

THE RED FLAG

A Journal of News and Views Devoted to the Interests of the Working Class

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FIVE CENTS

On Dictatorship

By WILLIAM STEWART

[From the Glasgow "Forward"]

THE idea of dictatorship as a method of government has ever since the revolution in Russia become familiar in discussions concerning national and international politics. It has been discussed almost as if it were something new, whereas it is the only method of government that has been practised in the history of organized society. Nearly every form of what is called Democracy has merely been camouflaged dictatorship, nominally vesting the power of government in the people or in sections of the people, but retaining it actually in the hands of a select minority. In Russia alone has Democracy frankly accepted the responsibilities of Government, and declared itself as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The un concealed alarm of the other practitioners of governmental dictatorship the wide world over, but especially in this country, is at once comical and tragic. They are prepared to shed tears over the dangers to the sacred principle of Democracy. They are also prepared to raise armies to destroy the dictatorship—in Russia. But there has always been dictatorship in Russia, and up till two years ago our British statesmen were in no hurry to organize military expeditions for its destruction. So it would seem that the objectionable thing is not the dictatorship but the people or interests who wield it. The dictatorship of the Romanoffs was tolerable, even admirable, and international alliances could be made with it, but the dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky! that is a horrible thing. No respectable civilized government can have any truck with it, and if alliances are to be made they must be against it, not with it or for it. The one was avowedly the dictatorship of a dynasty, that is to say, of a family. The other is, or claims to be, the dictatorship of the people. What some too logical minded persons want to know is why dynastic dictatorship should be considered tolerable, and proletarian dictatorship should be considered intolerable, and especially why the latter should be held obnoxious by British statesmen, who plume themselves as representatives of that most paradoxical creation of evolutionary dictatorship, an Imperial Democracy. I am making no plea for dictatorship, either in principle or practice. I merely record the indisputable fact that it is

the method of government that has hitherto prevailed, and prevails now. And if in the whirligig of time, in any part of the world, the dictatorship has fallen at last into the hands of the common people, on what ground is it possible to object to them making use of it? In all ages and in all lands the sect, or class, or caste, or family who have held the dictatorship have made use of it to their own advantage, and to the last ditch have defended their prerogatives against all comers. It has certainly been so in this country. The Kings held the dictatorship for some centuries, and claimed that they held it as a right Divine. The Barons assumed the dictatorship, and, for as long as they were able withheld from others any share in it. The House of Lords and the Crown stand to this day as evidence that neither Kings or Lords have yet finally relinquished their claim to dictatorship, and on occasions they are both allowed to assert it. Time and again the Church and the feudal landowners fought for the dictatorship over the lives of the people of this country. They plunged the nation into civil wars over it. Out of the struggles for dictatorship came great and memorable changes in the social order. Henry the Eighth objected to the dictatorship of Rome in his matrimonial affairs, and so began the English Reformation. It is really an exceedingly interesting study this ques-

tion of dictatorships, and not devoid of humorous aspects.

But it is said that the Russian revolutionists refuse to allow the bourgeoisie any share in the dictatorship. Naturally. It wouldn't be a proletarian dictatorship if they did. It may be wrong and reprehensible, but that is what dictatorships have always done. In this country the feudal dictatorship refused to allow the new middle class—the bourgeoisie, in fact—any share in the Government, until the middle class nearly rose in rebellion and threatened to play the very deuce with the venerable British Constitution. The combined feudal-commercial dictatorship refused to allow the working class any share in the government; and now, if the working class should assume the dictatorship, and should in their turn exclude these others, it will doubtless be altogether undemocratic, but it will certainly be according to precedent. And it will have this distinction. For the first time dictatorship will be in the hands of the majority. In the past minorities have dictated. Can it be that the dictatorship of the working class is merely the consummation of the long evolutionary process gradually transferring power from the few to the many? Can it be that the dictatorship of the proletariat is simply the practical expression of the will of the people? If so, the organising of military expeditions to stifle it will be not only foolish but futile.

Evolution cannot be stopped, not even when it takes the form of Revolution.

THE TRIAL OF JAURES' ASSASSIN

A correspondent who was a friend of Jaures writes:—

I see that the "Nation" to-night speaks of the last interview that Jaures had with M. Viviani a few hours before he was assassinated. I heard the story a short time after the event from some who were present, and, if my memory does not deceive me, Jaures had an interview with M. Viviani. He went to the Foreign office and asked to see the Minister, but the minister could not or would not see him. A young secretary came down to explain this. Jaures gave him a message for the minister that if the government did not hold Russia back he would raise the social revolution against them.

"I know," he said, "that I may be taken out and shot for this, but give my message to the minister." "No! No! No!" said the secretary, "there is no question of that." "I know what I say," said Jaures; "give my message to the minister."

From there Jaures drove away in a taxi with one or two friends to the restaurant where he was to be murdered. On the way the driver drove recklessly or Jaures thought he did. At the end of the journey someone remonstrated with the driver, and he showed that he knew whom he was carrying. "I would not risk the life of citizens, Jaures," he said.

But the sense of doom was upon Jaures and a few minutes later his foreboding came true. He thought of no madman—but he had made up his mind to challenge the whole might of Government.

COMRADES JOE KNIGHT AND MRS. KNIGHT VISITING THE WEST COAST

Comrades Joe Knight and Mrs. Knight, of Edmonton, are at present on a short visit to the coast and comrades here are pleased to see them.

On Sunday afternoon, May 18, Com. Knight gave a short address to a capacity meeting, held under the auspices of Local No. 1 of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council of Canada, in the National Theatre. In the evening he took the platform at the Empress Theatre under the auspices of the Vancouver Local No. 1 of the Socialist Party of Canada and a full house listened intently to his fine exposition of the working class position. The Local has secured his services again for the following Sunday evening meeting. During the week Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Knight will pay a visit to Victoria. Unless the spell of fine weather we are enjoying and the attractions of life in the summer time on the coast prevail upon them to change their plans, they will leave for home again on Wednesday. The comrades here all shall see them here again before the summer is over.

BRITISH STRIKE JULY 1

LONDON, May 22.—(Reuter's.)—The quarterly meeting of the Iron and Steel trades confederation practically unanimously carried a resolution submitted by one of its branches in favor of the declaration of a general strike on July 1, to enforce the withdrawal of British troops from Russia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNAY, MAY 25

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speaker..... Joe Knight, of Edmonton

Economic and Menshevik Determinism

By MAURICE BLUMLEIN

(Continued from Last Issue)

This same new application of an old principle is equally true for all backward nations and colonies. They must abolish class rule as a means of installing big-scale production and distribution, and not attempt to wait for the introduction of big-scale industry as a means of abolishing class rule. Even Lenin goes too far when he says that a revolutionary government can support national movements in backward countries, and in colonies against the mother country. If these movements are in favor of bourgeois supremacy they ought not to be supported by the Social Revolution because it would be strengthening the forces and institutions in those same spheres, that will then fight the Revolution itself. The backward countries and the colonies need the most improved form of exploitation for that purpose. Marx, in 1852, writing about the Revolution of 1848, urged the proletariat to support the bourgeoisie as a means of overthrowing the feudal government of Germany. But with the uncanny keenness that he possessed to such a rare degree, he adds, "the preparation of such a movement otherwise than by spreading of Communist opinions by the masses, could not be the object, etc."

Incidentally the most extreme Menshevik must admit that should the Social Revolution come in the way that he himself claims to be indispensable,

production will not cease to improve from that point on, but an ever growing productivity will be the basis of social progress the same as before. And unless this be denied, it amounts to a concession that progress by a one-class system ought to be just as feasible as under class rule. Russia, of course, must develop fully the stage of industrial production as it represents a superior development, but it is a "consummation devoutly to be wished" that this will be accomplished not through a bourgeois nightmare but by the one-class state.

Finally there is also an international objection to the wisdom of a social revolution in Russia at this time, and again based on the economic factor. It is feared that Russia with her inferior productive capacity, at least at the beginning of the Revolution if not later, must easily succumb to the counter-revolutionary power of the international bourgeoisie. It is perfectly true that a united bourgeoisie can crush the Russian Revolution, not because of its inferior productive capacity, but entirely irrespective of it.

