvoff and Kerensky.

In the matter of the Constituent Assembly, the "Tame Socialists" also compromised. Day after day they discussed the Assembly and urged its necessity, but they never could make up their minds, and they were one main reason why its convocation was postponed.

The "Tame Socialists" vacillated and compromised on the question of army and police. They hinted that such a drastic change as the abolition of Russia's standing army was premature, and they refused to abolish immediately the official class, declaring that this was hardly the time to settle that question. Like the Bolsheviki, they professed that all army officers should be elected by the common soldiers, but they hesitated on the vital question whether or not the soldiers had a right to dismiss their officers. They demanded that before dismissing officers the soldiers should ask the consent of the Councils of Deputies.

Foiled by the Imperialists. The "Tame Socialists" professed to be as much against Imperialistic war as the Bolsheviki. But they were fooled by the capitalists and imperialistic, and since the revolution they have supported a purely imperialistic war waged by frantic imperialists of the type of Professor Milukoff and Alexander Gutschkoff. They professed to be against secret predatory treaties, but they were also against the publication of these treaties. They professed and honestly believed that they are against annexation, but they stood for compromise with the capitalistic governments which, they proclaimed, would generously "undertake" to renounce all annexations.

The "Tame Socialists" opposed the immediate settlement of the land question. They agree with the Bolshevik demand for the handing over of banks and industries to the people; but they insist that this plan also must not be realized "prematurely."

The "Tame Socialists" stand for fraternization between enemy troops; but of course they doubt whether fraternization is at present "advisable." They support the great idea of a Socialist International; but they oscillate backward and forward between "Patriotism"; of a Nationalist type and genuine, Bolshevik Internationalism. In the name of Socialistic unity they would constitute their International from all elements, including patriots of the type of the militant socialist Scheidemann in Germany and the equally militant socialist Plekhanoff in Russia.

**Bolsheviki—Know What They Want**  
Against these three parties of Aristocrats, Bourgeois Militarists and self-deceiving "Socialist" weaklings, stand the Bolsheviki, with an uncompromising programme and an uncompromising policy. Alone the Bolsheviki know what they want and have the power to get it.

What are the Bolsheviki, and what do they want? The Bolsheviki are a communist party representing first the day laborers; secondly, all such workmen as are, as Russians say, "Soznatelnye," that is, such as have a full class and political consciousness; and, finally, the landless or nearly landless peasants.

These classes stand for immediate Socialism. Their notion of Socialism is in a republic ruled by the Councils of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. They are against every form of monarchy and every form of political power except such as reposes in the hands of the Councils of Deputies. They are against all governments of the type of the governments of Lvoff and Kerensky. They intend to prepare our two hundred million Russians for government by the Councils of Deputies. They oppose the division of power which existed during the Lvoff and Kerensky regimes; that is, the holding of office by Bourgeois and capitalist ministers under "pretence that these ministers are 'controlled' by Socialist organizations outside. Power must be altogether and directly in the hands of the Socialists. Every

official organization in the country must be run by Councils of Deputies.

The Bolsheviki demand that the Constituent Assembly be called. The Assembly's real function is to increase the power of the Councils of Deputies and to organize and to arm the toiling masses.

The Bolsheviki party is determined to abolish the standing army. It demands that in the meantime every officer shall be elected directly by the soldiers. The soldiers, through their committees, will supervise and control the actions and orders of all officers, high and low, and they will dismiss their officers without any appeal. No soldier will obey any officer except the officer so elected.

Russia Needs Armed Proletariat. Russia wants neither standing army nor police. It needs an armed proletariat. Its programme should be to arm immediately and universally the people, so that a great militia may be formed. The capitalistic employer will be obliged to pay his workers during their days of service in the militia.

The State must abolish entirely the official class and official ranks as they now exist. In the new Russian State the people will directly elect its own officials; and it will directly dismiss them. The new State will abolish the system under which big officials get high salaries. In Russia, as I see it, the best official will get about the same salary as the best working man.

The Bolsheviki programme is absolutely opposed to imperialistic wars and to all capitalistic governments which wage such wars.

The Bolsheviki are against all forms of annexation, and they refuse to accept any declaration against annexation made by a capitalistic government. The only way to force capitalistic governments to renounce annexation is to annihilate capitalistic governments.

A capitalistic government cannot express the people's will; and on this point it is the duty of the Bolsheviki to enlighten and warn the masses.

On the question of monarchy in the world generally the Bolsheviki repudiate the "Tame Socialist" policy of being contented for the time being with the dethronement of Kaiser Wilhelm. The Bolsheviki proclaim that the Revolution cannot afford to wait; and they do not believe in waiting Revolutionaries. Therefore in all countries, without any exceptions, all sovereigns must be immediately driven from their thrones.

**Peasants Must Get Land.**

On the land question the Bolsheviki accept no compromise. All the land must be immediately confiscated and handed over to the peasants. Food production must be immediately increased and the soldiers must be better fed. The Councils of Workmen's Deputies, the Councils of Delegates of Banking Employees and other democratic organizations must prepare for the immediate union of all banks into a single State bank. This step shall be followed by establishing control by the Councils of Workmen's Deputies over all other capitalistic industries.

