

# THE SOVIET

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## The Death Train of Siberia

This is the story of an incident in the attempt to overthrow Bolshevism in Russia, by massacre. It is the story of the deliberate and inhuman killing of men and women and children by the Czecho-Slovak and Kolchak monarchist forces in Siberia. It was first made known in this country by a brief and unrevealing dispatch which appeared in the New York Times.

The whole dreadful truth has now come to light, and the Death Train of Siberia stands revealed in its sinister magnitude as one of the most horrible outrages upon humanity, not merely of this war, but in all human history. The facts are these:

In the fall of 1918, the Bolsheviki took the city of Samara. It was captured from them a little later by the Czecho-Slovaks, who proceeded to throw into prison hundreds of Red Guards, and others suspected of Bolsheviki sympathies.

The city was soon re-taken by the Bolsheviki. And when the Czecho-Slovak forces evacuated the city, they loaded these imprisoned Red Guards and Bolsheviki sympathizers, together with all the other people then in the city prisons, on a train. Fifty car-loads of herded humanity, packed as closely as if they were already the corpses they were intended and destined to become. That was in September. . . . For six weeks the prisoners on that train did not see the light of day, except when the doors of the car were opened to throw out the dead. This assertion may seem incredible; but it needs to be amended only by the exception of a carload of women prisoners, who were expressly kept for the uses of the officers of the convoy. . . . The rest left the train only as corpses—and in that six weeks eight hundred starved and frozen and pestilence-stricken bodies were thrown from the train to rot. It had become the Death Train, known all over Siberia, as it must become known all over the world, as a symbol of the blind hatred and fiendish vengeance of the enemies of Bolshevism.

After six weeks, it was halted at Nikolsk by some American Red Cross workers, who defied the authorities, held the train against orders for six days, and rescued from this perambulating inferno some two hundred victims. And then the train resumed its dreadful progress back and forth across Siberia.

This Death Train, it should be remembered, is an incident in the rule of terror exercised in Siberia by the Czecho-Slovak and Kolchak forces, with whom the American, British, French and Japanese forces were, and are, co-operating.

It is through the correspondence of these American Red Cross workers in Siberia that the whole story has reached America at last. We quote below some portions of the diary of Mr. Rudolph Bukely, formerly an American banker in Honolulu, now with the American Red Cross in Siberia. It is the record of a six-day interruption of this prolonged massacre. . . . We have omitted certain portions of his story which deal with the heroic efforts of the Red Cross men to relieve the suffering of the victims, and we have emphasized some passages in heavy type; otherwise the narrative stands as he wrote it night by night after long days of unimaginable depths of horror. It is an extraordinary and utterly convincing story of a horrible thing which we believe the world will not soon forget.

"It is the eighteenth day of November, 1918. I am at Nikolsk-Ussurisk in Siberia. In the past two days I have seen enough misery to fill a lifetime.

"I have read many times of the Black Hole of Calcutta. I have been told of Russian prisoners returning from German prison camps wrecked by starvation and tuberculosis. Only four weeks ago, as a four-minute man, I was preaching the doctrine of 'hate.' To-day, I humbly ask forgiveness for my thoughts of hate, and pray from the depths of my soul that I may be allowed to play my part, though a small one, in trying to improve the conditions of men, whatever their nationality, so that perhaps some day this world may emerge into the great Brotherhood, and that such things as I have seen may become impossible.

"I have seen, through the windows of box cars whose dimensions were twenty-four feet by ten, forty animals who once were human men, women, and children; faces glared at me which I could not recognize as those of human beings. They were like beasts' faces, of a species unknown to man. Stark madness and terror stared from their eyes, and over all the unmistakable sign of death.

"This 'train of death,' for by that name all Eastern Siberia now knows it, left Samara approximately six weeks ago. Men of the

Russian railroad service are stationed as far west as Manchuria Station, some twelve hundred miles west of here, through the train must have passed at least three weeks ago. Since then it has passed through Hailar, Titsikar, Harbin, Moolime, going on and on like a thing accursed, through a land where its stricken passengers found little food and less pity.