It is not a question of insufficient productivity and productive capacity, for that does not decrease through Revolution, but is plainly the con-

sequence of former conditions of reaction. Therefore, if we are not to deceive ourselves by sophisticated economics we must realize that an isolated proletariat cannot withstand the counter-revolution indefinitely; the isolation must be broken or the Revolution will break down. The Revolution isn't asking the outside world to perform its production, it only wants a chance to do its own producing in its own way without interference, not to mention, the most venomous sort of interference at that.

Thus we must find that the Menshevik diagnosis, in spite of the profound scientific standard that it claims sins

(1) in transferring historie inevitability intact from one place to another,

(2) and thereby incorporating in economic determinism not only the stage of production, but also the human agency, the bourgeoisie. It thus also makes of history and historical necessity, a duplication instead of an evolution. That Russia must undergo the same progress in production as the bourgeoisie has accomplished in the economically advanced nations is perfectly true, but that this must be done by duplication so far as the agency is concerned, is not true. For this does not come under the economic determinism but is merely the subjective determination of the individual Menshevik.

FOREIGN OFFICE REPORTS ON BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA—A SCATHING ANALYSIS

[From "Common Sense," London, Eng.]

THE Foreign Office has just issued a "collection," or rather a "selection" of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia. It consists of 88 pages, and has been swallowed with avidity by an innocent Press. The character of our Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service is known to those who have read the Report and Evidence of a Royal Commission, which reported shortly after the war began in favor of reforming it, so that persons of liberal views of humble origin might be allowed to enter the service. This selection of Reports is obviously intended for the sole purpose of bolstering up the official policy of continuing the war with Russia. It is just the kind of Report which Pitt would have issued to justify his war, against the French Revolution for the re-establishment of monarchy in France. Many diplomats and officials are pressed into the service. But there is no report from Mr. Douglas Young, our late Consul at Archangel, and nothing from the Quakers who have been doing Red Cross work in different parts of Russia.

By way of testing real value of this piece of propaganda, we may take No. 58, entitled "The Progress of Bolshevism in Russia: Memorandum by Mr. B—." This document is one of the latest, and is dated January, March, 1919. It makes a great show of accuracy and of intimately correct information. It starts (page 64) with a statement that Russia has been divided (by the Bolshevik Government) into four Federal Republics. There is no truth whatever, we are informed in this statement. It is true there was once a Commune of the North; but this has ceased, and there is now in Petrograd only a Soviet, as in other towns. On the next page (65) Mr. B— says: "The Central Committee is composed as follows." Then follow eleven names. But there are about 200 persons in the Central Committee! Mr. B— has probably mixed it up with the Council of Peoples' Commissaries. Even so, his list is hopelessly wrong. He does not mention the Ministers of Trade, Agriculture or Health. He gives Podrovski as Minister of the Interior, and describes him as an ex-professor of History at Moscow. As a matter of fact, the name of the Minister of Interior is Petrovski. The name of the ex-professor of History is Podrovski, who is assistant Minister of Education and Keeper of the Archives.

He is quite a famous historian. Next, Mr. B— declares that Lenin's wife, Oulianova, is Social assistant to the "Central Committee." But Madame Lenin has for a long time been ill and lives in the country. The name of the woman Commissary is, we are informed, Kollontaia. Then Mr. B— states that Stoutschka is Minister of Justice. As a matter of fact, the Minister's name is Kursky. Mr. Stoutschka is President of the Lett Republic. On the next page (66), we are told of a certain Boris Asvinkof who is working against the Bolsheviks. The person referred to no doubt is the well-known Social Revolutionary, Boris Savinkof. If our information on these points is correct, what credit is to be attached to Mr. B—'s statements, and what is to be thought about a Foreign Office, supported, regardless of expense, out of the taxes which after five years of war and secret service does not possess any competent editor or editors with a knowledge of Russia or of Russian sufficient to enable it to issue a carefully coloured White Book for a critical occasion like the present?

One little bit of unconscious humor may be quoted from page 69. It appears that Mr. B— is a Norwegian or a resident in Norway. He tells us: "A man named J—, who has arrived in Norway from Russia," states that Bolshevik propaganda pamphlets have been printed in Sanskrit! Sanskrit is a dead language. They might have been as well printed in Etruscan, Assyrian, or Ancient Gothic! We wonder how many people besides Mr. J— have been pulling the legs of Mr. B— and the Foreign Office.

THE TROUBLE IN EGYPT

Treatment of the Fellahin

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian:

Sir,—May I, after over three years in Egypt, confirm the main statements in Captain Guest's account of conditions there? As he points out, the causes of the present unrest must be sought for in something deeper than the grievances of the Nationalist party. The fellahin have become embittered, for the first time in the history of our occupation, and there is no doubt that the military authorities of the E. E. F. are mainly to blame for this. Recruiting for the Egyptian Labor Corps and similar bodies was at first popular, for the pay is good. But before long the supply of volunteers ran low, and then the military authorities gradually adopted a system of compulsion.

The governor (mudir) of each province was required to supply so many men; he assigned the various districts to his subordinates, and they informed the head man (omdeh) of each village how many fellahin he must provide. The system was absolutely secret, and the districts that suffered most were the country ones, where public opinion could least express itself. It was extended to the towns as the needs of the army grew, until at last only Cairo and Alexandria were exempt. No doubt it would have reached them but for our victories in Palestine—victories to which, according to all accounts, the work of our Egyptian auxiliaries substantially contributed.

With regard to the treatment of these "volunteers" while they were in health opinions vary, but several British soldiers have informed me, unasked, that it was brutal. With regard to their treatment in sickness there is only one opinion. It was disgraceful. Insufficient in number, ill-equipped unsupervised, the hospitals promoted rather than checked the typhus epidemics that were raging. The official view, apparently, was that Egyptians were never ill, but if ill are certain to die, and treatment seems scarcely to have existed. In a case for the facts of which I can vouch, a native was sent into one of these hospitals with some slight ailment and at once caught a fever which almost carried him off. He had to bribe the orderly for everything, including a bed, and around him men were dying unattended. Small wonder that the hospitals were regarded by our own troops as centres of infection, and that they dreaded being camped in their vicinity.

We can never replace the fellahin whom we have so needlessly destroyed, but we can perhaps enter into the feelings of the survivors and realise why the present disturbances have occurred quite as much in the country as in the town. When I arrived in Egypt the people were invariably friendly, but in 1918 there was a marked change—silence from the adults, and from the children an occasional hooting which, trivial in itself, showed how the wind was blowing. And just at the time of our victories a plaintive little popular song was born and sung to a minor tune about the streets:

"My native town, oh my native town!

The military authorities have taken my boy."

E. M. FORSTER.

Harnham, Monument Green, Weybridge, March

Small Farmer and the Socialist Movement

THAT the small farmer is on a par with the rest of the working class in human society, there can be no question. That he stands to gain by aligning his forces with the rest of the working class, there can be no question either. That the small farmer can gain in power, and so become a political force, in proportion as he joins his forces with the mighty forces of the working class is patent. The small farmer now has little or no influence politically, for the politicians know all too well that he can be caught by any bait which they like to hand him. He is used by the capitalist politicians as voting cattle, easily drawn into line by meaningless phrases which are built on the sandy foundation of election promises. As long as the small farmer occupies this subordinate position he cannot hope to achieve his economic freedom; and in as much as the emancipation of the working class must be the work of this class itself, he, composing one branch of the working class, must give his support to the work of the general emancipation of the working class.

