

THE RED FLAG

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

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FIVE CENTS

What Is Patriotism?

The Johnsonian Definition and Others

The answer depends largely upon the point of view. From one standpoint patriotism appears as the actual religion of the modern State. From another it is the decadence and perversion of a noble and deep-rooted impulse of loyalty to the social unit, acquired by mankind during the earliest stages of social life. From yet another viewpoint, that of capitalist interests, patriotism is nothing more or less than a convenient and potent instrument of domination.

The word itself, both etymologically and historically, has its root in paternity. In tribal days the feeling of social solidarity, which has now become debased into patriotism, was completely bound up with the religion of ancestor worship. In tribal religion, as in the tribe itself, all were united by ties of blood. The gods and their rites and ceremonies were exclusive to the tribesmen. All strangers were rigidly debarred from worship. The gods themselves were usually dead warriors. Every war was a holy war. Among the ancient Jews, for instance, the holy ark of Jehovah of Hosts accompanied the tribes to battle. It was this abode or movable tomb of the ancestral deity that went with the Jews in their march through the desert, and even to Jericho; playing an important part in the fall of that remarkable city. All the traditions of the Jewish religion, in fact, were identified with great national triumphs.

The Merits of the Early Brand

Thus tribal religion was completely interwoven with tribal aspirations and integrity. Tribal "patriotism" and religion were identical. Indeed, without the strongest possible social bond, without a kind of "patriotism" that implied the unhesitating self-sacrifice of the individual for the common existence, it would have been utterly impossible for tribal man to have won through to civilization. Natural selection insured that only those social groups which developed this supreme instinct of mutual aid could survive; the rest were crushed out in the struggle for existence. Is it a matter for wonder if it be found that such a magnificent social impulse, so vital to the struggling groups of tribal man, received periodical consecration in the willing human sacrifices so common in primitive religious ceremonial? Bound up with the deliberate manufacture of gods for the protection of the tribe and its works, there is indicated a social recognition of the need for, and value of, the sacrifice of the individual for the common good.

This noble impulse of social solidarity is the common inheritance of all mankind. But being a powerful social force it has lent itself to exploitation. Therefore, with the development of class rule this great impulse is made subordinate to the class interests of the rulers. It becomes debased and perverted to definite anti-social ends. As soon as

the people become a slave class "the land of their fathers" is theirs no more. Patriotism to them becomes a fraudulent thing. The "country" is that of their masters alone. Nevertheless, the instinct of loyalty to the community is too deep-seated to be eradicated so easily, and it becomes a deadly weapon in the hands of the rulers against the people themselves.

With the decay of society based on kinship, religion changed also; and from being tribal and exclusive it became universal and propagandist. "Patriotism" at the same time began to distinguish itself from religion. The instinctive tribal loyalty became transformed, by the aid of religion and the fiction of kinship, into political loyalty. In a number of instances in political society, as in Tudor England, the struggle for priority between religion and patriotism became so acute as to help in the introduction of a more subservient form of religion. Thus patriotism became a mere accessory to patriotism as handmaiden of class rule.

A Most Accommodating Conception

Though universal religion did not split up at the same time as the great empire that gave it birth, patriotism did so. The latter has, in fact, always adapted, enlarged, or contracted itself to fit the existing political unit, whether feudal estate, village, township, country, kingdom, republic or empire. (Continued on Page Two)

Trial and Sentence of John Maclean

Before the Lord Justice General and a Jury, at Edinburgh, on Thursday, 9th May, 1918

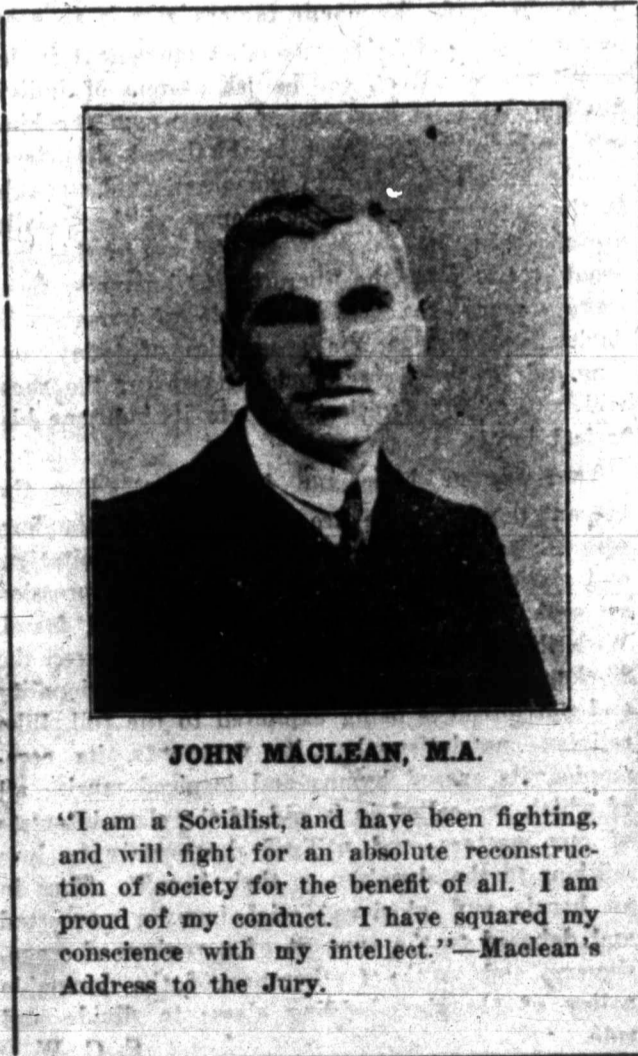
At Edinburgh on the 9th of May, 1918, John Maclean, M.A., one of the ablest and most courageous fighters for Socialism that this country has produced, was sentenced to five years' penal servitude. The charges were brought under the Defence of the Realm Regulations, for the violation of which Maclean had been previously sentenced to penal servitude, and from which, in July, 1917, in consequence of the efforts of the Socialist comrades in Russia and of the agitation in this country, he was released after serving fifteen months of a three years' sentence. The remaining eleven months of this term have been added to his present sentence.