"It left Samara. . . . in charge of some Russian officers. It had on board at that time twenty-one hundred prisoners of all sorts. They were apparently civil prisoners. Some were Bolshevik, others had been released from the prison at Samara. When in the course of the fighting the Czechs occupied Samara, they simply cleaned out the whole jail, packed the prisoners into this train, and sent them out west. Between that day and the day before yesterday, when we found this loathsome caravan in Nikolsk, eight hundred of these wretches had died from starvation, filth, and disease. In Siberia there is misery and death on every hand, on a scale that would appal the stoutest heart. There were, as near as we could count, thirteen hundred and twenty-five men, women, and children penned up in these awful cars yesterday. Since last night six have died. By and by they will all die if the train is permitted to go on in such conditions.

"It seems a wicked thing to say, but the thought has surely come to me that to kill these people painlessly would require perhaps three dollars' worth of poison or ten dollars' worth of ammunition; and yet for weeks this train of fifty cars has been wandering, driven on from station to station, every day a few more corpses being dragged out. Many of these people have been in box-cars for five weeks in their original clothing. There are from thirty-five to forty in a box-car, measuring say twenty-five feet by eleven, and the doors have seldom been open save to drag out the bodies of the dead, or some woman who might better be. I have been told that when they first started there were as many as sixty in many of the cars, but death has weeded them out. I have climbed into these cars at night with my flash light, I have gone into them in the early mornings and examined them. I have seen men with the death rattle in their throat, half naked, with lice and vermin visible on them; others just lying in a semi-unconscious stupor; and others with the whining grin of imbeciles, holding out their hands for a few cigarettes or kopecks, chuckling with glee like apes upon being given them.

"Of anything like sanitary provision this train has nothing, and the accumulation of filth in which these people have lived and are dying is absolutely unspeakable. The Russian officer who was in charge of the train has made inconsistent statements about the reasons why these people have been subjected to such awful deprivation and abuse. He tries to make the best story of it possible. They were supposed to have been fed regularly at the different stations along the route, but often for days at a time there has been on one to give them even bread. Were it not for the kindness of the poor villagers who, with tears running down their cheeks, men and women alike, give them what little they can afford, they would be absolutely without nourishment.

"I have talked with a woman doctor (a prisoner on the train) who was doing Red Cross work with the Red Guards. She would have done the same work for any one. A highly educated, intellectual woman, forty years old. She has been on this train for weeks. I have talked to a girl under eighteen years of age, beautiful, refined, intellectual. She was formerly a typist and bookkeeper in the mayor's office at Samara. She has been on this train for weeks, and unless the Red Cross comes to her aid she will die on this train. All the clothing she has on is a filthy blouse and skirt, a sort of petticoat, a pair of stockings and shoes. No coat, in this fierce winter weather.

"I have talked to a man who has not the brains left to know the difference between a Red Guard and one of any other color. His wife quarreled with another woman, who evidently lodged complaint. That night he was arrested in his home, accused of being a Red Guard. He has been in the box-car for five weeks. He will die within forty-eight hours. . . . I have seen them die, and the following morning I have seen their bodies dragged out of the cars like so much rubbish. The living are indifferent, for they know that their turn will come next. . . . While the prattle about liberty, justice and humanity goes on, . . . our hands are bound by 'diplomacy.'

"We are holding the train. That is the main thing. It should have begun going back toward Samara last night, but it has

not gone and I do not think that the Russian train officials will dare to send it out with us on the spot all the time, opening the cars ourselves, talking to the prisoners, giving them what help of hope we can, and taking photographs every day. We are doing all this without authority, and in the face of this horror we don't care who cares.

"It is impossible to tell in print the story of the unfortunate women who have been imprisoned here under these awful conditions. They are treated better than the men. You all know why.

"Two more days have now gone by. Since we arrived a cooking car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards claim to have given the prisoners a little soup. One kettle for thirteen hundred and twenty-five people, and soup passed through a window a foot and a half, by means of an old rusty can! Yesterday one of the women was taken out of one of the cars by a Russian officer. He will return her when the train pulls out. In this car is also an emaciated creature that was once a man. He was a journalist. His wife is in the same car. She has a very few days to live. When the men stand they fill the entire car. On the two rows of planks built along the sides, the dead and the living sleep as best they may. We were told by the guards this morning at half-past eight that three men had died during the night and the bodies had been removed. As we walked past the train a man hailed us from one of the cars, and the guards were told that there were dead inside. We insisted on the door being opened and this is what we saw:

"Lying right across the threshold was the body of a boy not over eighteen or nineteen years old. No coat, merely a thin shirt, in such tatters that his whole chest and arms were exposed, for trousers a piece of jute bag pinned around him, and no shoes or stockings. What agony that boy must have suffered in the Siberian cold before he died of filth, starvation, and exposure! And yet 'diplomacy' prevents us from taking charge and giving aid. But we are holding the train!