What the small farmer needs more than bank credit and a low tariff is education. It therefore, devolves upon the Socialists, the educators of the working class, to give him a line of propaganda which will both interest and enlighten him; which is true to the facts of his economic life; and which does not compromise or pervert the revolutionary principles of the Socialist movement. That this is possible, the writer believes. Of course it must be understood to begin with that the chief difficulty with the small farmer lies not with his pinched pocketbook, but in his brains. He, like most of the working class, has a very narrow vision. It is difficult for him to see over the fence that bounds the farm on which he lives and works. He has the infernal habit, so common to all the species of the genus homo, of chasing shadows and chimeras believing that they are realities. Owing to his continuous battle against hail and frost and drought, grim death and slippery commercial buccaners, he has come to consider his battle, not a battle against men only, but a battle against the world. And for that very reason he may be slow to catch that fire of life-giving enthusiasm, consequent upon seeing the possibilities that lie ahead of him by the overthrow of the capitalist system, so common among people who have gotten a mental glimpse of the future. He may never catch that fire. He may never become a good, active revolutionist. But, at all events, a general knowledge of social subjects, and a better grounding in Socialist principles, will teach him to approve of the acts of those who perform the revolutionary act, and especially to spurn the insidious arguments of the counter revolutionists.

To show the small farmer that his emancipation from economic servitude is inextricably bound up with the emancipation of the rest of the working class is, then, the great object of Socialist propaganda among farmers. What success will attend the effort depends to a large extent on the method of presentment. Under all circumstances the small farmer must be addressed as one whose condition can be bettered, here and now, by the immediate overthrow of the capitalist system. This can be done without violating a single law of Marxian economics. And it is only on this ground that we can rightly expect to gain a hearing among farmers. The writer knows, of course, that the opinion is current among some Socialists that the small farmers problem can be successfully solved only by the introduction of the factory system on farms conducted on a large scale. Now without questioning the contention that production can be carried on cheaper on a large farm than on a small one, the writer wishes to point out that farming on a large scale is not the general method of farming, nor does it appear, in spite of the law of the concentration of a capital, that it will become so in the new future. Farms conducted on a large scale are few and far between, like an oasis in a desert.

It may be true that farming on a large scale will become general some day, but at present this possibility belongs to the realm of the speculative and debatable points, and is therefore, more or less of an utopian ideal. Yet since our science requires us to take account of capitalism with all its possibilities of development we cannot ignore this point, more especially, since it seems such an easy solution to the farmers' problems. Economically, however, that belongs to that category of economics which deals with the development of agricultural organization and technique, and so has nothing, strictly speaking, to do with Socialist propaganda as such. Accordingly the farmers' position, and his relation to the Socialist movement, can best be dealt with by dividing it into the two divisions into which it easily falls. Socialists are of course, interested in the subject matter of both these divisions, but in different ways.

Division 1: has to deal with the special form under which the farmer is exploited, and the impossibility of his escaping exploitation except by uniting with the rest of the working class to overthrow the capitalist system. This division also points out the immediate gain the small farmer will derive from the inauguration of the communal system of economy.

Division 2 has to deal more particularly with the development of agricultural organization and the technique of farming. Both are essential elements of Socialist propaganda; but the former is a statement of a fixed relationship, while the latter is more a description of the result of a tendency in the capitalist system.

As to division 1: The subject matter of this division can best be understood in light of the "socially necessary labor" phase of the law of value. It will be remembered that in a previous article the opinion was given that the operation of this phase of the law of value, owing to the large annual oversupply of farm products, was largely responsible for the poverty of the small farmer. Overproduction, in normal times hangs like a Damoclean sword over the head of the farming class. It lowers the social value of farm products, cuts down prices and so reduces the income of the individual farmer. The oversupply of products may never become so great that the slender thread will break. But still the sword hangs there—a constant menace, keeping the farmer in a continuous state of fear.

The oversupply on the market is, of course, one of the open sores on the body of capitalist economy. And it is a source of worry to more than the farmer. It adversely affects every living being living within the confines of the capitalist system, although it is probably true to say that its effect on the small farmer is chronic, while on other classes it is periodical. What is the cause of this disease? Is it that the farmer produces too much? Certainly not, because there are many people who would give almost anything to get the surplus farm products that grow stale on the market. Thousands of people are actually starving amidst an abundance of products. In order to account for this state of affairs one only needs to understand the mechanics of the capitalist system. This is, that the working class, the great consumer of farm-products, does not get sufficient wages to take off the market a quantity of goods equivalent in value to the goods it placed on the market. In truth, the working class can take off the market only about one-fifth of the values it puts thereon, so that it is only possible for this class to buy but a meagre portion of the goods, including farm products, offered for sale. Nor can this condition be materially changed so long as production takes place under the capitalistic system. For the mechanics of this system demand just such a condition. However, this leaves the small farmer in the serious predicament of a man bound to poverty because the great purchaser of his products, the wage worker, is too poor to buy. In

fact, he has nothing to buy with. But the small farmer cannot buy his necessities before he first sells his products, and he cannot get sufficient to buy what he wants, unless he can sell his products at a good price. However, this is not possible because the capitalist system allows the wage-worker only a small wage. Thus the wage worker and the small farmer stand on the markets of the world, as two men, who would gladly exchange products, but are prevented from exchanging but very small quantities, to the detriment of each, by the laws of capitalist production and exchange.

Now the wage worker will get the full value of his product under the communal system of economy, enabling him to buy to the extent of his capacity to produce. When he has the wherewithal to buy, no products will grow stale and rot on the market. Oversupply will have become a mere figment of the imagination. As a consequence the small farmer will also be able to get the full value of his product and be enabled to buy to the extent of his capacity to produce. This is the immediate gain, among others, which both branches of the working class will derive from the social revolution.

But this result cannot be attained except by the mutual co-operation of the wage worker and the farmer. From this it follows that the small farmer, owing to his dependence upon the industrial proletariat, cannot achieve his emancipation by his own efforts. His only one royal road to freedom is by aligning his forces with those of the proletariat.

As to II.: The subject matter of this division is comprehended within the meaning of the efficiency phase of the Law of Value. It comprises all such subjects as the introduction of better methods of tillage, of more efficient management, of greater conservation of energy and the use of labor-saving devices, in short, with all those subjects that have to do with the lessening of the socially necessary labor time required to raise farm products, and thus, with the increase of his efficiency as a producer with a view to increasing his output.

Naturally this is the phase of the farmer's problem with which capitalist economists and agricultural experts are chiefly concerned. The forcing down of the socially necessary labor time required to produce farm products is the solution they offer for the small farmer's problem. As an abstract statement this is true enough. But advance along this line can take place only as agricultural science, social experience and, more especially, social relationships advance. And so, just as the butterfly can only develop to a certain stage in the chrysalis, so farming, in all its different branches, can only develop to a certain stage in the chrysalis of the capitalist system.

This phase of the small farmer's problem occupies a peculiar position in Socialist propaganda. In the first place, agricultural development is a growth whose unfolding will follow certain social laws according to its environment. This will be as true under the communal system of economy as it is under the capitalist system. No one can say with any degree of certainty what course this unfolding will follow—whether, for instance, farming in the future will be done on a small scale as now, or whether large scale farming will become universal. But this really does not matter. We are content to let the future take care of itself. But this is the point that Socialists contend, and contend rightly, that development in agricultural methods and organization will be more orderly and take place more rapidly under the communal system than it does now, owing to the more orderly management of industry as a whole, and to the elimination of the distressing poverty that exists in many agricultural communities. Indeed, no great advance in agriculture can take place until much of this poverty is done away with.

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Editor C. Stephenson

SATURDAY MAY 24, 1919

The Winnipeg Strike

On Thursday, May 15, a general strike was called in Winnipeg. It was carried into effect by some 30,000 workers, representing some sixty trades. It has completely paralyzed industry in that city. So far as we can learn, the only disturbance to date was caused by some people demonstrating outside the building occupied by the strikers' central committee. We have no information of the personnel of this crowd. They were dispersed by the police. These conditions are common to general strikes. We do not require the word of "a well-known Winnipeg journalist" as assurance. There are, however, some features which are not common to sympathetic strikes, in the news dispatches from Winnipeg. The printing trades, the telegraphers, and the fire fighters, and, according to late reports, the police, have made common cause with industrial workers. That must be distressing news for the poor "public." Particularly so, after all the nice things the "public" has been saying of late, about the sane and practical craft union. "Ingratitude more strong than traitor's arms," thou art sharper than a serpent's tooth—such and so forth must be the mental comments of the dear, long-suffering public.

The strike committee controls Winnipeg and there has been no disorder. The "well-known Winnipeg journalists" are very doleful. It is difficult (aside from the opportunity riots would offer to the master class to club and shoot the workers into submission) to make much money, at so much per column, out of an orderly strike. The "well-known journalists" cannot conceal their chagrin.