Maclean's magnificent work for Socialism is well known, and as the founder of the Scottish Labour College, we believe he will be gratefully remembered beyond his own time.

With Karl Liebknecht, John Maclean shares the honour of being one of the first honorary vice-presidents of the Russian Soviet Congress, and he is also the Bolshevik Consul for Glasgow.

The trial of which an account is given in the following pages, aroused tremendous public interest, one of the most piquant incidents being an over-night march from Glasgow to Edinburgh, by a body of enthusiastic supporters.

The speeches on which the various charges are based, were delivered at a time when, from various causes, revolutionary feeling ran high in the Clyde district and all over the country. This feel-



ing was not denied expression by Maclean, who with noble disregard of possible consequences to himself, did not hesitate to say what others silently and safely thought.

The above is an extract from the introduction to the account, in pamphlet form, of the trial and sentence of John Maclean, M. A.

The pamphlet was first published by the Clyde Workers' Propaganda Defence Committee and is republished in this country by the "Western Labor News," Winnipeg, Manitoba, under the title, "Condemned from the Dock." Price \$6.50 per hundred, or 10 cents each.

Get this pamphlet and distribute it. It contains valuable propaganda matter. History will reverse the verdict against John Maclean and it will yet be seen that it was not he that was under indictment, but the Capitalist system of bloodfests and intellectual, moral and physical debaucheries. The following words from Maclean's address to the jury, registers the thoughts and sentiments of hosts of the inarticulate millions who have already passed judgment upon Capitalism.

"I wish no harm to any human being, but I, as one man am going to exercise my freedom of speech. No human being on the face of the earth, no government is going to take from me my right to speech, my right to protest against wrong, my right to do everything that is for the benefit of mankind. I am not here then, as the accused; I am here as the accuser of Capitalism, dripping with blood from head to foot."

WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

(Continued from Page One)

pire. No political form has been too absurd for it to fill with its loyalty. No discordance of race, colour or language has been universally effective against it.

What, then, is patriotism in essence of today? It is usually defined as being devotion to the land of our fathers. But which is the land of our fathers? Our fathers came from many different parts of the world. The political division of the world in which we live is an artificial entity. The land has been wrested from other races. The nation they call "ours" is the result of a conquest over original inhabitants, and over ourselves, by successive ruling classes. Unlike the free tribesmen we are hirelings, we possess no country.

Nationality, of which patriotism is the superstition, covers no real entity other than that of a common oppression, a unified government. It does not compromise any unity of race, for in no nation is there one pure race, or anything like it. It does not cover a unity of language, for scarcely a nation exists in which several distinct languages are not indigenous. Nor is it any fixity of territory, for this changes from decade to decade, while the inhabitants of the transferred their allegiance, their patriotism, to the new nation.

The Product of Analysis

The only universal bond of nationality or patriotism that exists for us today is, then, that of subjection to a single government. Patriotism in the worker is pride in the common yoke imposed by a politically united ruling class. Yet it is this artificial entity that we are called upon to honor above lift itself. This badge of political servitude is called an object worthy of supreme sacrifice. The workers are expected to abandon all vital interests and sacrifice all they hold dear for the preservation of an artificial nationality, that is little more than a manufactured unit of discord; a mere focus of economic and political strife.

Thus one of the noblest fruits of man's social evolution—the impulse of sacrifice for the social existence—is being prostituted by the capitalist class to maintain a system of exploitation, to obtain a commercial supremacy, and preserve or extend the boundaries of a superfluous political entity. The workers are duped by the ruling class into sacrificing themselves for the preservation of a politico-economic yoke of a particular form and color. Many so-called Socialists have fallen headlong into this obvious trap.

Had social solidarity developed in equal measure with the broadening of men's real interests, it would now be universal in character instead of national. The wholesale mixture of races, and the economic interdependence of the whole world, show that nationalism is now a barrier, and patriotism, as we know it, a curse. Only the whole world can now be rightly called the land of our fathers. Only in the service of the people of the whole world, and not against those of any part of it, can the instinct of social service find its highest and complete expression. The great Socialist has pointed the way. He did not call upon the workers of Germany alone to unite. He appealed to the toilers of the whole world to join hands; to a whole world of labor whose only loss could be its parti-colored chains. And in this alone lies the consummation of that tribal instinct of social solidarity of which patriotism is the perverted descendant.

Something Better Than Patriotism

Capitalism, therefore, stands as the barrier the destruction of which will not only set free the productive forces of society for the good of all, but will also liberate human solidarity and brotherhood from the narrow confines of nationality and patriotism. Only victorious labor can make true the simple but pregnant statement: "mankind are my brethren, the world is my country." Patriotism and nationalism as we know them will then be remembered only as artificial restrictions

Constituent Assembly Accepts the Soviets

The civil war waged against the Bolsheviki and the Soviet Government was organized and directed by the Constituent Assembly, which was dissolved by the Soviet government in January, 1918, and the majority of which consisted of delegates representing the Social-Revolutionary "democrats" co-operated with Allied intervention, until they realized that this intervention was directed against them as much as against the Bolsheviki. But still they persisted, until conquered in the civil war, abandoned by the masses; threatened by Kolehak and the Allies, they decided to accept authority of the Soviet Government. This decision is made public in a manifesto "issued in the name of the Social-Revolutionary Party and in the name of the President of the Congress of the Constituent Assembly," and is as follows:

"To the soldiers of the Popular Army, to the Siberian Cossacks, to the Czecho-Slovak Troops:

"Soldiers—mobilized and volunteers—you entered the army to defend the sovereignty of the people and to save democratic Russia from German imperialism, which reduced it to slavery by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the name of the Pan Russian Constituent Assembly, in the name of free Russia, independent and united, you have fought against Soviet authority.

"And during this time, behind our backs, in the rear, they executed a coup d'etat and set up the Kolchak dictatorship, the representative of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors.

