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THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET STATE. By John Reed

Reprinted from the 'New York Liberator.')

agh all the chorus of abuse and misrepre-on directed against the Russian Soviets capitalist press, there runs a voice shrill sort of panic, which cries : "There is no ment in Russia! There is no organisation the Russian workers! It will not work ! not work!"

the backet of work 1" is method in the slander. Treal Socialists know, and as we who have the Russian Revolution can testify, there or in Moscow and throughout all the cities rus of the Russian land a highly complex is structure, which is upheld by the vast y of the people, and which is functioning as any newborn popular government ever ad. Also the workers of Russia havo of from their necessities and the demands an economic organisation which is evolving rue industrial democracy.

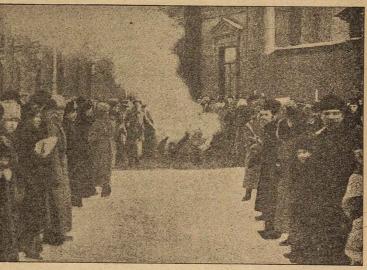
HISTORY OF THE SOVIETS.

HISTORY OF THE SOVIETS. Soviet state is based upon the Soviets.—or is—of Workers and Peasants' Soviets. a Councils—institutions so characteristic Russian Revolution—originated in 1905, huring the first general strike of the workers, and factories and labour organisations sent es to a Central Committee. This Strike tiese was named "Council of Workers" es." It celled the second general strike autumn of 1905, sent out organisers all ussis, and for a short time was recognised Imperial Government as the authorised and the revolutionary Russian working-

the failure of the 1905 Revolution, the s of the Council either fled or were sent ria. But so astoundingly effective as a organ was this type of union that all the onary parties included a Council of a Deputies in their plans for the next

ionary parties included a Council of rs' Deputies in their plans for the next glarch, 1917, when, in the face of all Russia like a sea, the Tsar abdicated and Grand Michael declined the throne, and the re-Duma was forced to assume the reins of ment, the Council of Workers' and the full fieldged into being. In a few days it larged to include delegates of the Army, lide the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' es. Except for Korensky, the Duma Com-was composed of *bowgreis*, and had no tion with the revolutionary masses what-Fighting had to be done, order had to be d, the front guarded....The Duma mem-al no way of exceuting these duties ; they bliged to appeal to the representatives of forkers and soldiers—in other words, the .1. The Council took charge of the work of the, preserving order. Moreover, it assumed al by the *bourgeois*. a the moment when the Duma was forced sal to the Council, two governments existed and these two governments existed mastery until November, 1917, when the with the Golsheviki in control, overthrew lition Government.

with the Bolsheviki in control, overthrew liton Government. were, as I have said, Soviets both of 's and of Soldiers' Deputies. Somewhat are came into being Soviets of Peasants' Soviets met together; they also held Russian Congress jointly. The Peasants' however, were held aloot by the reactionary s in control, and did not join with the and soldiers until the November revolu-th establishment of the Soviet Govern-



Revolutionary Workers Burning the Russian Eagle, the Emblem of Russian Czardom

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOVIETS.

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the bosses of industry was confused and dealers by the Unions. The too, like the soldiers' Army Committee policy was controlled by reactionaries, age the rapidly quickening pulse of the rank and Thus at the time of the Bolhevik insured the central Committees of the telephone work the postal and telegraph employees and mailwaymen were able to call strikes against Bolsheviki in Smolyy Institute, and temport isolate them from all Russia...This is a who soon called conventions and reversed policy of their outworn leaders, electing an committees.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

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Stewar-rational ? said that if the Pensions Ministry rational ? use of the machinery already sk ourselves. "here might be reason in the Bill, the meantime outle right it had to claim more unexplicitly." sition the Bill was read a right of the peoples VS

national Federation of varyer Endians

DOHN ACLEAN. We now learn on good authority that si midergoing forcible feeding. Is this coun be the last in granting reprieves. Germa shown the way by freeing Karl Liebknecht, unjust treatment meted put to kiteriously is going to have an

as of the community she

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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therefore help to make

E STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET STATE (continued from Page 1167).