No sensational happenings occurring, the next best means to attract the elusive dollars is to imagine things. John Swinton at a press dinner in New York half a century ago used harsher terms: "to pervert, to villify, to lie outright." So our local press scare the dear public out of five nights' sleep by a flaring headline, "Soviet Government proclaimed in Winnipeg." Horrible! Some one ought to start a society for prevention of cruelty to tired business men.

Monday, May 19, the Vancouver Daily Province carried over two columns of news which described circumstantially the inauguration of a Soviet government in Winnipeg at that dread hour that Tam O'Shanter mounted "his beast," in the conspirators' hour, when graves yawn (and no wonder). Midnight found three thousand strikers at some place "on the riverfront within a stone's throw of the police station, and a few blocks from the City Hall," erecting the Soviet Government. A reverend gentleman was the principal speaker. There was no disorder, some chering. Two representatives of the city council were to be invited to sit on the Soviet directory. We pause to express our dissent to this method of inaugurating a Soviet directory (?) and shall certainly use our influence to prevent Winnipeg obtaining a charter. The scheme had been "discussed for weeks by Socialistic organs circulated, some openly and others surreptitiously, through the streets of Winnipeg. Some protests from returned soldiers have been heard but apparently without provoking

energetic action, though numerous wires of protest have been sent by citizen bodies to Ottawa urging that the mounted police be instructed to act. But in spite of this novel proceeding by the strikers, Winnipeg has not got excited. In fact the feeling that bloodshed will be avoided was actually more general on Sunday at noon than in the earlier days of the strike."

Those few sentences are provocative of battle, murder and sudden death. Particularly such elegant English as "Winnipeg has not got excited" and "the feeling that bloodshed will be avoided was actually . . ." If a twelve-year-old school-boy handed such wretched composition to his teacher, bloodshed would be unavoidable. But the direct appeal to violence comes later: "Perhaps the news of the Soviet proceeding did cause some of the citizens to take a firmer grip on themselves, and their jaws became a little more resolutely set." Perchance they bespoke each other, after the manner of the gent whose wife was momentarily expecting to add to his joys and sorrows, "Be British boys! Be British!" At any rate the business men "districted" the town, and still there was no trouble. Lawyers, doctors, big merchants, etc., enrolled in the citizens' army. For what? All that silly Buffalo Mick, or Whalebone Dick, the Gun-eater, stuff is denied in the same edition of the "Province," in which it appeared. Denied in small print headings. Funny, how things work out. Since the Commissioner of the Mounted Police visited Vancouver the editorial columns of our press have been remarkably free from the riot-inciting matter which formerly occupied plenty of space. Well, the day after this dispatch we are discussing appeared, the "Province" has an editorial abjectly apologizing for the nonsensical lies of the previous day, and putting the blame on G. C. Porter, a well-known Winnipeg journalist. We hazard the opinion that G. C. Porter will be even better known in the future.

But again, on May 21, we are told that the Winnipeg strike is a revolutionary move. This time Ernest Robinson, secretary of the Trades and Labor Council, is quoted as saying that word has been received from all points between Winnipeg and the coast that they will follow the example set by the Manitoba town. The report continues, that the "citizens' paper," whatever that might be, said: "It is to the public of Winnipeg that we speak in stating without equivocation that this is not a strike at all in the ordinary sense of the term, it is a revolution. It is an attempt to overturn British institutions in this western country, and supplant them with the Russian Bolshevik system of Soviet rule."

All true citizens are urged to unite to defeat the revolution—and still there is no disorder. If the wage slaves of Canada do not learn to ignore the frantic nonsense of the press, it will be not the fault of that institution.

No doubt to the business men in Seattle the strike in that city, looked at through their fear-razed eyes, with sixty thousand slaves suddenly withdrawn from the buying of commodities, with the spring stock on hand, the banks demanding payment and the sheriff pounding on the door, must indeed have looked mountainous to them. On the other hand the stupid and bombastic utterances of the nerve broken Mayor Hanson must have caused much merriment among the slaves. And now Winnipeg and its lawyers, doctors and big merchants, are cutting an equally lucidous figure. The fact stands out, above all this melodramatic hurly-burly, that the working class is being organized, disciplined and educated by the very force of capitalist production, to a point where they can and will end the mad scramble to live on husks in a world of plenty.

Every strike finds them more united, and more minded to attend to their own business; as it also finds the business element, that class which is neither fish, flesh nor good red herring, more fear-stricken, and less capable of acting the part of men.

Strikes and lockouts, panics and industrial de-

THERE'S A FAMINE IN INDIA AND ANOTHER IN DUNDEE

Over 20,000 of Dundee's jute workers are unemployed!

They are told that the cause of their unemployment is the cut-throat competition of the low-paid Indian jute mills!

Therefore, the workers in Dundee should not ask for higher wages or shorter hours.

But the "Dundee Courier," (11/4/19) unkindly publishes reports of the annual meetings of the shareholders of three great Indian jute companies—all held upon the one day. One company, the Titaghur, shows 70 per cent. dividend; one, the Victoria, shows 60 per cent.; and the other, the Samnuggur, shows 50 per cent.

An Indian, with the Brahmin-Hindoo-Parsee name of Walter W. Duff, presided at the Samnuggur and Titaghur meetings, and a Mohammedan Rajah, called David Hynd, presided at the Victoria Company meeting.

All three shareholders' meetings were held in Dundee.

Why that?

They are Dundee companies, with Dundee capital and Dundee shareholders, although the mills are on the banks of the Hooghli.

THE "KEPT" PRESS

The "Liberal" press, which deserted Laurier, overnight on the conscription issue, in some instances pulling matter supporting him off the presses and hurriedly substituting other matter villifying him and misrepresenting his attitude, is now professing indignation at the charges brought against it by Lemieux, that it was "influenced." But, methinks it protests too much. For in this last few years, we have become sophisticated. The press as a whole has taken our gullibility too much for granted and ladled out its propaganda with more enthusiasm than discretion and in so doing overshot its mark. We became blasé and worldly-wise, and talked about "press dope" and the "stunt press." And now we smile and smile, grimly, when the "Liberal" press protests so vehemently its honesty and public spirit. We refuse to believe in a public spirit which manifests itself in five years of uncritically unqualified acceptance of the thousands of "orders-in-council" issued by the puggy bureaucrats in Ottawa. And as to honesty, the Toronto "Statesman" has this to say: "On the question of government patronage there is no dispute as to the facts brought out by Mr. Lemieux. Two million dollars of public money were expended on newspaper advertising by the Union Government, and this at a time of great depression, was equivalent to a government bonus." And when the "Liberal" press protests its righteousness so much; we, remembering its treacheries, smile and smile and smile.

pressions are inevitable in a social system, which is based on purchase and sale of every thing produced. And no society can continue to bear the shocks which have long enough and frequently enough, strained the feeble bond of cash nexus which holds the contending classes together.

It may be that some half-baked Socialist is voicing revolutionary phrases in Winnipeg. We doubt it. We know that a bunch of workers who are able to keep their heads in spite of the extreme provocation to which they are being subjected, will not allow any muddle head from their own ranks to precipitate trouble. We prefer to believe that the press is twisting and perverting utterances of strike officials in an effort to start something. We ask all Socialists to form a press clipping bureau and forward to us all provocative stuff, with the periodical and date clearly identified. We have need of it, like Christ had for the ass. J. H.

Frozen Brains of Manufacturers' Association

The whole civilized world stands today tottering upon the brink of a social revolution. The kept press of the ruling class, with its prostitute scribblers are working overtime villifying the Russian workers because they have overthrown their parasitic masters and taken the management of their own affairs into their own hands.

After plunging the larger portion of the capitalistic world into a cataclysmic war of such ferocity that the effects have well nigh depopulated many lands to say nothing of the starvation of women and babes and then expect those who have given everything and gained nothing, to help perpetuate a system that can only live and thrive on war, is the height of bourgeois presumption.

