

lied forces lost few, but were able to retire with part of their own supplies, while punishing the enemy by burning the remainder. Always the red armies are, or are about to be, crushed, and now after months of almost constant defeats we read that they are virtual masters of Ukraina, that they have an army of half or three-quarters of a million men, officered by trained soldiers of the former German and Russian armies.

At the same time a representative in America of the Soviet government offers on its behalf to deposit \$200,000,000 in gold in American and European banks for the purchase of supplies and asks our government "to re-establish normal relations between the two countries."

These are certainly not the accents of failure, weakness, and despair. Lenin and Trotzky have been in power a year and a half. In spite of constant reports of defeats, famine, and social chaos, in spite of the Murman and Siberian defections, they seem to be stronger than ever. There is a situation we are not permitted to see. Raymond Robbins evidently tried to describe it last summer, but he could not get a hearing until the senate called him the other day. But the public has a right to know what this phase of the Russian upheaval really is and not be confined to partisan reports and sporadic rumors.

Why has bolshevism survived and grown in Russia? What is its strength there today? The measures in which we have joined up to this time seem to be futile or worse. They were not our measures. It is time America asserted her right to know what she is about, to make up her own mind whether she is pulling others' chestnuts out of the fire or following a policy consistent with her own interests.

Japan's Labor Troubles

(BY SEN KATAYAMA)

Since the recent rice riots the workers of Japan have been steadily asserting their power. In spite of rigid police rule and the use of troops in strikes, mass demonstrations are occurring more and more frequently. Demands for higher wages are being made not through the agency of labor organizations but by direct action in the form of mass strikes and labor riots which have proved very effective in the majority of cases.

Owing to the fact that the Japanese workers are forbidden to organize in labor unions they are forced to resort to strikes, sabotage and rioting to improve conditions, and in these struggles they are learning over night what their Western comrades have learned only through many decades of agitation. Since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution the spirit of revolt against the oppressive government in general and the greedy exploiters of labor in particular has been gathering strength until it burst forth in the recent rice riots and the continuous strikes and labor riots. There are still nearly six thousand workers in prison throughout the country who were arrested in the rice riots. Many have been tried and condemned to long periods of imprisonment and many are still in prison awaiting trial.

All over the country the bureaucratic regime and its supporters are crying loudly for the punishment of the rioters to the very limit of the law. By this means the bourgeoisie hopes to intimidate the workers from striking and rioting, but the effect is only to increase the spirit of revolt among the people's masses. The workers of Japan have already glimpsed the power of mass action in the rice riots and the recent strikes, and the struggle will continue. The readjustment of Japanese industry from a war to a peace basis will cause greater suffering and unemployment than was the case during the readjustment periods following the wars of 1895 and 1905, for Japan's present industrial conditions are more advanced, more centralized and have many more people dependent upon their continued operation. It is estimated that over a quarter of a million will be thrown out of work in Tokio, Osaka and a few other large cities during the present crisis. Already there are many unemployed in the industrial centers of the country and as the workers are unorganized the employers will cut down wages and dismiss the workers at their will. But this will itself bring further resistance from the workers and will develop the necessity of mass action in a wider sense than it has already been applied in the demand for higher wages. Thus the whole situation is helping the workers to awaken to the real situation—and they are awakening.

The bureaucrats, terror-stricken at the recent rice riots, while advocating the severest punishment for the ring-leaders of the riots have been attempting to organize labor unions dominated by the employers. These paternal labor unions are mostly taken up by retired and naval officers as a lucrative means of livelihood. Among these so-called labor organizations the most widely known, and to a certain extent well established, is the "Friendly Society of Labor"—Yu-Ai-Kai which is supported by the bourgeoisie. The president of the Friendly Society of Labor is Mr. Bunji Suzuki, a graduate of the Tokio Imperial University, who has been twice present at an-

nual conventions of the American Federation of Labor as the honorable fraternal delegate of Japanese labor.

He crossed the Pacific in a first class cabin, travelled in a Pullman and stayed at first class hotels in America. He was enabled to do this because he came to America in reality as the private secretary of Baron Shibusawa whose patronage of the Friendly Society of Labor has been the chief reason for its peaceful existence under the Imperialist-capitalist governments of Okuma and Terauchi and the present plutoeratic government of Hara. He has been truly styled the "Gompers of Japan." The only difference between the two is that Suzuki's Friendly Society is not by any stretch of the imagination an organization of labor. Its so-called members consist of subscribers to a monthly magazine largely edited and contributed to by bourgeois writers who invariably and pedantically preach that out-worn theory—"the identical interest of capital and labor."

It is reported in the Japanese press that Bunji Suzuki is again coming to America on his way to Paris to attend the international Labor Peace Conference. He will not attend the International Labor and Socialist Conference for he is the deadly enemy of Socialism. He has publicly declared that he will stake his life to crush Socialism in Japan. His real attitude to the labor question, which is borne out by his actual work in Japan, is to compromise between capital and labor. He opposes strikes and never was either a strike leader or adviser. When a strike does occur he attempts to step in and bring about a compromise, a compromise which is invariably in favor of Capitalism.

We, the Socialists, of Japan, are opposed to the methods and tactics of the Friendly Society of Labor. It is directly detrimental to the cause of labor, it poisons and kills the manly spirit of the real labor movement in Japan particularly among the young workers who read its paper. Just now the Japanese intelligentsia are attempting to interpret the labor and social phenomena of Japan and pacify the awakening workers by government permitted labor movements that will abandon the strike and the economic boycott and become the obedient servant of the employers.

But the great mass of the Japanese workers are rapidly awakening to a realization of their power and are making themselves felt in strikes and riots. The present economic situation of the workers is making them far wiser and more powerful than the pedantic Japanese intelligentsia. Japan is fast approaching a stage where the workers will assert their rights to the control of their own affairs. A close contact with the Russian Bolshevik revolution is being evidenced everywhere and though the government is trying to shut out the ideas of Bolshevism—the workers are practising the tactics that enabled the Russian workers to conquer power. Socially Japan is a steam boiler without a safety valve, sooner or later an explosion will occur. The government is shutting every mouth of freedom, freedom of the press and assemblage is denied to the workers and Socialists. The best indication of the coming social revolution in Japan is the rapid building of bastilles and the increasing jailing of the workers and poorest peasants. As sure as day succeeds night these bastilles must fall before the mighty wave of Bolshevism that is sweeping on to Japan.

To All Interested In Knowing the Facts

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