"The bourgeois dictatorship, signifies the complete crushing of the proletariat and of the working peasants, and the complete triumph of those enemies of the workers, the proprietors and the capitalists. It signifies the suppression of all the conquests of the great Russian revolution and the overthrow of the democratic regime and the re-establishment of the old monarchical regime.

The Siberian reactionaries have directed their attacks against democratic parties and institutions.

of men's sympathy and mutual help; as obstacles to the expansion of the human mind; as impediments to the needful and helpful development of human unity and co-operation; as bonds that bound men to slavery; as incentives that set brothers at each others' throats.

Despite its shameless perversion by a robber class the great impulse to human solidarity is by no means dead. Economic factors give it an even firmer basis, and in the Socialist movement it develops apace. Even the hellish system of individualism, with its doctrine of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, has been unable to kill it. And in the great class struggle of the workers against the drones, of the socially useful against the socially pernicious, in this last great struggle for the liberation of humanity from wage slavery, the great principle of human solidarity, based upon the necessities of today and impelled by the deep-seated instincts of the race, will come to full fruition and win its supreme historical battle.

That is our hope and inspiration. For the present, however, we are surrounded by the horrors of war added to the horrors of exploitation, and subjected to the operation of open repression as well as to the arts of hypocrisy and fraud. With the weakening power of religion to keep the workers obedient, the false cult of nationality and patriotism is being exploited to the full. Like religion, patriotism has its vestments, its ceremonies, its sacred hymns and inspired music; all of which are called in aid of the class interests of our masters, and utilized desperately to lure millions to the shambles to their benefit. Thus in an heroic and glorious social impulse perverted and debased to the support of a regime of wage-slavery, and to the furtherance of the damnable policy of the slave-holding class: to divide and rule.

F. C. W.

They have arrested several members of the Constituent Assembly, as well as Comrade Sourgouzhich and other militants of the Socialists-Revolutionary Party.

"But the most important changes have taken place recently in Western Europe. Germany has met with military defeat, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk annulled by the Soviet Government, has lost its authority.

"German Imperialism no longer exists and the Austro-Hungarian Empire is a thing of the past. Under the pressure of the working class of Germany and Austria the thrones of the monarchs of these countries have been overthrown. The authority has passed into the hands of the workers, who, under the red flag of the labor social revolution, enter, like their brothers in Russia, into the era of the world social revolution. That is what has recently happened.

"Through fear of labor revolution at home the former allies of Russia—England, France, Japan, and the United States—naturally took the part of bourgeois dictatorship in Russia. The bourgeoisie of Western Europe and of the United States declared war against the Russian and German revolutions. The Allies would not recognize either the authority of the Soviet Government or that of the constitutional assembly. But they did recognize Kolehak and Denikine.

"Under the pretext of fighting against Bolshevism former allies revealed their intention, on the one hand, of exploiting the situation of Russia, and on the other, of crushing democracy entirely and consolidating the power of the bourgeois reaction.

"All those fundamental changes which have taken place in the world situation and in Russia have compelled the members of the Social-Revolutionary Party to revise their program. Under no circumstances can the Social-Revolutionary Party support either bourgeois dictatorship or foreign bourgeois intervention; but on the contrary, it must support the most resolute struggle against both national and international re-action in order that the Russian revolution and the world revolution may be victorious. This is not the time for fratricidal war among the workers.

"This is why the Executive Committee of the Congress of the members of the Constituent Assembly asks all the soldiers of the popular army to stop the civil war against the Soviet Government, which, at the present historic time, is the only revolutionary power of the exploited classes, and turn their arms against Kolchak, in order to crush the exploiters.

"On its part, the Revolutionary Committee guarantees to detachments of the popular army as well as to isolated individuals and groups who voluntarily end the civil war against the power of the Soviets and who voluntarily join with the Soviet troops, that they will be subject to no prosecution on the part of the Soviet Government. The same agreement applies to the detachments which fight Kolchak.

"The members of the Social-Revolutionary Party who accept this agreement will not be molested because of their membership in the party.

"Soldiers of the Popular Army, Siberian Cossacks and Czecho-Slovaks! In acquainting you with this agreement, the delegation of the Social-Revolutionary Party invites all sincere democrats, all the peasants and all the workers to cease playing the role of blind instruments in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who, behind your backs, beat down your own brothers. We ask you to turn your arms against the bourgeois dictatorship of Kolchak and to act in agreement with the Soviet army.

"Long live the labor democracy of every country!"
"Long live the world social revolution!"

Anti-Bolshevik Propaganda on the Cinema A Peep Behind the Scenes

The following document has come into our hands, containing instructions to managers of theatres and advertising agents for moving pictures. It states that a film is about to be released for the circuit for the purpose of discrediting the Bolsheviks and Socialists generally. Preserve it. It's a gem and a fine example of the methods and ethics of the business world.

"Put up red flags," it says, "and then hire soldiers to tear them down." Even creating riots is good for business. On this matter "a word to the wise," etc., is a good proverb.

Take fake pictures (down in Florida, U. S. A.) of this true "exposure" of the Bolshevik experiment in Russia showing men and girls running around in "home-made living-picture suits" (down in Florida) and then have special shows for children. It will elevate their morals by showing them the immoralities practiced by the Bolsheviks (down in Florida, U. S. A.). It's coming. Get your children ready to see this elevating "true" picture play in which the Bolsheviks are shown practicing bestialities (down in Florida, U. S. A.).

And, Mr. Theatre Manager, get those soldiers hired to tear down the phony red flags.

And—everyone else, look out for those anti-Bolshevik meetings! According to the Vancouver "Sun" of April 24, the city council has already been applied to for a permit and support.

The document says:

The showing of this play should be prepared for well in advance. It will not yield the fullest results to give an intensive three or six-day advertising campaign. The newspaper work should begin well in advance of the showing, if possible through a controversy on Socialism.

Let the management write a couple of letters attacking the socialistic theory and linking it up with Bolshevism. There is almost certain to be a reply from some local high thinker. Then the battle is on.