To those who understand the economic basis of society (and it is only by means of that knowledge coupled with a proletarian view point that the present day social problems can be solved) the attempts of the master class to stem the tide of social revolution are ludicrous in the extreme.

On every hand the jackals of capitalism howl out their anathemas at an awakening proletariat.

In one of our local journalistic abortions, dated May 18, there was a full page scream, which in itself is a tissue of lies and a complete indictment of capitalism. Out of their own mouth they condemn themselves:

"Liberty will be destroyed because Bolshevism means that one class shall rule over all other classes."

Right here it is as well to understand what liberty really is. Of course, the liberty meant by the authors of the above caption, could not by any stretch of the imagination mean the liberty that the worker would conceive of, otherwise, why the general strike in Winnipeg? No, fellow-workers, class rule is a complete negation of liberty except for those that rule. Liberty under present-day society means the right of the master class to rule and rob. Liberty under Bolshevism means the right of the producer to own and control that which he produces, in short it means that there shall be no shirkers. No wonder these exploiters scream and mouth about liberty; they would most likely perish, never having produced anything but trouble, and trouble in a period of social revolution is a poor thing to live on. The

A Comment on the Frozen Breath of Bolshevism

slogan of the Russian workers is that they who do not work, shall not eat. This is the complete negation of class rule, it is the abolition of classes.

The canard of the "socialization of women" seems to have as many lives as the proverbial cat—and how they hypocritically howl their infamous lies from the housetops, both press and pulpit vie with one another in spreading that foul slander, in spite of the fact that it has been repudiated again and again; Vladimir, Saratov or Samara, the place is immaterial.

This story was first sent out of Russia by a correspondent of the "New Europe." It was published in all its filthy details in the "kept" press of every country. However, T. Wickham Stead, editor of the London "Times," and part owner of the "New Europe," found out that the story had no basis in fact. On the contrary it was a deliberate lie and he made a public apology for having spread it.

The filthy mind of the present-day ruling class always reverts to the popular pastime of theirs of seducing each others' wives, etc. Ye gods! if socialization of women in Russia were true, you could not keep them out of there with a 72-centimetre gun, they would all be Bolsheviks.

"Food will be put beyond the reach of all." How often has it been beyond the reach of you, fellow worker, even in the piping times of peace and master-class prosperity? Any shortage of food in Russia is due not to inefficiency, but to the Allied intervention and blockade; an attempt by the capitalist nations to throttle a young proletarian republic.

We admit that wherever the proletariat seizes power that governments will be abolished, but an administration of industry in the interests of those that work will take its place, which by no means can be anything but a blessing to those now governed in capitalistic countries.

"Property will be confiscated, your house, your household goods, your bank account, and your victory bonds." You are going to confiscate your own property and not compensate yourself for it.

Some logic. No, no; fellow worker, it is their property they mean—the mills, mines, factories, etc.; those things to which you must have access

to in order to live, which even now can not be operated owing to the inability of the ruling class to dispose of the commodities which you have produced. Just at present they can not find any plausible excuse to send it to the bottom of the ocean, and you can not buy it back, even with that bank account and those victory bonds. Therefore, you must go unemployed, with all its attendant evils, until they can find a market.

In India at the present time there are millions dying of starvation, not because of famine, but because they have not got the price. Talk about "putting food beyond the reach of all." You workers know how often it has been beyond your reach and at that in the midst of plenty. In another capitalistic advertisement we are asked to subscribe to a fund for feeding starving Hindoos and "we cable the money to save them from perishing." The illogical situation is that though food must be there in plenty, without the money they must die. And this is a system which they ask you to perpetuate, the system of production for sale, a system of unqualified anarchy.

"Religion will vanish." Methinks it has vanished, judging by the frantic efforts put forth to get the workers back into the fold, all to no avail. Capitalist machinery of production has got in its deadly work and already destroyed the God of our fathers.

Then, "the great Canadian idea that guarantees to every man opportunity for prosperity and happiness, the working man of today is the millionaire of tomorrow." Great stuff, that; all you have to do is to work hard (First catch your job.) and be thrifty. It is nothing short of criminal the way you workers squander your money. Fish and chips, near beer, overalls and even movies. No wonder you are all poor. Enough! The piffle being written today to bolster up a tottering ruling class, shows their mental decadence.

Workers, this is your day; theirs is past. You are coming, they are going. Study the literature of your own class. Do your own thinking. They can not think for themselves, let alone for you. The birth of a new society is at hand. It is your problem, fellow workers; your and yours alone. A knowledge of your class position will make the birth-pangs easier. Speed the day.

JACK SHEPPARD (Mariner).

"Canadian Labor Will Crush Bolshevism"

"Many of our millionaires were once workmen. In Russia there is no advance for labor. All men there must work and you cannot uit your job. The boss has authority to beat you and to even kill. You must obey your orders rigidly. You receive paper money called rubles which was made by a printing press, but you cannot buy much with it. People go from the cities to the country to get food and the poor peasants have very little, because their surplus is taken from them by force. The factories in the cities cannot run if people are hungry. If nothing is produced, there is nothing to distribute. The agitator sits close to the money and the men who are clinging to power. You will be butchered without trial if you protest.

"Bolshevism and socialism are similar theories and are children of autoocracy. They spring up in defeated countries where great hunger exists. They appeal best to those who have nothing to lose. In Canada we cannot understand the hatred for government that you see in immigrants from despotic countries.

"The spirit of Canadianism is the best antidote as we are all citizens of a great and free democratic nation and do not want class distinctions. Employers and employees are getting closer together and the workers are participating in industrial affairs more and more every day."

(ACCORDING TO PRESS ADVERTISEMENTS)

The above is an extract from a full-page article and cartoon published in the May 21st issue of the Vancouver "Sun." This advertisement is one of a series of such, which are to appear in the Canadian capitalist press. They are furnished by the "Canada First" Publicity Association, and bear the stamp of the "smart" American advertising expert with his genius for making a "scream" out of everything he handles. The expense of this campaign, when it is realized that this "stuff" will cost the advertisers about \$250 a page, must be enormous. But observe the knowledge of economic science displayed in the ad. Shades of Adam Smith and Kary Marx! In view of the critical state of affairs, all people, anxious over the public welfare, are realizing the necessity for a wider spread of education, especially on economics, and the free discussion, without prejudice of any problems which press for a solution. Many public men possessed with a sense of responsibility, have lately given expression to this necessity. And yet, look at the contribution of the pharasaical patriots of the above publicity association. Look at their economic science.

The existence of millionaires is admitted and the possibility of more held out for the encourage-

ment of the poverty-stricken and unemployed who may be in danger of being Bolshevized. And yet—"we are all citizens of a great free democratic nation and do not want class distinctions." So it says, but, common experience, as well as economic science, tells us that the basis of class division is an economic one. Low as the "Canada First" publicity association and the "Sun" publishers rate their intelligence, the workers know that "Nob Hill" is not in the habit of hobnobbing cheek by jowl with "Paradise Alley." Examine the death rates. Even the old gink with the scythe makes his distinctions upon economic lines. Tuberculosis, typhoid, the black plague, etc., among whom are they most prevalent? Upon whose children does the old cadaver levy his greatest toll, and, when he has made his selections, whose children leave school early to enter mill, mine and factory? Who lives in one and two-room houses? Enough! Let the workers, out of the fullness of experience, answer the "Canada First" Publicity Association and the "Sun" Publishing Co.

THE FARMER QUESTION

The contributions on the farmer question are to be taken as the personal opinions of the contributors.

Education Under the Bolsheviks

A Translation of the Annual Report of A. V. Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education in the Soviet Government, for the Year Ending November 7, 1918

FROM THE MAY "LIBERATOR"

(Continued from Last Week)

City and Country Schools

The Commissariat considers it very desirable to do away in schools of secondary grade with the involuntary but excessive division between the city and the village schools. Not only is it necessary to transform the city-schools in summer time into colonies, but to bring in pupils of the village secondary schools, in winter time, into the factory and cultural centres. The realization of this great reform, which is outlined here but briefly, and which was worked out by the Commissariat with the co-operation of the first All-Russian Convention in Matters of Public Instruction in a relatively detailed manner, requires, of course, a considerable number of well-prepared teachers.