"We climbed into the car and found two other dead lying on the second tier of bunks amongst the living. Nearly every man in that car was sunken-eyed, and half clad. They were racked by terrible coughing. They had the stamp of death on them. If aid does not come quickly they will die. We looked into a few cars only, but at one window we saw a little girl perhaps eleven years old. Her father, she said, had been mobilized into the Red Guard. So now father, mother, and child are on that train and will die there.

"It is the 22nd of November. This morning we got up at seven o'clock and left for the hospital where we had an appointment with Dr. Selesnieff, the military chief. When we arrived we found everything in a terrible condition—more than four hundred patients with only three doctors and three nurses. Two patients had died during the night, and the doctor had discovered nearly all the living to be suffering from diseases of different kinds, including two cases of typhus. We have since learned that a week or so ago two men were put off the train suffering from the same terrible scourge.

"Dr. Selesnieff gave us his official report of the conditions, setting forth, in corroboration of the stories that have been told to me, that during the weeks that the train had been moving to and fro, passengers had died daily from a variety of causes, including typhus, dysentery, influenza, and ordinary starvation.

"The people on the train have remained for weeks without warm food, without boiled water, and many even without bread. According to the testimony of officers in charge of the train, the commandant of the station reports that he had orders to send the train back to the west, but I am sure that among the passengers there are still a number of people so sick and exhausted that further sojourn in these cars will prove fatal."

"We are still holding the train by means of the co-operation of the Czech lieutenant, and in case of need he agrees he will put the engine out of order. Last night the station master showed us telegraphic instructions to the effect that the train positively must pull out at one a. m., but it is still here.

"We are still holding the train and have made arrangements with a Russian bath some three-quarters of a mile from here to wash all the prisoners to-morrow for four hundred and fifty roubles. They will start at six o'clock in the morning and walk to the bath.

"November 22.—It is bitterly cold. There was a heavy snow storm last night.

"The baths are all ready and we are waiting for the first contingent. In the distance, against the snow, we can see a body of men advancing very, very slowly and with great difficulty. Many stumble as they walk and have to be supported by the other prisoners.

"The first sixty have gone in and now there is a fire burning in the yard where the disgusting clothes are burning. Inside, the unfortunates have each been given a piece of soap and are scrubbing themselves while the guards carry out the clothes and put them on the fire. The wagon has arrived with eighty sweaters, four hundred and fifty pairs of socks, and one hundred and twenty pajamas.

"To-morrow when this train pulls out it will have nine hundred

and twenty-five Red Crosses on it but I must still call it the 'train of death.' There is no use disguising the fact that these people are nearly all going to die, for as soon as the train shall have pulled out the old conditions will return and there will be once more the corpses thrown out day by day from each car.

"November 23.—To-day we leave for Vladivostok. We have done all that we could do. We have just learned that there are thirty additional cases of typhus in the hospital and heaven knows how many on the train. We have brought buckets and brooms for the cars, which will help a little.

"Later I came down from Nikolsk in a box-car with three American soldiers. It was bitterly cold. We have no stove, but by alternately crouching together and then at times wrestling and mauling each other around we managed to keep fairly warm. We finally reached Vladivostok at about nine forty-five. I am hoping that I may be allowed to go out in Siberia with Dr. Rosett and hunt for other death trains. We may not have accomplished much, but we at least saved a couple of hundred lives—for a time.

If any doubting readers still hesitate to believe that such atrocities have been committed by the reactionary forces to which the United States government has been lending its aid in Siberia, we refer them to the official organ of the Red Cross, the Red Cross Magazine for April, in which appears the full account from which we have quoted the excerpts printed above. There the whole story is told, with photographs; and yet not the whole story, for it is stated in an editorial note that "propriety has demanded the exclusion of much that is unprintable" in Mr. Bukely's damning record of the facts as sent to Red Cross headquarters.

#### RECOGNITION OR INVASION

From a note of Maxim Litvinoff to President Wilson, December 24, 1918.

The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For Allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defence of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dearly won power and liberties against invaders with all the means their vast country puts at their disposal.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of Allied Statesmen. I venture then to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country and in case of the interventionists' after a long struggle obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralysing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one sided accusations against Soviet Russia, to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses, to help Russia to regain her own sources of supply and to give her technical advice how to exploit her natural riches in the most effective way for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials.