Inaugurate a Controversy

Work gradually to the contention that Socialism will not be possible in this or the succeeding generation because people are not yet prepared for liberty such as Socialism aims at. Later work in allusion to the feature of the limited experiment made by Upton Sinclair some years ago at Halycon Hall, where the community idea fell because all wanted to live without working. All of this should be worked out under a pseudonym.

Then come out under your own signature and apparently get into the controversy for the first time, telling of "Comrades," by the Rev. Thomas Dixon, and adding that you will shortly show a play drawn from the book which gives the result which has attended every such movement in history. Then start your straight advertising campaign. If you can write cleverly or can get someone to do it for you, you can run for a couple of weeks in the local daily, without ever suggesting that the discussion has any advertising intent.

The Question of the Hour

Bolshevism is the question of the hour. It has spread to every town and village. In some places its adherents do not dare openly discuss the matter, but they may have the courage to engage in an anonymous discussion. In the larger places you will find circles openly run. You will find no lack of opponents in the larger towns. Save all of the clippings for lobby work when your open campaign starts.

You can get the ministers to take this question up. The subject is timely and most ministers know that a well-advertised topic will draw the crowds. Announce the sermon on your screen for three or four days in advance.

This can be done before you start your campaign or perhaps the minister will be willing to preach on the topic the Sunday before your opening, in which case take the advertising for the church directly into your house advertising. Have a lobby frame announcing that the Rev. John Blank will preach on this powerful play at the **First Christian Church**.

Use Paper Plentifully

Perhaps you can go further and get some local patriotic society to hold an **anti-Bolshevik mass meeting**. It can be done. If your house is closed on Sunday, lend your house for the meeting. If you can run seven days, help the society get a hall. It will repay you. Get out posted paper, advising all to attend the meeting and then see the play. There are both one and three sheets which can be stripped to advantage in this connection. Don't think you cannot pull this stunt until you have tried.

When you get ready to do your direct advertising, go to it strong. The cartoon one sheet is exceptionally good. Get these all over town. Don't use less than fifty. Use a hundred if you can. Use several of the six sheets. These deal only with a side issue of the film, but they are flashy and striking. Use at least one twenty-four and more if you can find the boards. It is not as strong as the one or three, but the bigness will help to create the impression of importance.

This is a subject which can be sold with paper. Use plenty of it. Get more than you think you can afford. If you are in a small town, go into the nearby town with the one's and in the city, go beyond your usual district with ones and threes. If you can get twenty extra people with a dollar's worth of paper, you are making a direct profit and possibly some new patrons. If you have not the nerve to use plenty of paper, leave the subject to your opposition.

Go After Factory Workers

If you have any factories in town do not overlook the suggestion at the top of page nine of the press book. There is not a factory owner who is not at least secretly afraid of the growth of Bolshevism, and he has cause for fear. Go to him with the private viewing or even with a good talk on the film and he will buy **blocks of seats** for his employees and their families.

This is not a fanatical propaganda picture where bias spoils argument. It is a clean-cut study of the reason why Socialism has not and cannot come. There will be no reaction upon the factory owners after the picture has been seen. It will help them more than they can realize.

And on the same lines, in your own advertising do not advertise it is an argument against Socialism. Call it a study of Socialism. Make this a big talking point.

Get up such questions as "Can a Man be a Socialist without drifting into Bolshevism?"

Bring out one big space with a huge "Are you a Bolshevik? Are you sure?"

Then run into your selling talk in small type—an eight or ten point according to your space. Make it plain in all your advertising that this is not a faked-up story of Russian Bolshevism. Don't merely refrain from saying that it is. Tell that it is not. Tell that it is the story of a socialistic experiment.

Hook Up With "The Birth"

Hook up with "The Birth of a Nation," by advertising that is from a story by the author of "The Clansman," from which "The Birth of a Nation" was made. Do not overplay this angle, for the story can stand by itself, but it is worth some use.

Then tell about the production. Tell that it was

figuring as the mythical Ventura. There are several good fights in the picture, and some splendid crowd scenes in which hundreds are used. Take up the items in detail.

Tell how the socialistic chef goes on strike because he wants a salary, but is led out by the hero's chauffeur, who used to be a white hope, and persuaded that he had better be good. Tell how the community gives a ball where some of the girls shock the spinsters by coming to the dance in home-made living picture suits.

Play up the character of Wolff, who started the scheme to promote his own ends, while talking of community interest. Tell how his wife, who furthered his plans, is selected as the first victim of his new divorcee decree and changes her mind about Socialism. Play up the angle of the rich man who secretly backed his son's schemes to show him how impractical Socialism really is.

Then use the combination in something like "One man was a Socialist for love of power. Another was guided by love for a woman. Both talked of the good of the community to hide their own ambitions. That is what Socialism is."

Make a Run of It

And finally, don't make the mistake of booking for a day. Unless you have a three hundred house in a two hundred town, with no neighbors to draw from, book at least for three days. Let your first night's audience tell the others and bring them in.

Run an extra night show. Have a special showing for school children. Work all of the crowd stunts—**Put up red flags about town and hire soldiers to tear them down** if necessary and then come out with a flaming handbill, explaining that the play is not an argument for anarchy. Have the bills ready printed, that you may get them out quickly or the idea may boomerang. **Work out the limit on this and you'll not only clean up, but profit by future business.**

(Emphasis ours.)

RUSSIA

That we are abundantly able to feed Russia is indicated by the size of our winter wheat crop. The Department of Agriculture has just estimated that crop of 837 million bushels, the largest ever grown. With a spring production of from 225 to 300 million bushels, we shall probably have a surplus for export of 450 millions. Before the war we exported 100 millions. And now our Consul General in Buenos Ayres reports that Argentina will have more than 150 million bushels for export herself.—New Republic, April 19.

"GENE" DEBS

Eugene V. Debs has gone to the West Virginia penitentiary to begin his ten-year sentence. "These are pregnant and promising days," said Debs, as he entered the prison doors. "We are all on the threshold of tremendous changes. The workers of the world are awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are making for the overthrow of despotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind. I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad, and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in the supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together as one for the cause which means emancipation for us all."