The school policies of the Commissariat were confined to the following: (1) to check as far as possible the influence of the sabotaging All-Russian Teachers' Union; (2) to unite in a broad trade union, particularly the lower-grade teachers, upon the foundation of the so-called Union of Teachers-Internationalists; (3) to equalize as regards their rights the teachers of the primary and secondary grades, bringing the remuneration of their work also to one level; (5) to aid by all means the development and the increase of educational institutions for the preparation of teachers; (6) meanwhile to have recourse, as far as possible, to the organization of teachers' courses.

These policies have been approved by a number of teachers' conventions, and they have found a definite expression in their last points at the Moscow Conference devoted to the problem of preparing teachers.

The Commissariat has attained a real success on all the points indicated. The teachers union is disabled and is asking forgiveness. The ranks of the lower teachers are being organized successfully, and the many telegrams of greeting received from the teachers' conventions shows a growing sympathy for the Soviet government on the part of the public school teachers.

Raising Teachers' Salaries

On June 25th the Council of People's Commissaires, upon the representation of the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction, adopted measures which stand out singularly in the annals of school history not of Russia alone. The salaries of public school teachers were raised at once to more than double their previous amount, with back pay for three months, beginning with March. The corresponding budget item for public instruction, for the second half of 1918, increased almost to one billion. In proportion as the ideal of universal education is actually approached, in proportion as a system of new schools is opened, the salaries of the teachers' personnel in these schools are still to be raised—the school workers of the future unified labor school will be, as regards remuneration, transferred to the first, that is, to the highest class. These expenditures will have to reach several billions; the yearly budget of the unified labor school when its plan is definitely outlined, with all side expenditures for equipments, structures, etc., will have to reach six billion roubles. But toiling Russia will not spare anything in order to have a school worthy of her hundred million of workers and peasants, who, the first in the world, have taken the power directly into their hands.

To lift the material level of the worker in the public school would mean, however, the comple-

tion of only half of the work, and not the most important half.

Bourgeois society not only kept the bodies of the masses in perpetual cold and hunger, but also tried continually to keep their minds in absolute darkness: the history of the sabotage perpetrated upon teachers shows graphically how farsighted was the bourgeoisie in this respect.

The new Russia does not want teachers physically incapacitated by misery and want, but teachers of a genuine culture, of high intellectual development, and of perfect physical vigor.

Educating the Teacher

The establishing of the old school, the teachers' institutes and teachers' seminaries, failed completely to produce the modern type of teacher. And although in the above-named institutions only experienced teachers were admitted, nevertheless, their course of training was miserably inadequate for serious pedagogues whose mission was to train the youth of the country. The conference called by the People's Commissariat in the latter part of August this year for the purpose of preparing a programme for teachers' preparation, worked out new plans for teachers' institutes as well as for seminaries. The latter will be converted into high pedagogic establishments, corresponding to the pedagogic faculty in universities. In the courses for teachers' seminaries new subjects have been introduced, such as history of socialism, the basis for the theory of law, etc., and matters of religious instruction have been entirely removed from the curriculum.

Here follows the sum total of the Soviet's accomplishment in the province of teachers' preparation. After October, 1918, the following establishments were opened anew: Teachers' institutes, 4; teachers' seminaries, 42; constant pedagogic courses, 10; short-timed courses for teachers, 110. Also 31 teachers' seminaries and six constant pedagogic schools were accepted and regenerated by the Commissariat. The Commissariat also organized within the period of last year central pedagogic courses based on the new programme, which attracted more than 800 hearers, composed exclusively of male and female teachers. The courses proved to be a tremendous success, and among the lecturers were such comrades as Bucharin, Reiser, etc.

And I will add, to the already mentioned achievements the fact that the same useful work is being carried on in the provinces, especially the northern provinces, where in Petrograd alone were at first organized courses for 400 teachers, and later for 2,000, and throughout the province 11 courses were organized, each of which was attended by from 200 to 500 hearers.

The Commissariat thinks it indispensable, not limiting its activities only to the development of children of school age, to pursue the following aim: To build at every school of the first children's grade a two-year preparatory and obligatory children's park. The pre-school branch of the Commissariat has outlined a broad programme for the founding and organizing of children's playgrounds, clubs and colonies. Among the last especial attention must be called to the Children's Industrial Colonies, which were organized in Tsarskoje Seloe, as here was laid down the first stone of the foundation planned by the Commissariat. It is the aim of the Commissariat to convert this wonderful place of the province of Petrograd into a gigantic Children's Colony, where thousands of proletarian children will be sent yearly. This colony has given refuge during the past summer to 1,500 children, and within the year 1919 we hope to broaden the scope of the colony so that it will give room for 2,000 or more children. In the work of nourishing and caring for the children the Commissariat of the People's Enlightenment co-operates with the Commissariat

of Social Security. By the will of the Soviet People's Commissariat all public schools went over to the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of National Enlightenment, and in due time all private schools will be taken over by them, too.

Coming over to the reforms inaugurated in the higher schools, I wish to show that those reforms, worked out by the Commissariat, affected all the Universities and advanced technical schools of Russia.

Advanced Education

A part of the demands of the Commissariat were accepted by the professoriate, and a part were enforced against the will of the professoriate, but with the understanding that they would have to submit to the demands of the revolutionary people. The principal basis of the instituted reforms is the following: **Advanced education is accessible to all in Russia.** Every citizen, male or female, reaching the age of 16, can enter any desirable advanced institution of learning. To the hearing of lectures all are admitted without distinction. To the practical experimentation and work are admitted only those who prove, after an examination, to possess a capacity for the work. Individuals not sufficiently prepared will receive this preparation along the plans and under the tutelage of the professoriate of the given institution in specially prepared courses.

The professors will take their seats on the basis of appointment at the all-Russian organized conferences to be called every 10 years by all the universities. (It is appropriate to remark here that teachers of schools are subject to election by the Soviets as well as to re-election and recall.)

Under such grounds the Advanced Schools have advantage of a broad autonomy. However, in the self-government of the schools the teachers as well as the professors and the students participate with equitable proportion. In addition to the Educational Association, which is responsible for the successful operation of the above-outlined aims, each of the Associations is obliged to organize and develop an Enlightening Association, the purpose of which is to assist in the general educational development of the masses. The Enlightening Association will first transform itself into a sort of institution for the training of lecturers for the people's universities, which are spreading all over Russia, and second, for the preparation of courses in subjects not attended by specialists but by people desiring to broaden their general education and mental status.

The Commissariat also planned to include in its demands to the High Institutions of Learning the necessity for them to establish within their organizations Scientific Associations, fundamentally to occupy themselves with purely scientific problems and research work. However, owing to the strange opposition of the professoriate to such a plan, the Commissariat came to realize that it was premature for the present.

The enlightening associations of former educational institutions lead us to tasks of out-of-school education which the Commissariat considers of great importance.

Next Week: "Music, Art, Public Statuary, Literature, Science—and Moving Pictures."

Over 100,000 farm hands in England have organized themselves. They have 2,000 locals. They are now urging a minimum wage of \$12 per week 6 day working week of 44 hours, time and half overtime, double time Sundays.

The censorship on foreign news is heavier just now than ever. There's a reason. By accident they let us know of a dockworkers strike in England, in telling us why the British mail was delayed. Thus they try to segregate the workers of all countries from each other.

Russia Under the Soviets

Being a series of articles based upon an interview with Wilfred R. Humphries, American Red Cross man, recently returned from Russia

By W. A. PRITCHARD

"THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA"

A Lecture by Wilfred Humphries—(Reported by Amy Oliver of People's Institute)

"I saw more opera in Petrograd during the months it was supposed to be running knee-deep in blood, than I ever did in all the rest of my life," said Wilfred R. Humphries, worker for the American Y. M. C. A. and later for the American Red Cross in Russia during its reddest months. Humphries, young, unaffected, eager-eyed, of the college organization worker type, was giving his first lecture on Russia at the People's Institute, 1256 Market street, San Francisco, Thursday evening, April 10, and in the course of it showing slides of Bolshevik scenes that he brought with him when he left Russia four months ago. "Besides the opera, there were Ibsen, Shaw, Tolstoy, Shakespeare's plays and vaudeville. In two months that Maeterlinck's 'Blue-bird' run, I never succeeded in getting in line early enough to get a ticket. In Moscow, I went to night school three evenings a week to learn Russian, and other evenings attended political meetings at Smolny Institute and other places. And every evening I saw women coming out of theaters in twos and threes, unattended by men, starting out across the street, streetcarless and dark, with no fear whatever. At this time schools were being organized all over Russia. I remember in Petrograd seeing a poster announcing the opening of a kindergarten that said the children would be served with a hot lunch. This was the chaos and anarchy you read about.