## THE OLD AND THE NEW

Clearly, the world is coming to appreciate the tragi-comedy of the Peace Conference at Paris. In a cable from Paris the other day, William Allen White (who was to have gone to Prinkipo to meet the Bolsheviki for President Wilson, until the Peace Conference executed a strategic retreat) writes sardonically of the upheaval in Europe and the importance of the Peace Conference:

"In Eastern Europe, from Budapest to Archangel, responsible rulers, such as they may be, are laughing uproariously at Paris—the statesmen who are solemnly sitting about green tables figuring out boundaries, spheres of influence, and economic restrictions when the new order in the world is establishing itself.

"Lenin is leading the laughter, and during the week his domain is finding foothold in India and Egypt. His birthday was celebrated in Rome under machine guns on fountains, the Spanish Ministry is falling. King Albert slid down from the sky, telling the Peace Conference that Brussels could hold out against Bolshevism less than a month more, Liberal Socialists are whittling down Lloyd George's parliamentary majority daily, and Easter Sunday French Socialists will meet to decide how best to show their scorn for the Peace Conference—whether by general strike or by an attempt at revolution.

Southern Germany is torn by Bolshevism, and North Germany is waiting to hear the peace terms before letting go. Certainly if peace does not come by midsummer it will be a peace by anarchy.

What would they? They, the masters of bourgeois society, declared Capitalism morally and economically insolvent when they choose the arbitrament of the sword in their mercenary disputes. They plunged millions of men, women and children into the fires of universal war—they unleashed destruction and organized savagery—in order to determine who should possess the financial and industrial dominion of the world.

Bourgeois society proved itself unfit to direct the destiny of the world. It broke down of its own hideous evils. It mocked humanity and raped civilization. Capitalism organized the courage and enthusiasm of men for systematic destruction; it transmuted the patient suffering of the women and the tears of the children into the profits of the profiteers; it built a terrible bridge with the bodies of the dead soldiers, upon which to march to power. The evil and the oppression, the misery and the degradation of the old order culminated in a terrible and unprecedented scourge of humanity.

The old order broke down. Life and love and peace, which it had crushed, flared up in the action of the proletariat for the Revolution.....

The Peace Conference met. It met to patch things up. Its real task was not to impose terms upon Germany, but to prevent the complete collapse of bourgeois society and to crush the proletarian revolution. The Peace Conference failed miserably in its task. The old order is breaking down. And, through the smoke and the fires of Revolution; is appearing the promise and the glory of the new order of Communist Socialism. It will conquer! Then shall life and love and peace come into their own.

## THE A. F. OF —ELL.

In an editorial on the Seattle strike, in the March American Federationist, official organ of the Gompers-sized A. F. of L., the Stone Age mind reveals itself. It says:

It must be freely conceded that during the war-period in many instances the workers were compelled to accept wages which were insufficient and inadequate to meet the increased price charged for food, clothing, fuel, shelter, etc. It is likewise a recognized fact that the workers did not take advantage of the nation's needs; that in the greater number of instances the workers maintained industrial peace and gave practically uninterrupted service to our government when the war was in progress, while the profiteers were reaping an unprecedented harvest.

What an indictment of the A. F. of L., out of the mouths of its own spokesmen! This is a picture of labor betrayed, while the profiteers fattened upon labor; a picture of labor shackled by its own organization, rendered helpless while Capital wrecked its will upon it.

## THE SLEEPING GIANT IS AWAKENING

General Mannerheim, former general of the Czar's army and suppressor of the red revolution in Finland, was recently "officially" invited to visit the Kings of Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

Mannerheim is known to the propertied classes as "the coming man"; to the working classes he is known as "the butcher" and "the hangman." He is accredited with forming a "strong" government

in Finland, but even "the London Times"—conservative paper—finds it somewhat too strong. Their Stockholm correspondent wrote that the Allies could not possibly permit things to continue as they were in Finland. He pointed out that whereas the "Red Terror," which accompanied the workers revolution in Finland had cost 1,000 lives, General Mannerheim's "White Terror" had cost to date 30,000, with details that dare not be put into print.