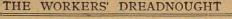
EME COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ECONOMY In denoy of the Russian Soviet Republic has himself pointed out, is away from Government of any kind, and toward strial democracy. Lenin-has even gone to foresee the eventual disappearance viets in favour of an economic, purely

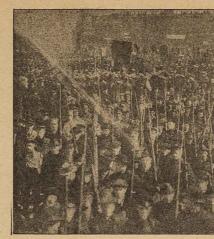
tive, body. otype of this future economic parliament is in Russia. It is called the Supreme Public Economy, and is made up of from the Main Land Committee, and Council of Workers' Control. This is the power to regulate the economic ountry, to control the flow of production untry, to control the flow of production it, to administer in a large way the ources belonging to the Government, export and import; and to it alone right to start new industries, or to new projects of railroad and highway to opening of new mines, the building tories, or the development of water-

factories, or the development of water-ting committee of the Council is com-fifteen men, each one in charge of one of en branches of the country's economic chas a railroads, agriculture, &c. These chosen as follows: The different pro-lorganisations—such as the Institute of Engineers, &c., nominate their best I mon; and these candidates are voted whe delegates of the land committees Workers' Control organisations. Workers' Control organisations. Heen committeemen sit in fifteen offices, deb y technical commissions applying various fields. In the same building are commissariat of Labour, the Commissariat mere and Industry, the Commissariat nee, representatives of the factory shop tes, the peasant Soviets, Co-operatives, the merch in Ere argumple, Istantee an hour. Criticso

cenaries. Quite the contrary is true. The organisations which I have described are reproduced in almost every community in Russia, And if any con-siderable part of Russia were seriously opposed to the Soviet Government, the Soviets could not last

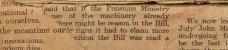
will fail." will fail." We know now what he meant. "Revolu-tionary" does not mean merely a rebellious mood; to combine, because of its resemblance imitive co-operation of Russian village





The Revolutionary Army.

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mational Federation of us that Mr. Bonar the whom statement All sections of the community she

JOHN MACLEAN. We now learn on good authority that July John Maclean has been on hunger s undergoing forcible feeding. Is this co be the last in granting reprieves. Gern shown the way by freeing Karl Liebkneed, popularity has been inclosased enormously unjust treatment meted put to him. Whe going to have one put to him. Whe

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Trotsky, and maintained by Red Guard mer- E,T,U. PROTEST AGAINST INTERVENTION.

The N.W. Branch of the Electrical Trades Union passed the following resolution unani-mously on December 17th :---

NEW RUSSIA. Published by the Socialist Party of Ireland, Liberty Hall, Dublin, or from the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. Price 3d.

E.C. Price 3d, ILEAFLETS PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE'S RUSSIAN INFORMATION BUREAU, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. "The Soviet Policy In The East " and "Arthur Ransome's Appeal," 1d, each., 3d, per doz, "Russia Gives The Land TO The People" and "Hous-ing For The Homeless." Decrees by the Russian Soviet, 1d, each, 3d, per doz. Inturve co-operation of Russian Village nutries. Putilov factory, where more than forty workers are employed, the Co-operative d, housed and *even oldeked* more than end thousand people-sending all the way to for clothing. signality in the Russians that is forgotten e who think that Russians that is forgotten e, the cause there is no central *force*, se mental pioture of Russia is a servite e in Moscow, bossed by Lenin and

1170 SOVIET DECREES.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

eedings may be taken against any person g f concealing products, or orders, of keeping

of concealing products, or orders, of keepi accounts, or of other abuses. 11. The District Soviets of Workers' (see paragraph 3) shall decide all disputes h the subsidiary committees and shall deal y complete the optimized of the state of

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said that if the Pensions Ministry use of the machinery already "here might be reason in the Bill, me outle right it had to claim more scition the Bill was read a sk ourselves.

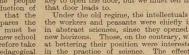
right of the peoples VS. anal Federation of us that Mr. Bonar nents to grant facilities statement

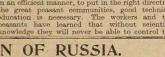
JOHN MACLEAN JOHN A AC We now learn on good a July John Maclean has been undergoing forcible feeding be the last in granting re statement. All sections of the community sho

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDUCATION AND THE RUSSIAN SOVIETS.





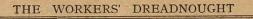


The results of this policy are well arease of national illwill, destruction of must be put to this unworthy policy onfit must be replaced by a frank and ling among the peoples of Russia. s a result off such policy will there be n honourable and solid union of the Russia. *Liberal

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OF RUSSIA. **IMPRESSIONS**

An Extract from a Verbatim Report of a Conversation with Albert Rhys Williams.

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(With acknowledgements to 'The Liberator' of New York.)