The New York "Nation" of April 19 says: "These are words of simple greatness, we may believe or not in the underlying doctrine; we cannot fail to honor and to believe in the man."

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

Published When Circumstances and Finances Permit
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Editor C. Stephenson

SATURDAY APRIL 26, 1919

The White Man's Burden

Elsewhere in this issue, we publish statements, symptomatic as to how it is faring with the backward "inferior" races, to whom the "superior" white races are introducing the "culture" of our "democratic civilization."

Our "civilized" press has been extremely busy furnishing "information," straining the credulity even of the most credulous of its public, as to alleged atrocities in Soviet Russia, but is silent as the grave, silent as the cynical sphinx, on the atrocities committed on myriads of helpless people, in the "dark" places of the earth, agonizing under capitalist exploitation. India, Egypt, Africa, or the thousand islands of the Southern Seas, what of they? O ye perverters and suppressors of knowledge!

Six million of Hindus have died in a few months and in the press reports it has been attributed to the "flu." Yet the press knew that one of the worst famines in the history of India was raging at the time when the plague, from the European charnel house, reached that country. It knew that the havoc which resulted was due, not to the virulence of the plague, primarily, but to the fact that a starving population had not the vitality to resist its attack. But this fact was suppressed. The famine, so-called, is still raging, and, that it is not due to the lack of productive capacity of the people, we prove by quoting the following from the "Labour Leader," April 3, of London, England, supplementing it with the assertion, which can also be proved, that the exports of India have always exceeded its imports.

Under the caption "Famine in India," the "Labour Leader" states:

"The Labor News Service issued at headquarters for this week draws attention to a terrible instance of the way famine can be created in a food-producing country. From the trade returns for 1914 to 1917 it shows that wheat to the value of millions of pounds was actually "exported" from India, at the very time that the Indian poor were dying in hundreds of thousands as a result of high prices and want! Even as late as 1916-17 the last year given, £5,969,971 (or 14½ million hundred-weights of wheat), was exported from India, of which eight million pounds' worth came to Great (the adjective reads strangely here) Britain and the rest went to our allies, Italy and France. Verily, it was "War at any Price"—and largely a price we did not pay."

Lacking the price to buy the products of their own labor, millions of the helpless helots of capitalist democracies must pay the price of their helotry in slow starvation, in stunted, aborted lives and in death. Under capitalism, "price, or profit, is the essence of the case—not livelihood."

And now meagre reports are coming through that these poor people are revolting, and, while suppressing all news as to causes, the hypocritical press is professing astonishment at their base ingratitude after the care the whites have bestowed upon them, and darkly hints at German or Bolshevik propaganda in order to cover up capitalism's slimy trail. In Egypt, in India, in Africa, we are solving the problem for the benighted in the white

man's "civilized" way. The machine-gun, the bombing plane and the liquid-fire hose, public executions, lashings and whippings in the market places and imprisonments. Ah, Rome! Rome!

We are also solving the Russian "problem," we cultured western races, by a fiendish instrument known by the cultured name of "blockade." One hundred and eighty millions of men, women and children must be starved and weakened into submitting to our culture. Conceive what this means when the subjects of such a process were already, perforce, inured to a low standard of existence and there is no spread or margin left between subsistence and starvation. In order to understand what this blockade means, we will quote from the London "Labour Leader," of April 3, again:

"The Greatest Crime"—Under this heading, "Humanite" (March 22) publishes a communication from a Frenchman who has been some weeks in Stockholm, where he was able to learn some facts about the blockade of Russia by the Entente. He says:

"Even if the Bolsheviks had really committed all the crimes they are charged with, the number of their victims would still be far less than the number of victims made by the murderous blockade which the Entente Powers have established round Soviet Russia."

"How is it," he asks, "that famine should be so widespread in a pre-eminently agricultural country like Russia? The answer is two-fold—first, it is partly due to the shortage of transport, which the blockade is continuing, for every effort made by the Soviets to import locomotives and wagons has been defeated; secondly, the blockade has prevented the importation of seed and agricultural implements."

"The Soviets have done all they could to remedy this terrible situation. They sent large sums of money to Denmark to buy seed; and the Allied fleet stopped the ships which were bringing the consignments to Russia. They made similar efforts to get agricultural implements from Sweden, with the like result."

"Humanite's" correspondent asks:

"In what respect are the Turkish and Bulgarian atrocities, which have been so vigorously denounced, worse than this refinement of barbarity?"

A pertinent question, but its only answer is dribble and drool and a rehash of the same old discredited lies from our politicians, our pulpites and the press.

The answer can only be furnished by the laboring masses of the white races. Only they can stop these world-wide horrors.

These peoples, writhing under the lash, agonizing, perishing by the millions almost unknown to the world, shut off by silences and the perversions of the controlled "news" services, await on the white proletariat for relief from their miseries and oppressions. How long? Or—shall we pray for the swift coming of Thomas Huxley's comet?

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, APRIL 27

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speaker W. A. Fritchard

FAMINE IN INDIA

The Labor News Service issued at headquarters for this week draws attention to a terrible instance of the way famine can be created in a food-producing country. From the trade returns for 1914-1917 it shows that wheat to the value of millions of pounds was actually exported from India, at the very time that the Indian poor were dying in hundreds of thousands as a result of high prices and want! Even as late as 1916-17, the last year given, £5,969,971 (or 14½ million cwt. of wheat) was exported from India, of which eight million pounds' worth came to Great (the adjective reads strangely here) Britain and the rest went to our Allies, Italy and France. Verily, it was "War at any price"—and largely a price we did not pay.

UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG

The African Telegraph, of December, 1918, quotes the following monstrous story from the "Gold Coast Leader":

"When en route to Mailuguri I stayed for a couple of days at Bauchi where I eyed with painful surprise two women, having been stripped entirely naked in an open market, being flogged 25 lashes each. Solicitously I hastened near and enquired from one of the spectators as to the cause of this eyesore and by whose order. 'By order of Mr. Fitzpatrick,' he said, 'because they were arrested a few days back in the forenoon, and sent to the Alkali by Mr. Fitzpatrick to be extremely punished for having passed through the residency. To satisfy his master, the Alkali, without hearing of the case, sentenced the accused to six months' imprisonment with hard labor each. Immediately on hearing this, Mr. Fitzpatrick sent for the Alkali and openly pronounced that these unfortunate women, while serving their time should receive 25 lashes each in an open market every month.' As this seemed to me entirely dubious, I enquired a second time from an English-speaking citizen who also related the like statement.

Not very long ago every person throughout the British Empire was more or less acquainted with the downright fact of the Jones, Baro and Zaria whippings, and again women are now being flogged at Bauchi entirely naked in an open market for the mere reason that they had passed through the residency.

SPANISH SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONGRESS

MADRID—Ten full days of exhaustive debate marked the eleventh national Socialist congress held here, and resulted in the adoption of aggressive measures for extending socialist propaganda, especially into rural districts; for lending a hand in the reestablishment of the internationale; for establishing socialist day schools and womens evening schools; and for co-operating with the general Union of Workers in a comprehensive study of all the problems of national life, especially those affecting the workers.

The congress expressed its sympathy with the workers of Russia, Germany and Austria in their struggle for a proletarian state.

At the request of Local Oviedo, a resolution was passed calling upon the members of the party working in newspaper offices to make common cause with their fellow workers in case the workers of any department of the office, whether it be editorial or managerial, decided upon a strike.

Pablo Iglesias was elected president of the executive committee and editor of El Socialista; and Comrades Besterio and Anguiano vice-president and secretary, respectively.

The "One Big Union" is having its troubles at Versailles.

A handy text book—Vol. 1, "Marx's Capital," now ready. Get one from the Secretary, 401 Pender street east.

Socialism and the Reward of Labor

By J. BRUCE GLASIER

(From the "Labor Leader, April 3

Part II.—THE VALUE OF LABOR

WE may now consider, in the light of the foregoing chapter, what value belongs to the labor of the present worker or workers generally, performed by them in the production of wealth.

Needless to say the workers' labor plays no part in the actual production of land or the raw material derived from it.

The workers, simply by means of their own individual and self-contained energy and intelligence, without which, it is true, no material wealth can be produced at all, contribute but a small part to the general energy and skill which they are instrumental in bringing into operation in the factory. What proportion the labor of the individual worker bears to the work and skill, which is contributed by the general social organization and culture of society, it is impossible to say.

We may guess at it, perhaps, by asking ourselves the question (which is, indeed, as ridiculous as it sounds)—how many pairs of boots, how many yards of cloth, how many knives, or spades, or chairs, or watches, or electric motors, could a present-day worker produce in a week, a month, or a year, working eight or nine hours a day, were he as destitute of the advantages of social co-operation and culture as was the primitive cave-man or a Jungle-boy like Kipling's Mowgli, brought up from babyhood outside human society?

And even if we credit to the present day worker the knowledge and skill which he has obtained by education and experience from civilization, how much in the way of wealth production of any kind could he produce in any given time by his own labor were he unsustained by all kinds of socially created food, clothing and shelter, and unaided by socially created means of production and transport—machinery, railways, etc.?

Finally, to sum up quite categorically the result of this part of our inquiry, we may say that:

The labor of each worker, in a workshop or factory by itself alone is valueless. Thus, by himself alone, a workman in an engineering shop, a shipyard, a mine, a spinning factory, or in a railway, could produce nothing fit for use.

The labor of all the work people assembled in any given factory or employment, would by itself, without the labor of workpeople in other factories or employment, be valueless—or more correctly speaking, impossible. Thus, the work of engineers would be impossible without the work done in the mines, the iron smelting works, and on the railways; and would be valueless without the work of the distributors and the other workpeople who make use of the tools and machines produced by the engineers.

Similarly, the labor of workpeople in any given trade, craft, or occupation, would be impossible, and valueless, were it possible, without the labor of workpeople in other trades, crafts and occupations. Thus, the labor of turners and fitters in an engineering shop would be impossible and, were it possible, useless without the labor of the engine-men, the draughtsmen and the pattern makers, together with (afterwards) the labor of the carters, railwaymen, and other distributors. So also the labor of the engine drivers or signalmen, or clerks or plate layers separately on the railways, would be impossible and futile without the labor of all the other trades, crafts and occupations connected with the railways.

Likewise with respect to the products of Labor themselves. No single product, however complete in itself, would be of any appreciable value, without the use of other products, except in a comparatively few instances, such as bicycles, chairs, watches, spectacles, and the like self-sufficient articles. Thus, a pen is of no use without paper and ink; a needle or sewing machine without thread; a locomotive without a railway track or properly constructed road; a fire grate or pot

without coal or other fuel; a candlestick without a candle, a motor car without petrol, an electric lamp, telephone or tramcar without a dynamo and generating station.

And once more (to repeat in a word the whole burden of our Socialist argument and prophecy) we may say that without the existence of the general community, its co-operation, its collectively created science, skill, affections, wants, and policy of life, labor and production, as we know and use them in civilized society, would be impossible, and even if possible (as by magic or a miracle) useless and valueless.

And the right understanding of all this matter constitutes the distinction between the position and social outlook of the Socialist and that of the mere Laborist.

It is with the community as with the human body. Without the separate cells, organ and parts, the body could neither have life nor existence. Yet, nevertheless, all these cells, organs and parts would not together of themselves form a human body or create the senses, intelligence and capacity within it, without the collective organization and the common life and mind which belongs not to the cells or parts, but to the primal germ and the whole existence of the body as an organism.

In certain instances it doubtless may fairly be said that the capitalist does obtain a portion at least of his profits from the under-payment of his employees. Very likely he does so in the specially sweated industries, or where indentured coolie and Chinese labor and the like is employed, when the standard of life of the poor wretches falls, if not beneath that of the cave-man, at any rate, far below that of the free, self-employed worker of pre-capitalist days.