Hence the arrival of this hangman Mannerheim in Sweden and Denmark resulted in an uprising of the working classes. To Sweden in due time, came Mannerheim in his private yacht. The Socialists issued a call for a general strike which was responded to in several large factories. Thousands of workmen were on hand to "welcome" Mannerheim on his arrival. Riots ensued. Police, spies, soldiers, mounted police and plain clothes men were everywhere. There was booing and cat-calls, surging of humanity, eddies of combat, charges by the police, panics and arrests. All afternoon the turmoil continued.

The crowd surged to the police station to liberate the prisoners. It broke in the doors. Dragoons charged. Machine guns appeared. The crowd retreated. All night the police and soldiery were busy clearing the highways, charging mobs, and even breaking up street corner groups of disputants.

In Norway the Socialist Party definitely predicted that Mannerheim would not be allowed to come to Norway. The party executive committee laid plans for a general strike and demonstration in the event of the proposed visit. The party organ, "Social-Demokraten" published these plans in black-faced type from day to day.

A bourgeois paper published the report that the Norwegian legation had privately suggested to Mannerheim that it might be as well for him to change his mind and decline Norway's invitation.

About this time the Electrical Workers Union met and passed a resolution. Herein it was set forth that in the event of Mannerheim entering the City, the union would cease work. Electric power and light would be totally cut off; the city would be dark and motionless. And, added the resolution, if serious consequences resulted, the electrical workers would be in nowise responsible. The next morning came the announcement that Mannerheim had a severe cold and chills with high fever and would have to cancel his projected visit.

We feel sure that the cold he had was that of cold feet but the lesson to be derived from this is that the hand of labor refused to function if its voice was unheeded. Labor did not resolve, but stated that "the butcher" of the working people in Finland would not be tolerated in Norway and took action to prevent his arrival. They accomplished what they demanded by their united effort and refusal to turn the wheels of industry.

## APPEAL FOR HELP OF VLADIVOSTOK UNIONS

SAN FRANCISCO.—(By mail).—An appeal from the labor organizations of Vladivostok to the working men and working women of the United States has been brought in by courier. Since labor unions are outlawed and illegal under Kolshak, the monarchist dictator, the appeal is made under the Workingmen's Red Cross.

The letter follows:

"Workmen's Red Cross, Central Committee, Labor Unions, City, Vladivostok.—To All the Workingmen and Working Women of U. S. A.:

Comrades—

"After a forceful invasion and overthrow of the soviet government by the Allies and under the false pretences of the Checho-Slovaks and the Russian capitalists in the city of Vladivostok and all over Siberia, began oppression of the Russian working class.

Thousands upon thousands of working people, peasants and also the student class, were shot. In one of the cities named Chabarovsk, having a population of about 70,000 people, 1,200 people were shot and slain by the Japanese and Cossacks. Thousands were killed in the city of Krasnoyarsk with the help of the White Guard of Russians and also with the help of the Italian regiments. English regiments have also participated in massacring and suppressing tens of thousands of revolting peasants. Every day there was need for new cemeteries; thousands of other comrades were thrown into jail and at present are rotting there without any charges. Their wives and children are suffering from hunger and cold because they have no means of assistance except from the workingmen's organizations, which are in existence illegally. However, the need is very great, and the Russian organizations can be of little assistance with their meager means. Furthermore, very many factories are closed, and the workers are unemployed.

"In this needy hour, when a part of the Russian workingmen and peasants are strangled between the cries of international capitalists, while the part on the other side of the Urals (in European Russia) is bleeding to death from the uneven struggle with the enemies on all sides, in this hour we are turning to you with the following demands:

"Protest against the organized killing of your brothers.

"Demand the withdrawal of American and Allied troops from

Russia.

"Answer the call of tens of thousands imprisoned, and still the cries of orphans, children and families, with brotherly help. Lighten their sufferings.

"With comradely regards, representative of the Red Cross for Russian Workingmen and the Central Committee of Labor Unions, City, Vladivostok."

SEATTLE UNION RECORD.

## NEW AGGRESSION AGAINST RUSSIA

The twistings of a snake are straight lines in comparison with the twistings of the Peace Conference in Paris concerning the "Russian problem." This "problem" of course, is simply what should be done—or can be done—to crush Soviet Russia, that realization in life of Socialist theory and practice, that menace to international Capitalism.

They tried invasion—but it didn't work: too many troops are required, and they are "corrupted" by revolutionary Bolshevik propaganda.

They tried to use the former "oppressed peoples" of the Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic Provinces, whom they were to "liberate," to crush the Bolsheviks, but it did not work.

They tried to use the former German army against Soviet Russia, but the German imperialists had their own Bolshevism to deal with.