New York.) MR. WILLIAMS: No, I don't think they need the excuse to-day of wiping out German in-fluence in Russia. It is wiping out the Bol-sheviki, and no excuse is necessary. They are talking about taking the army over there after peace is made. peace is made. MRS. STOKES : There "ain't going to be no

taking about taking the army over there are peace is made. MRS. STOKES: There "ain't going to be no peace." MR. WITLIAMS: Not if Lenin is right. Lenin says we have éntered upon an era of wars that will last fifteen years—wars and social revolu-tion. And Lenin is a great prophet among the Bolsheviki. They always say; "We vote against him in the secret conferences, and then we find he is right. Lenin insisted that the first thing to do was to got Kerensky and arrest him. We said: 'No,' and course he was right as usual." Q. Did you see this portrait ? Does this look like him ? A. That makes him look like a wolf. He looks more like a nice bourgeois—the mayor of a small French city. He does not impress you very much at first. He is stocky, rather inclined a little hit to be robust, but gives the impression of solid strength; always talks with his face right up near you; the most courteous man I think I ever met in my life—and, of course, his enemies call him the most vitriolie. I presented him when I first came, at the time of the uprising, with my credentials from the Socialist party. He kept them for about an hour, and gave them back to me but wouldn't give me a pass on the basis of then. The second experience I had with him was in Michaelovsky Manego, when he was making a speech from the top of an armoured car. When he finished he asked me to speak to the crowd. He talks English very well, and he said, "I will be your interpreter." "I is not necessary," I said, "I will try in it Russian." And so I tried in Russian, and whenever I foundrered he would throw me up a word. Well, from that time on, I began to have a pleasant relationship with the man, and he got interested in my learning the language. The next time I had a little talk with him was ather bored with the whole thing, and, instead of trying to urge me to work for the cause, he began to ask how I was getting along vith-meet himself all worked up, in fact, about my

rather bored with the whole thing, and, instead of trying to urge me to work for the cause, he began to ask how I was getting along with the language. He became excited about it— got himself all worked up, in fact, about my *learning Rassian*. That shows how human and sympathetic he is. He had the simplest and most ingenious devices for learning it, too. I remember his saying: "Don't talk with any Americans. It won't do you any good any-way!" He always had a little touch of humour in him. in him.

wa !" He always had a little touch of humour in him. Q. On did learn it? A. I learned it fairly well. That was the free of thime 1 had any personal conversation with him. Another time was when the Germans we driving on Petrograd. You see, I had though you that armoured ear and said that would join the Red Army and fight with the protectariat if the Germans came, and, having the Germans came within two hundred miles the Germans came within two hundred to be a start 1 really the the Red Army, and on the way 1 met there was a great deal of fighting force left there. The hustled me up to Lemin said, "We have no fighting force. The people at Pskico

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gave up all the munitions there without firing

We ought to have the President of that
"We ought to have the President of that
Soviet shot on the spot." In adda
Well, Lenin gave me a note to Krylenko, and
then he got very much interested in the International Legion I was forming to fight for the Revolution and the Soviet. After that I generally had access to him. Ann, of course, I was always thinking that the Revolution was going to fail every term minutes, and I would get up elaborate schemes for injecting a little new ife into it. He never would reject them, absurd as they often were, but I can see now how he tool out of that mass of stuff the only title things that were any good. There was always harping on that. The best thing about Lenin is that he is a realist. Instead of trying to get you support for his party, he will say. "The points for use 1, 2, 3, 4: and the point against us are 1, 2, 3, 4: and the point against us a

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of thousands of rubles on these reasons. America— Q. What became of them ? A. Oh, well, of course, they were no allowed to come over. Lenin knew it we happen. He said, "I'm afraid they we allow this literature to get into America. pretty bad literature, really." That is the time I talked with him. Q. Did he give yon any message to de to American Socialists ?-A. Well, I asked him if he had any mess and he wrote me a letter. I will give i *The Liberator* as soon as I get my papers the State Department.

* Raymond Robias was the head of the American Red C an unofficial representative from the United States Goven the Bolaheviki.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION CHANDOS HALL, FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th, 7.30 p EDWARD SOERMUS, THE GREAT RUSSIAN VIOLINIST. Chair, MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST. Tickets as ad., la and ed., including tax. Appliedit tickets should be sent to Miss Bysr, 400 Old Ford Read, Ben

Berlin Capitalist Press Stopp The Berlin correspondent of the "Hand states that no "Bourgeois" papers are appear in Berlin owing to a strike on the their printers. Only Socialist papers at issued.—Reuter,

Tsaid that if the Pensions Ministry use of the machinery already "here might be reason in the Bill, me outle right it had to claim more scition the Bill was read a ourselv the meantime ourle nnexations of the peoples right MS.

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