But, broadly speaking, it is clear from our investigation that the profits of the capitalist are not derived from the spoliation of the individual worker whom he himself actually employs; but from the spoliation of the whole mass of the workers, not so much in their capacity as workers as in their capacity as members of the community.

Not only have we found an answer to the question: "From whence does the capitalist derive his profit?" but we have found a principle which throws an important light on the question: "Is not the worker entitled to the fruits of his own labor?"

If by his "own labor" is meant his own labor only, our reply surely must be that he is fully entitled to every particle of the fruits of it.

But heaven help him, and civilization as well, if he, as a citizen, as a civilized man, is entitled to, and going to be content with no more than the fruits of his own individual labor as a worker! He is poor enough as it is, but his condition would, in most instances, be even more deplorable were he and his family to obtain in food and comfort not more than the exact measure of what he could do at he does produce by his own unaided intelligence and strength. As things now are he, in all probability, receives twice or thrice as much as that.

What he does not receive, and what the workers in the mass do not receive, is their share as members of the community, of the socially created increment of wealth. And to that share he is entitled, not simply because he is a worker, but because he is a man, a citizen, a member of the brotherhood of society, or the nation.

The worker is, in all truth, robbed flagrantly and unmercifully by the capitalist. But the robbery though perpetrated on him in the workshop,

pillages him not so much, if at all, of the fruits of his own labor as a worker, but of his share that belongs to him as a member of the brotherhood of the community, of the collective produce of the collective labor, genius and skill of the whole of society. This the capitalist does by paying him wages—wages which enable him to obtain only a share in so much of the collectively produced wealth as remains after the capitalist has considerably depleted the store by his rent and profit.

[Editor's Note: The writer's terminology when he uses the word "robbery" is scientifically incorrect. The term "robbery" has an ethical meaning and ethics have no place in the field of economic science. This science deals only with "necessary results which flow from the existing method of production. This method is a historical product, a product of the evolutionary process. Social wrongs which flow from this method of production are not to be charged to the maliciousness or wickedness of men. Indignation at the results of a faulty and out-of-date social organization is justifiable but it adds not one iota to that understanding of causes, which is a prime necessity, before effects can be successfully dealt with. The worker is exploited legally by means of the wages system and to use terms which imply otherwise is to obscure the issue and divert the attack from the real cause of exploitation, the system itself.]

And in fighting, as the worker is now beginning to do (chiefly as the result of a better understanding of his own his fellows' plight, and of the hope of deliverance from it, which he has gained from Socialist teaching) he is fighting, not really as he imagines he is doing, for the mere fruits of his own labor, as a wage-earner, but for the common fruits of social co-operation, progress and civilization which are his own and his fellows' heritage and right as members of the commonwealth.

THE ECONOMICS OF AN INDEMNITY UNDER PRODUCTION FOR SALE

Is an indemnity a good thing or a bad thing for the country which receives it? It is like any money gift, good or evil according to the use you make of it. It will probably be agreed that the best use to which we could put an indemnity would be to pay off our debts. Suppose that we succeed in obtaining an indemnity from Germany for the whole of our war expenditures. We will assume that we agree to receive the amount in bonds, say £6,000,000,000, since Germany could not be expected to pay us in cash. We will suppose further that every creditor of the British Government would be willing to surrender his holding of British war bonds and receive an equivalent amount of German bonds in exchange. In effect that would mean that all the savings which we might have accomplished during the last four and a half years, but which had in fact been squandered, economically speaking, in the waste of war, were recovered and invested in German securities. Until the capital sum was paid, we should enjoy year in and year out, without any effort of our own, an income, an annual flow of goods and services to the value of £300,000,000. That might be a fine thing for the "rentier," for holders of bonds, but the proletariat might view the transaction with a different eye if it were found that our industries were depressed and half ruined in the process, and, by the stimulus given to her manufactures, the commercial supremacy of Germany was established in their stead.—From an article in the New York "Nation" of April 12, by Sir Charles Addis, director of the Bank of England.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday night, at 8 o'clock, Empress theatre, corner Gore and Hastings.

Economic and Menshevik Determinism

By MAURICE BLUMLEIN

(Published in two parts, as a contribution on the subject of "Determinism."—From an exchange.

Historic Inevitability

All the conditions and changes that have been referred to (past social conditions and changes dealt with in a previous article) are reducible to two factors: the material conditions on the one hand and the mental attitude, understanding and interpretation corresponding to them and growing out of them, or as Marx has put it, "the material world transformed by mental assimilation."

Human action is governed by two limitations:

1. Objectively, by the inherent nature of things and physical conditions and their laws:

2. Subjectively, by those of the possibilities in nature which we are able to perceive, or of whose presence we are aware. The mere fact that a possibility exists does not make it available until we awaken to a realization of its existence.

The former is absolute, it is the limitation of human development not at a given time and place, but for any and all times. It belongs to the sphere of philosophy and metaphysics which treats of human activity according to its potential possibilities, and seeks to define the abstract theoretical boundary of human possibilities. The fact, for instance, that we cannot conceive of anything that is infinite but can deal only with things that are infinite, is a case of this character.

But while the principles underlying human development can be dealt with in this abstract form, the development itself is a concrete historical pro-

cess. "Man makes his own history but he does it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand." His progress is based on conditions that are given and his understanding of them; his action is determined and guided accordingly.

Furthermore, where the material conditions are the same in one case as in another, it does not imply of necessity that the history of the one must be the same as that of the other. For if this identity of conditions does not meet with a similar identity of mental interpretation the course of action will be different, just as different individuals under the same set of conditions may do entirely different things.

The change from feudalism to capitalism in Japan for instance, was an entirely different process than in the case of England or France, and took an incomparably shorter time for Japan was in a position to borrow and incorporate the industrial development of the western nations. "Had the Japanese been compelled to develop the stage of western civilization independently it would have taken surely hundreds of years, not to mention thousands, whereas they have done this in a few decades, just as they assimilated the civilization of China previously."