Intrigue and fair words, cunning and beautiful promises, treachery and expressions of friendship—all these have been tried: but they haven't worked.

So now they decide to continue their old policy of starving the Russian people and the Russian Revolution. They are to continue financing and feeding counter-revolutionists; they are going to recognize the "Omsk Government" and provide it with munitions and food, while the barbarous blockade of Russia continues—this is the policy they are forced into, the policy of the skulking murderer of women and children. This is Capitalism! This is the Peace Conference!

No! This crime against the new civilization, against a revolutionary people must not be allowed. Capitalism is exposing itself in all its sinister horror. It scruples at nothing to accomplish its savage purposes. Nothing short of proletarian action, of mass pressure upon the imperialistic governments, of the world revolution will help the Russian people and preserve the Russian Revolution for all peoples and for all time.

## A GROWING DANGER

The Committee on Tariffs and Taxation of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers announces a new menace to the well-being of the people of the United States. Japan is developing cotton manufacturing to an extent that threatens to cut under American competition. It is, therefore, necessary, for the United States to come back with some kind of economic retaliation.

Japan "promises at no distant date to become a serious competitor of American mills, not only in foreign fields, but in our home markets." The Ways and Means Committee of the House will, therefore, be asked to see that "the interests of the textile industry" are properly safeguarded.

Japanese manufacturers are threatening American profits. Trade rivalries breed trade wars. Trade wars lead to military conflicts. Here is a growing danger for the people of the United States as well as for the cotton manufacturing industry.—Scott Nearing.

## GEMS FROM LENIN

Civil war is civil war. It writes its own laws. It is like this: Either the proletariat governs or capital rules. There is no other alternative. There are some who are not pleased with our dictatorship. I say to them, "Go to Siberia and see if the dictatorship is better there. We will willingly place transportation at your disposal."

The idea of annihilating Capitalism without civil war is Utopian. You undoubtedly know that the number of millionaires in Norway has been multiplied by ten during the war. Do you believe that the Norwegian millionaires, just because of arguments, will capitulate without the blow of the sword?

Or maybe you can tell me why ten or twelve million people were killed in the world war? "War until victory," was written on Kerensky's banners. "War until victory over the bourgeoisie" is the workers' revision of this slogan. And there you have it all.

**Arming the proletariat—this we must teach, and the disarming of the bourgeoisie.** Give up the disarmament program, advise Zeth Hoglund, a Swedish Socialist, in 1910. His opinion was different from mine. Now he certainly must agree with me.

In my message to the National Commune on March 10, I said that as the time passes and the majority becomes assured of its power, then can we raise the question of general suffrage before the Soviet. **We must keep the dictatorship in order to be able to control the bourgeoisie.**

Russia says to the workers and to the right-minded people of the whole world:

**"Come with us toward the new life, whose creation we work for without sparing ourselves and without sparing anybody or anything! Erring and suffering in the great joy of labor and in the burning hope of progress, we leave to the honest judgment of history all our deeds. Come with us to the battle against the ancient order, to work for new forms of life! Forth to life's freedom and beauty!"—Maxim Gorky.**

## LONG LIVE SOVIET RUSSIA

We reprint a few extracts from an article in an American periodical by "M. E." He says: "In San Francisco I talked with a Russian sailor who had been in Vladivostok within the month and I put down in my note book some of the things he said. He said that an American general whose name he thought was Johnson told him that 98 per cent. of the people in Vladivostok were pro-Soviet, and that if the Allied armies withdrew at 8 a.m. the Bolshevik government would be in power at 8.01 a.m. If we started in to fight this thing we would have to fight every house. In one of the restaurants he asked a peasant girl who was waiting on the table what she thought of life under the Allied occupation. She looked a little furtively around the restaurant before she answered that under the Soviet she had worked 6 or 7 hours, and received ten roubles more than she now received. Now she works from 12 noon until 2 a.m. and after that she has to walk home, arriving about 4 a.m.

Further he stated that the Soviets are still meeting in Vladivostok and all through Siberia, altho the delegates are continually arrested and put in prison but they come up again, like waves from the sea. They do not call themselves a Soviet but the Bureau of Professional Unions of Vladivostok.

He said that there were about two thousand Czecho-Slovaks in jail in Siberia for refusing to fight the Bolsheviks.

This surely gives the lie to the press stories that the Russians are not in favor of the Bolsheviks.