

SOVIET RUSSIA'S PEACE PROPOSALS

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mate and necessary business, and to exclude definitely all possibility of an influx of propagandists.

Conclusions.

The following conclusions are respectfully submitted:

1. No government save a Socialist Government can be set up in Russia today except by foreign bayonets, and any governments so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the communist party is today as moderate as any Socialist Government which can control Russia.

2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis—perhaps a unique opportunity.

3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the communists in principle but are supporting them at present will be able to begin to fight against them.

4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended that a proposal following the general lines of the suggestion of the Soviet Government should be made at the earliest possible moment, such changes being made, particularly in article 4 and article 5, as will make the proposal acceptable to conservative opinion in the allied and associated countries.

Very respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM C. BULLITT.

FROM THE REPORT OF CAPT. W. PETTIT OF THE BULLITT MISSION

It is needless for me to tell you that most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, immorality, are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors or Stockholm. The horrible massacres planned for last November were first learned of in Petrograd from the Helsingfors papers. That anybody could even for a moment believe in the nationalization of women seems impossible to anyone in Petrograd. Today Petrograd is an orderly city—probably the only city of the world of its size without police. Bill Shatov, chief of police, and I were at the opera the other night to hear Chaljapine sing in Boris Gudnov. He excused himself early because he said there had been a robbery the previous night, in which a man had lost 5000 rubles, that this was the first robbery in several weeks, and that he had an idea who had done it, and was going to get the men that night. I feel personally that Petrograd is safer than Paris. At night there are automobiles, sleighs, and people on the streets at 12 o'clock to a much great-

er extent than was true in Paris when I left five weeks ago.

Most wonderful of all, the great crowd of prostitutes has disappeared. I have seen not a disreputable woman since I went to Petrograd, and foreigners who have been there for the last three months report the same. The policy of the present government has resulted in eliminating throughout Russia, I am told, this horrible outgrowth of modern civilization.

Begging has decreased. I have asked to be taken to the poorest parts of the city to see how the people in the slums live, and both the communists and bourgeoisie have held up their hands and said, "But you fail to understand there are no such places." There is poverty, but it is scattered and exists among those of the former poor or of the former rich who have been unable to adapt themselves to the conditions which require everyone to do something.

Terrorism has ended. For months there have been no executions, I am told, and certainly people go to the theatre and church and out on the streets as much as they would in any city of the world.

ASK "HUNS" TO BLOCKADE "REDS"

All Northern and Neutral Nations Requested to Assist Allies in Isolating Bolsheviki.

LONDON, Oct. 17.—The text of the note of the supreme council inviting Germany to participate in the blockade of Russia, as published by the Berlin Tageblatt and reprinted by the Daily Herald, shows that Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela have been invited to initiate measures to prevent their nationals from engaging in any trade whatever with Bolsheviki Russia. The measures are thus enumerated:

1—Refusal of permission to sail to every ship bound for a Russian Bolsheviki port, and the closing of all ports to ships from Bolsheviki ports.

2—Similar regulations to be adopted with regard to all goods destined for Russian ports by another route.

3—Passports will be refused to all persons to or from Bolsheviki Russia. Isolated exceptions may be made by the allied powers.

4—Measures may be taken to hinder bankers from granting credit to commercial undertakings in Bolsheviki Russia.

5—Every government will refuse its nationals any facilities of intercourse with Bolsheviki Russia, whether by post or wireless telegraph.

6—Marshal Foch added the following instructions:

"Inform the German Government that the British and French men-of-war in the Gulf of Finland will continue to blockade Bolsheviki ports and detain from the moment they come in sight any supplies bound for Bolsheviki ports."

The preamble to the note declares that the open enmity of the Bolsheviki is directed against all governments and that programme of international evolution circulated by them constitute a grave danger to the national security of all the powers.

Paying the Indemnity

NOW that the Kaiser and high commands of the Central Empires have been, and are not, and autoocracy and its rapacious offspring are vanquished; the spirit of democracy graces our worn world with the bridal veil of liberty, shielding its peoples and binding all nations with the kindred tie of self-determination, while the much vaunted chickens of peace and prosperity are returning to their accustomed roosting places.

