

THE SOVIET

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DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.
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such as the utilization of all the decaying elements in order to augment bribery, lack of discipline, and chaos. The nearer the complete suppression of bourgeois power approaches, the greater becomes the petty bourgeois, anarchistic menace. These elements cannot be fought solely by means of agitation; the application of compulsion becomes necessary. The more the administration of society, and not the suppression of the bourgeoisie, becomes the chief activity of the Soviets, the more the People's Tribunals—not lynching courts—must serve as the means of compulsion.

The revolutionary masses have already taken the initial steps in the right direction by the creation of the People's Tribunals. But they are not yet strong enough; they have not yet liberated themselves sufficiently from the spirit of the bourgeoisie. The people are not yet conscious enough to understand that these courts are the organs of the power of the laborers and poorer peasants, a means of education and discipline.

The consciousness, that the main foes of the Russian revolution are hunger and unemployment did not sufficiently penetrate the minds of the masses, still less, the knowledge that each one who violates the discipline necessary during the process of labor; is causing hunger and unemployment and must be adequately punished; must be indicated before the people and unrelentingly punished. The petty bourgeois tendencies, which must be energetically combated, are due to lack of understanding and to the circumstance that petty bourgeois relations still influence many who say to themselves: "As for me the rest may perish."

This combat between proletarian discipline and petty bourgeois tendencies appears in its most drastic form in the railroad problem..... (After pointing out the necessity of introducing dictatorial discipline in the railroad administration, Lenin sums up the question of personal dictatorship showing that not only was it necessary in former revolutions, but also that it does not conflict with the Soviet power.)

If we are not anarchists, we have thus to recognize the need of compulsion during the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The form of compulsion is determined by the degree of development of the predominant revolutionary class—is determined by that which was inherited from a long reactionary war, and by the armed power of resistance of the bourgeoisie. The difference between proletarian and bourgeois dictatorship lies in the fact that the former is directed against the exploiting minority in the interest of the exploited majority—each individual reform is promoted not only by the laboring and exploited classes but also through their organizations (as for instance the Soviet).

In the special case, which is determined by the modern situation, we must state that each large individual industry, i. e., the basis of production and the foundation of Socialism, requires strong unity of will, determining the labor of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands. This has always been acknowledged by students of Socialism as the first condition, and this can be created only by the subjection of the will of thousands to the will of one individual. This subjection may assume the mild form of management, if great class consciousness and discipline prevails in the ranks of the working class, or it will have to assume the sterner form of dictation if discipline is lax. But in each case absolute subjection is necessary. In the railroad concerns it is twofold, threefold as important.

The transition from one political problem to another, which seems to be entirely different, distinguishes the present-day period, and whereas this transition cannot avoid shocks and vacillations, the highest perfection of the vanguard of the proletariat is its iron discipline.

THE CLASS WAR

The ruling class of Canada is becoming nervous. The workers are discontented, and Capitalism is unable to soothe them. The "War for Democracy" has ended, and those who bore its bloody burden are awakening to the realization that they were duped. All the vaporous promises and democratic phrases have melted into thin air, and nothing remains but the grim reality of the quest for the evasive job, the struggle for an existence and the perpetual torment of the fear of want.

The working class, who suffered the torments of the hell-fire of war in the interest of their masters, and those who bore the slavery

of industry are demanding a fulfilment of the promises, not consciously, but nevertheless insistently, and the ruling class of all lands are empty-handed. Realizing their emptiness, are nervous.

While the terrible holocaust was on, the class-conscious worker foresaw these developments, and gave voice to them. The jail doors were thrown open, and he was condemned as a pro-German. The blowing of trumpets and waving of flags blinded the others of his class, and Capitalism was joyful. The jails filled, still the voices increased and Capitalism ceased to be joyful.

Now the war is over, and words have been transformed into action. The workers are seething with discontent—discontent that may at any moment become revolt. The master class is nervous, and consequently precipitate action, murder, imprisonment and deportations are the order of the day.

The workers of Winnipeg have recently passed through the purgatorial fire of "Justice" and "Democracy." A few have been killed, many injured, some imprisoned and several marked for deportation. According to the prostitute press, this action is for the avowed purpose of stemming the tide of industrial unrest that is sweeping over Canada. Whether this action is contrary to the laws of the land or interferes with the freedom of the residents, matters not. The world is at present in the throes of the birth of a new order of society. The class struggle is actually flaming in action, and this conflict is but evidence of the fray. Two opposing classes face each other, and struggle for conquest of power. Capitalism is fighting for its existence and the killing, imprisoning and deporting of Winnipeg strikers is a part of that struggle.

Canadian Capitalism believes that by the ruthless suppression of the demands of our comrades in Winnipeg, it will prolong its existence, and that prison walls will hide ideas. They will, however, learn that the cries of the wounded and imprisoned will pierce the heavens and echo round the world. Already the workers in England hear that echo and voice their protest in a common bond of friendship.

The Winnipeg strike, Seattle strike, Butte strike, Paris strike, Berlin strike, Limerick strike, Glasgow strike, and the Italian strike, are not the result of "Reds," "Bolsheviks," "Agitators," but of social conditions. Bolshevism is the effect of social conditions, and not the cause. Revolutionary ideas are the result of the fact that the working class have begun to think for themselves. The industrial unrest in other parts of the world affect the unrest in Canada, and the unrest in Canada affects the unrest in other parts of the world. And the "iron heel" of government aggravates this unrest.

Lords and rulers, when you have murdered, imprisoned, and deported our comrades. What, then? Will the social problem be solved? Will it reduce the unemployed army, increase wages and guarantee better conditions to the toiling millions? You know in the depth of your craven hearts that it will not. The very conditions of national capital demand that their working class be exploited to a greater degree in order that their wares can compete on a world's market. You know that the great amalgamation of science to industry, especially during the last four years, has made the working class more productive, resulting in a larger unemployed army and a keener competition amongst the workers for jobs. Your brute strength will avail you naught. Your military might will not be strong enough to bolster your dying social system against the irrepressible force of economic development. You have been useful—having developed the small, crude tool of feudalism into the gigantic social productive machine of to-day; with it you have also developed your grave-digger—the class-conscious proletariat. The Russian and Hungarian Revolutions sound your death knell. Your editors may crow, your preachers preach and your statesmen may rule with an iron hand, but the working class are marching onward to their emancipation, and the forces of hell will not avail against them.

A MESSAGE FROM HUNGARY

To the American Workingmen

(By Cable to The Liberator.)

We send heartiest greetings to the working proletariat of America. Although it has been possible for capitalism to pit one part of you against the others, especially the well-paid workers against those not so well paid, we firmly believe that you will within a short time see clearly that you all belong to an oppressed class, that the bourgeoisie has become unnecessary in your country as it has shown itself to be unnecessary in ours.

For European capitalism the twilight of the gods has arrived. Everybody sees this now. But capitalists console themselves with the hope that the American workingmen will save capitalism for them. We trust that the American workingmen will frustrate this hope.

We particularly greet the Hungarian workmen of America. They had to emigrate from Hungary because it did not offer them a home.

(Signed) BELA KUN,

People's Commissaire of Foreign Affairs of the
Hungarian Soviet Republic.