I heard stories of chaos and anarchy in Russia, too. From the time I landed in Vladivostok—where then the red flag was flying—through the seven thousand miles of the journey to Moscow, we were met by the fleeing bourgeoisie and regaled with stories of terror and atrocity, hunger, typhus and murder. Typhus was killing a thousand a day, said the fugitives. Three-fourths of Moscow was burned to the ground. The Kremlin was destroyed. First we heard that Kerensky had thoroughly defeated the Bolsheviks. As we came nearer, it was that the issue of the battle was still in doubt. Nearer—the Bolsheviks seemed to have the advantage, temporarily. When we got there, the six days of fighting was over and Kerensky was fleeing.

"I saw the 'destroyed' Kremlin—with a piece of statuary at the gate broken and the holes through two of the churches—otherwise intact. I found the origin of the 'three-fourths of Moscow burned.' Five buildings had really been destroyed.

"Outrages—of a sort—I did see. On one of my departures from Petrograd, at the Nicolief station, I saw three Russian officers, epaulettes off, of course, carrying passenger baggage to the train. For the standard fee, since no tips were allowed, they duly carried my luggage for me. I saw a portly Russian gentleman in an expensive fur coat selling a bourgeois newspaper. After a particularly heavy snowfall the Petrograd Soviet ordered everybody out to shovel snow, with the order that no one physically able to shovel might hire anyone else to do it for him. And house committees enforced the ruling.

"One more outrage I saw. Soon after the Soviets came into power, the bank clerks and civil servants, encouraged and supported by the bourgeoisie, went on strike. Lenine countered suddenly and cruelly by seizing all the banks and ruling that no matter if a man had millions deposited he could draw no more than one hundred and fifty roubles (fifteen dollars) a month for each member of his family. This meant that the bourgeoisie could get no money to support the strikers and the result was that the strike was broken. But the touch that added insult to injury was the order that each depositor must stand in line to draw his monthly allowance. He couldn't send anyone for it. I saw in that line a plump, deeply-furrowed, bediamonded woman with genuine tears coursing down her cheeks at the indignity she was suffering.

"What impressed most impartial observers in Russia, I think, was the tolerance, the considerateness, I had almost said the gentleness of the Soviets and their policies. You have heard much about the suppression of bourgeois newspapers. The only ones suppressed were those that were printing absolute and outrageous lies about the Bolsheviks. If a Russian newspaper said in glaring headlines that the Bolsheviks had massacred all the prisoners and cut them in small pieces, it would be closed. But newspapers might print all the arguments against the Soviet system that they pleased. I have shown you a slide of the procession of priests, marching through the streets in protest against the division of church and state.

"The Social Revolutionists had planned a great demonstration in protest against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, to be held January 5. The Soviets did all in their power to persuade the Bolsheviks to keep away from the streets where the procession was to pass, so as avoid any possible disturbances. There was fear of an uprising, so the Soviets arranged that all public buildings be well guarded. The manner of this was to ask all the people in the building, including the janitor, to aid in protecting it. The Soviets guarded the city by placing emergency armored cars with Red Guard groups at intervals all over the city.

"Another evidence of this large tolerance is the fact that nothing was done about the dastardly attempt to assassinate Lenine, who was shot at by a member of the Social Revolutionist Party. At one time when the Social Revolutionists seemed bent on starting a reign of terror, the warning was sent out to them: 'For every Bolshevik leader killed, we shall kill one hundred of the Social Revolutionists.' That was enough. There was no more trouble except one attempt by an anarchist girl.

"Trouble between the Anarchists and Bolsheviks never came to any more than battles in a few cities just at first. In the early days of Soviet rule, many Monarchists who wanted to oppose the new Government and also wanted to make a living without working, announced themselves as Anarchists and seized houses and goods. But, of course, real Anarchists denounced them.

"Now there are about ninety per cent. of the population participating in the government—and I don't believe that percentage votes in America. All those that do useful work with hand or brain—and that means now about ninety per cent. of the population—have representation in the Soviets. The teachers send delegates, as do the medical associations composed of doctors and nurses. What was in the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat—with action begun as it always must be begun, by a militant minority—is now a true democracy. Those sabotaging against the Bolsheviks in the early days when they thought that the government would not last six weeks, are giving up their opposition as they realize that this is a government that has come to stay. I was in Samara when the teachers' association met, split into a left and right wing, the majority reorganizing the association and electing delegates to the Soviets, the minority going out of the association altogether. A considerable section of the Intelligentsia were with the Bolsheviks from the first. A glance at the Bolshevik cabinet will prove that. I think one might say that it is the most cultured cabinet in Europe. Many of the rest have been honestly converted since then.

"A minority objects to the centralization of industry—says there is not democracy enough and that the industries should be immediately and completely handed over to the workers.

"But remember, that the Bolsheviks do not claim that Russia is wholly socialistic. They say that the co-operative commonwealth is not immediately possible, especially in a country as industrially backward as Russia. They say that Russia will have to develop the stage known as State Capitalism, with concentration of industries and formation of trusts. Mme. Kollantay said: 'We can't fully socialize Russia all at once. You other nations have a much better chance to socialize your industries, as industry is already partly socialized with you. You can begin where we leave off.'

"But centralization of industry under proletariat rule is a very different thing from centralization under bourgeois rule. Russia has not nationalized all her industries. Some are still under private ownership, modified by Workers' Control. Committees of workers audit the books of the industry, seeing that there is no watered stock, limit the profits to five or six per cent., require the owner to re-invest in the industry a good proportion of his receipts, and regulate hours and wages.

"Lenine says the policy of the Bolsheviks is to take over those industries that have reached the monopolistic stage, and then the others as fast as the new government can chew and swallow them. It may be said that the industries not owned by the workers are controlled by the workers.

"Under Workers' Control the number of stores and shops has largely decreased, naturally enough, with the vanishing of competition.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

THE SMALL FARMER AND THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

(Continued from Page Three)

Poverty is the lodestone that holds the small farmer down. There is many a farmer who knows of better methods than those he is practising, but who is held back from applying them on account of his lack of means.

In the second place, the development of agricultural technique under capitalism, far from relieving the small farmer of his poverty, will, on the contrary, aggravate it. For any reduction in the socially necessary labor time required to raise farm products can only result in the increase in the quantity of these products. But the market, as has already been pointed out, is overstocked. More products will mean less social value, and accordingly a further degree of enslavement on part of the small farmer. Hence, the decrease of the socially necessary labor time does not present any loop-hole of escape from the exploitation of the capitalist system. On this score, too, then, the small farmer is thrown into the arms of the revolutionary movement.

The outlook for the small farmer is gloomy only in so far as he continues his efforts to try to adjust and better his conditions within the capitalist system. The dark night of capitalism's ebbing life is gloomy enough, especially if one just keeps his eyes on the darkness about. But this night of gloom need not last long. Its length depends on how swiftly the proletariat and the small farmer will go about to overthrow the capitalist system. The small farmer should not shrink from doing his share in this great historical movement. If he is wise he will do it gladly: for, capitalism has reduced him to this strait that he, even as the industrial proletariat, has now "nothing to lose, but his chains."

C. M. CHRISTIANSEN.

WHAT OUR FRENCH COMRADES THINK

[By Eden and Cedar Paul]
[Glasgow Socialist, April 10]

[Being a translation by E. and C. Paul of a manifesto issued by the committee for the Defence of International Socialism, and subscribed by many members of the new Majority of the French Socialist Party.]

The French Socialist Party advises the proletariat to remain calm, but to prepare manfully for the trials which are ahead.

Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Party recalls the fact that it has invariably warned the workers against any movement inadequately prepared, and against impulsive manifestations which would serve merely to give the government a pretext for repressive measures. But it likewise recalls the fact that it has invariably insisted that when, owing to the errors of the bourgeoisie, a revolutionary crisis occurs, it is the duty of socialists to take the decisive steps essential to the fulfilment of their historic mission.

Hostile on principle to fruitless violence and to individual manifestations of revolt, the Socialist Parties consistent in their principles have never ceased to promote the methodical organization of the workers. In lands where constitutional monarchy or bourgeois republicanism prevails, Socialists have made the utmost possible use of popular freedom in order to increase the powers of proletarian activity. But Socialists have never ceased to proclaim that there will be no true democracy, that there will be no government by the people, so long as a class living by ownership exercises dominion over the world of the workers. Invariably socialists have maintained that the proletariat, while making the best possible use of such first elements of democracy as have been wrested from the bourgeoisie, is entitled, when ever circumstances are favorable, to have recourse to revolutionary activity for the establishment of integral socialist democracy.

The very foundation of socialism is the inalienable right of the dispossessed class, to overthrow it by revolution. . . .

The Class Struggle as a Method of Socialist Activity

No less in accordance with the consistent teaching of international socialism is the Party's decision that its activities must in future be guided more than ever by the principle of the class struggle.

The peculiar conditions that obtained during the war may have obscured for a time the clarity of this principle, but in accordance with it we now insist upon unflinching opposition to bourgeois dominion; we condemn any participation in the exercise of that dominion; we insist upon the systematic and symbolical refusal of military and civil credits; we affirm the absolute autonomy of the Socialist Party as the political party of the workers; and we naturally reject all thought of an electoral alliance with any other political party during the first ballot.

Hoping to re-establish that socialist unity which is indispensable to the activity of the proletariat, the Party declares that those who refuse to recognize the essential principles of the class struggle and of Socialist opposition to all other parties, and those who refuse to accept the necessarily internationalist character of Socialism are the declared enemies of Socialism.

"Now, more than ever, when the revolutionary state of affairs becomes more accentuated day by day, the proletariat needs definite guidance. . . .

"The French Socialist Party speaks loudly and clearly. It raises its voice against capitalist society, which is responsible for the war; it advocates the complete destruction of militarism; it labors for the liberation of the workers by the establishment of collective production and collective ownership; it appeals to the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, in whose cause it proposes to employ every possible form of activity.

Anti-Foreigner Pogrom

Once, in our innocence, we thought that pogroms were a peculiarity of jew-baiting days, in the "dark ages"—the days of feudal serf and baron and intolerant priest, or of Russia under the Czars. But we were mistaken, for here we be in the 20th century of light and learning" and democracy, in the great free west, in, comparatively speaking, a manless land abounding with natural resources, and we are actually reverting to the barbarisms of our "dark" minded ancestors. So much for boasted progress.

Anti-foreigner pogroms are publicly advocated, and without protest, and so tacitly encouraged, by those who have assumed our moral and intellectual tutelage, on other occasions. Then their volubility filled all the spaces of the earth and echoed from the skies again when—when the moral aspect of the issues could be made "safe" and popular and profitable. We ought to abase ourselves in the dust and shower the ashes of contempt on our heads for the shame of black reaction; for the shame of reverting back, yes, back to the territorial exclusiveness of tribal days, as a solution of the problem of unemployment. There is another solution, the twentieth century socialist, the international proletarian solution. Bring the earth and its resources, the means of production and the people together through the social ownership of the means of production and produce for use. That is the upward and the forward way.

In connection with the agitation against the alien the following extracts from a clipping from an issue of the Vancouver "Province," in 1912, date not known, will be interesting as to who is responsible for the presence of the foreigner in this country and their reasons for bringing him here. The clipping quotes an advertising dodger which was circulated amongst the workers in Russia. The extracts will indicate the nature of its contents: "The General Agency, 'The Transatlantic,' in London, England, has been commissioned to place 1,500 men in the following works: The Dominion Steel Corporation and Dominion Coal Co., Limited, in Glace Bay, and the Dominion Iron & Steel Co., Limited, in Sydney, Canada.

"The following men are required:

COMRADE AITKEN ACQUITTED

All friends will be pleased to hear that Comrade Aitken of Cumberland has been acquitted at the assizes of the charge of supplying draft evaders with food, etc. It will be remembered that he was arrested, shortly after the killing of Comrade "Ginger" Goodwin, in the hills behind Comox Lake as a draft-evader, by the Dominion policeman, Dan Campbell. Aitken and Comrade Joe Nay, Jor, who was acquitted at the last assizes, were both arrested for practically the same offence. The firm of Bird, Macdonald & Earle, of Vancouver, had charge of the defence. Comrade Aitken wishes us to convey his thanks to all those who rendered him assistance in his need.

BRITAIN'S IRON HEEL**Bulgarian Socialists to be Severely Punished**

A telegram from Athens to the "Matin" says: "A Bolshevik movement at Varna having been attempted by Socialists and Extremists from Sofia, the Allied authorities caused the town to be occupied by British troops, and martial law was proclaimed. All the ring leaders are to be tried by British court-martial, and severely punished.

(Note.—Varna is the chief port of Bulgaria. The telegram seems to suggest that the Socialists are ready in power at Sofia, the capital.)

"Nothing is so terrifying to the Socialists of today as the folly of their opponents."

—George Bernard Shaw.

"Miners (Cutters), possessing certificates, payments by the ton. Cutters earn from 60 to 100 roubles a fortnight. (One rouble equals 51½ cents). . . ."

And so on through all the different occupations around the mines, smelters and quarries. Another 1,000 to 1,500 unskilled laborers were also required at from 14 to 15 cents per hour. "No knowledge or experience" was required and the surroundings and conditions of work were characterized as "pleasant." Knowledge of the English language was not necessary, because as the circular stated, "that in Canada there were many Russians and many workers from Austria and the Balkan states, so that every worker could get along with his mother tongue." And this is how the immigration laws were evaded: "Every worker will receive from this office a certificate of employment gratis. Whosoever possesses a certificate will experience no difficulty in landing in Canada."

That is evidence to show what interests brought these foreign workers to Canada from the ends of the earth, and by what methods and specious promises they induced them to come here. It was capitalistic interests that brought them here, in the first place, in order to beat down the wages and the standard of living of the English-speaking workers, and now they would instigate an "anti-foreigner" pogrom in order to split the working-class forces and so retard their march to knowledge and power.

Many public men today are admitting, according to press reports, that the workers display a knowledge of the history of society and of economic science and a power of stating their position, superior to that of the bourgeoisie. Do not let us tarnish that reputation by being led to make our foreign fellow-workers the scape-goat for the evils of the capitalist system of production for profit. Do not let us take the cowardly part of umping on the under-dog. Let us show more economic sense, and, irrespective of the accident of birth-place, more class solidarity. Do not let the bourgeois draw a red herring across their trail by instigating amongst us an internecine working class pogrom.

Is British statesmanship prepared to send British soldiers or short of that, to justify sending poison gas, flame-throwers, guns and ammunition to be used on Russian soil and to keep this unhappy people in all the torments from which Western Europe was released by the armistice? . . . —Manchester Guardian.

Messrs. Cathal O'Shannon and Thomas Johnson, Irish delegates to the Berne Conference, have sent a telegram to the Hungarian Minister of Education, congratulating the workers on having established a republic.

Mistral, writing in "Humanite," tells that of the 12,000 Germans in Nicolaieff whom the Allies tried to use against Bolsheviks, that one-half laid down their arms and the other went over to the Bolsheviks.

During the trial of the Glasgow rioter at Edinburgh, a witness was sworn, and when the judge came to "I swear by almighty God," the witness, Malcolm McFarlane, asked: "which God do you refer to?" Don't ask questions," said the clerk. "Well," said the witness, "the reason I ask is that you appear to be the Handy Andy of the pantomime." The council decided not to ask the witness any questions, and he was ordered to stand down.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday night, at 8 p.m., Empress Theatre, corner of Gore avenue and Hastings street.