The Bolsheviki International is an entirely different International from that of the "Tame Socialists." It will be organized from and manned by real Revolutionaries and real Proletarians. Only these can put a stop to hideous and criminal massacres of the nations, and only these are capable of delivering the human race from the oppression of capitalists. It is such men as the German socialist Karl Liebknecht, who is today languishing in a German prison—men who intrepidly oppose their own capitalistic governments, their own Bourgeoisie and their own Tame Socialist Patriots and Nationalists—only such men can establish a really effective International which will guarantee peace and concord between the peoples.

The four parties of Russia are as distinctly different from one another as are four colors. I should give each of the parties a color which indicates its essential character. The Reactionaries should have a black flag. They are the real "Black Hundred" party. The Liberals should have a yellow flag; for that is the color of men who serve Capitalism voluntarily. The "Tame Socialists" flag is pink. The "Tame Socialists" whole policy is feebleness and compromise, and it resembles rose water.

The Bolsheviki flag is red. Red is the real Socialist color, the emblem of the International Revolution which is soon to come.—N. Y. American.

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## Bolshevik Government Based on Real Force

BRITON FINDS PETROGRAD MORE ORDERLY THAN FOR MONTHS

London, Jan. 1.—The Bolsheviki government is extremely efficient, energetic and decisive, though faced by noisy opposition from the privileged classes, who are doing all they can to check it by sabotage and libel, according to a dispatch from the Petrograd correspondent of the Daily News.

The correspondent who has just returned to Petrograd after a lengthy visit in England, says the city is more orderly than for some months before the Bolsheviki took control. The people may not like the Bolsheviki, he declares, but they obey them with startling alacrity and the Government, for the first time since the revolution, is based on real force.

The Constituent Assembly, the correspondent hears, will meet as soon as delegates from the Ukraine arrive, perhaps in ten days. He asserts that whatever is the decision of the assembly as constituted at present it will not alter the essential direction of Russian policy, although it might by weakening the government at home, weaken it in its dealings with the Germans.

Any attempt to turn out the Bolsheviki government by force would result only in anarchy favorable to the Germans, says the correspondent, who does not believe that such force is available. He writes enthusiastically about Leon Trotsky, the Bolsheviki foreign minister, who told him that the war would be decided by social rather than by military pressure.

## Bureau to Place Women in the War Industries

The problem which concerns the placement of women in positions held by men released for war service as well as the placement of wage earners made idle through industrial changes will be simplified by a new plan now being put into effect by the Labor Department. This plan includes the transfer of the United States Employment Service from the Bureau of Immigration to the Office of the Secretary of Labor and will also centralize the work of the various employment bureaus throughout the country. In addition to \$250,000 placed in the hands of the Secretary of Labor for war emergency employment work by the urgent deficiency bill, a further sum has been made available by President Wilson from his \$100,000,000 appropriation to carry on the service pending further action by Congress.

### Appointed Assistant Manager.

Significant of the importance of women in industry is the appointment of Miss Hilda Muhlhauser as assistant manager of the newly organized Employment Service of the Department of Labor. For the last 10 years Miss Muhlhauser has devoted her time and energy to all the phases of the employment problem, making intensive studies as well as practical investigations. She is identified with many organizations, being a member of the Board of the Con-

## WALL STREET PLANS TO ROB WORKERS AT CLOSE OF WAR

Reductions in wages and widespread unemployment, are being predicted as after-the-war certainties by New York bankers and corporation dealers.

One reason why Wall Street bankers are urging a campaign for thrift among wage-earners is their desire that the workers shall be financially able to endure the wage reductions on which they are counting the moment the war stops.

To prevent the most disastrous industrial depression in our generation, many far-sighted men in the United States and England are insisting that opportunity on the land be opened to the millions of returning soldiers and munition workers who will find themselves out of employment when peace comes.

In Wall Street the coming industrial depression is today being planned for and discussed in the most matter-of-fact way. Says the financial editor of the New York Evening Post:

"If workers, by investment in government bonds, do not become used to higher living, it will be less difficult to get them to consent to a reduction in wages when that is made inevitable by peace. What is more important, the workers will have saved something, which will enable them better to bridge over any interval of unemployment which may come during the period of readjustment."

### Prepare for Future.

In other words, Wall Street wants the workers to insure themselves out of their present earnings against a bad future. If the wage-earners can be induced to go without "luxuries" (such as meat, eggs, milk and sugar) during the war, then after the war they may submit to wage reductions, unemployment—anything—without revolting. According to this line of reasoning, every penny saved by the wage-earners during the war will be saved to bankers and employing interests after the war. Every dollar the wage-earner can draw from his savings can be subtracted from the amount of his pay-check.

Organized labor knows there is a better way. It is fast coming to a realization that the only hope for the workers is to remove the underlying causes of low wages and unemployment. And the greatest of these is the privilege of owning the means of wealth production and distribution and using the mere fact of ownership as a means of extorting tribute. Never will the world be in such need of the products of labor as after the war. Food, clothing, better and more houses, will be sorely needed. And they will not be forthcoming because the bankers and landowners will find it more profitable to hold the natural resources, and the plants which depend upon these resources for raw materials, idle and out of use, until they can be sure of big profits over and above the cost of producing.

sumer's League of Ohio, the Woman's Suffrage Association, and the Woman's City Club of Cleveland and New York. She is vice president of the American Association of Public Employment Bureaus.

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