At any rate, the Western nations, after their great and self-imposed task of safeguarding the world for democracy, are now preparing the time sheet of indemnity. The "great, free" nations seem determined to compel the broken tyrant to pay for his pillage and spoliation, which indicates, that that country is to be literally "swallowed up in victory." Still as the old saw goes, "appearances are deceptive," and in this particular case, with the addition of "super." For, while it is easy to prepare the bill, the collection thereof, will be a horned animal of another color.

So far as the indemnity lists are now prepared, it is evident that payment can not be made in gold, since there is not enough gold in existence to do so, and of the total, but a "feeble remnant" remains in Germany. If the indemnity, therefore, is to be paid, it can only be paid in commodities. But Germany, in common with all other countries, does not possess commodities either. They have to be produced, and they can only be produced by the operation of industry, having freedom of access to the raw materials of production. Without the freedom, and without this industry, the advent of commodities, no indemnity. From which it would appear that the tighter the idealists of our redeemed democracies draw the economic cordon around their late foes, the more impossible it becomes for them to collect the shekels of reparation. And on the other hand, if they do not make those economic lines stringent, they will have fought "for freedom" in vain; their trade supremacy will be shaken; their necessary expansion impossible; degeneracy inevitable. A somewhat disappointing outlook, after four years of "holy warring," and with the Bolsheviki dragon looming up more threatening than the double-headed eagle, which has just been destroyed.

Again, supposing Germany should produce commodities for indemnities, those goods must find a market, and whether this market is found, directly in the countries affected, or in debtor countries, the nations collecting this commodity indemnity, must

RUSSIAN VIEW OF BLOCKADE

LONDON, Oct. 22.—A wireless despatch received from Moscow says that the Bolsheviki foreign minister, Tchitcherin, has notified the German government that participation by Germany in a blockade against Russia, as has been requested by the entente, will be regarded as a deliberate act of hostility. The foreign minister expresses the hope that Germany will reply to the Allied request by an emphatic refusal to acquiesce.

necessarily limit, or suspend industrial operations to that extent. Because, owing to the mighty expansion of greater industry, and the capitalization of nearly all countries, the world market has become so contracted, that it is actually impossible for all countries to "sell" the vast surplus exploited from slave industry. Yet, this is exactly what those nations can not afford to do, for with an increased debt, demanding an increased volume of production to meet the liabilities, the insistent pressure of the productive forces, likewise for expansion, and the continuous social demand for the necessities of life, suspension, or even limitation of industrial activities, mean speedy and complete collapse of capital. That is the capitalist side of the picture. Let us leave him to puzzle it out, while we glance at the vastly more important aspect of the situation as it reacts upon the producing class.

Contrary to general belief, the capitalist class, of itself, possesses nothing, creates nothing, garners nothing, actively or potentially; its function merely being the exploitation of the producing class, the only real wealth in existence. It follows that the capitalist class can not pay indemnities in any form, having nothing wherewith to "pay." It can only exchange wealth, appropriated from the slave class, with the capitalist class of other countries. This wealth is the necessities of life, produced solely by the working class, consequently only from the working class can any indemnity, or reparation, or restitution be extracted.

Time and time again, has the "free" press stated that the war was waged, not against the German people, but to crush autoocracy; the autoocracy of the Central Powers, "who warred on the world for their own glory." Yet now that autoocracy is defeated, its first representative in exile; its war machine broken; the German producing class is to be compelled by the idealist democrats of the west, to furnish indemnities for a war, not of their seeking, neither of their making, nor to their interest, clearly the idealists, have over-reached themselves—or us. Clearly the result to the producing class is the same whether autoocracy of "democracy" is triumphant. Clearly there is a gentleman of color somewhere in the vicinity.

The capitalist class, by virtue of political supremacy, owns and controls the means of the necessary to society. The working class, by virtue of its ignorance, tolerates this political ownership, in order to maintain its life, is compelled to labor for the capitalist class, on terms favorable to the interests of that class. Capitalist production, being for profit only, industry is in operation alone when that profit is obtainable. This profit, is the surplus which the workers produce over and above wages and operating expenses, and unless this surplus is "sold," (exchanged) on the world market, no profit derives from it.

By means of machinery, the productive capacity of the working class is vastly increased, and in conse-

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