On the other hand, England was a pioneer in capitalist development, and under such conditions the rate of progress is necessarily slower. It is necessary to experiment, to try many ways before finding the best one, to make errors in order to know that they are errors, thus doing often the

not make it out of whole cloth; he does not make wrong thing in order to find the right way in the end; in short, it is the method of progress from the known to the unknown.

Japan was in a position to borrow the mental equipment of the western nations whereas the latter had to solve a similar situation with inferior knowledge. Under such circumstances, history is not a duplication of processes, it is evolution by a different path, and a shorter one. The changes which were historically inevitable in the case of the western nations, did not have to be adopted in Japan by repetition; she was in position to meet the same situation materially, with a superior capacity mentally.

Historic inevitability does not mean therefore that similar material conditions must lead to identical views, or must be dealt with in the same manner. It does mean this, however,—that whatever the possibilities of a situation may be objectively the choice of action is limited to those of the possibilities which a society is in a position to grasp according to its mental capacity and development, and that what it does not perceive is as good as non-existent for the time being. That is the real significance of historic inevitability as distinct from fatalism which pre-determines a single unalterable course of action irrespective of all subjective possibilities; the fatalist point of view is hopelessly inadequate in consequence, to explain why the same conditions do not always lead to the same results.

Next Issue: Economic Determinism

Clippings From the Press

GOING HOME

Perhaps you have heard the remark, or made it yourself: "These radicals are strong for socialism over here. But you never notice any of them going back home to the countries where Socialism is actually established." Now comes the Savings Bank section of the American Bankers' Association with the report that more than 1,300,000 foreign-born residents of this country have either gone back home or are preparing to go, in answer to the call of the Bolshevik. Does the Savings Bank section rejoice? No. It calls the situation "alarming." For it seems these people are drawing their money from the banks, selling their liberty bands and houses and preparing to take with them an actual four-fifths of the total currency in circulation and in reserve in the United States before the war. "This is certainly serious," says the statement of the Savings Bank Section. What ought a good patriot to do about it?—New Republic, April 19.

Note: The "Stay in America League" has already been organized.

"The man who goes out to fight for his country is a brave Briton; the man who comes home to fight for his missus is a bloomin' Bolshevik."

"I am not a Bolshevik. A Bolshevik owns his own land. I own none."—Casey, in the labor Leader.

"Socialism has never succeeded." Mr. Bonar Law told the women workers.

"It has never been tried," one of them retorted.

"It is not succeeding in Russia," said Mr. Law.

How does he know? And if it is not succeeding in Russia why will not Bonar Law and his kind allow a Socialist mission to go to Russia to see what is happening there? Socialism is probably succeeding so well in Russia that either it must be suppressed or the facts of its success must be kept secret.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY?

General Hoffman, head of the German delegation at Brest-Litovsk and who translated the oily words of the Austro-German diplomats into the brutal language of the sword, testifies in an interview with a correspondent of the New York "Globe" and the Chicago "Daily News" that, "Germany was not beaten on the western front. Neither Marshal Foch nor Field Marshal Haig nor General Pershing defeated the German armies. Germany was defeated by an upstart named Lenin.

"You ask me what I consider lost the war for Germany. My answer is **Bolshevism**. I will tell you the exact moment that marked the beginning of the end. It was when General Ludendorff telephoned me at the headquarters on the eastern front from France to sign peace—peace with any Russian able to write his name.

"But immediately upon signing with the Bolsheviks we discovered that we had been conquered by them instead of having conquered them. **Our victorious army became rotten with Bolshevism. Our military machine became the printing press of Bolshevik propaganda. We did not dare to send a corps of the German Bolsheviks to the western front. What is worse: thousands of Bolsheviks entered Germany. It was Lenin and the Bolshevik propaganda that defeated Germany, undermined our morale and stirred up the quack Socialists in the country.**"

Replying to the rather naive question of the correspondent as to whether the German military machine was harmed by Scheidemann's "Socialistic propaganda," General Hoffman answered:

"No! Scheidemann was all right. Russian agents did it and German fanatics like Liebknecht."

SOCIALIZATION OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

We read that there is a movement among the cotton "hands" in favor of taking the whole manufacturing business out of the hands of the employers and socializing it, like the mines and the railways, in the interests of the whole community. High time this should be done. The history of the manufacture of cotton in Lancashire is a foul disgrace, not only to Great Britain, but to humanity at large. Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century the conditions of the workers in the cotton industry were more abominable than decent slave-owners would have permitted under chattel slavery. The fortunes of the wage-slave drivers of Lancashire were built up, in the first instance, by the wholesale sacrifice to the Moloch of capitalism of children of tender years. When they were prevented by law from this immolation of babes they still refused to look upon men and women and half-timers as other than their natural victims. Things are little better today. Let those who doubt it go and examine the principal towns of Lancashire.—Justice, April 3.

FRANCE

The protest of the French Confederation Generale du Travail against the League of Nations Covenant is a serious matter. The G. G. T. corresponds to the American Federation of Labor in this country, and its support is vital to the league. But the G. G. T. has placarded Paris with this declaration: "Our diplomats offer us a project of a League of Nations which is not the Society of Nations such as was described in the fourteen points of President Wilson. . . . The French working class, faithful to its conception of a war on war, rises against the sabotage of peace."—New Republic, April 19.

THE SAME GOAL

Charles E. Hughes predicts downfall for Bolshevism in Russia and says "it does not deserve to be counted even as socialism." But is he warranted in making this prediction or correct in his description of the movement. Lenine has been in power for nearly two years and can claim to lead "the oldest popular administration in Continental Europe." Premiers and cabinets of long-established governments have come and gone while this grim revolutionist has held undisputed control. What chance is there that he will be overthrown if his followers see him treating on equal terms with other powers and are told that revolution is spreading all over the world? To say that Lenine, in his objects, is anything but a Marxian international socialist seems to us to misread his writings. In advocating dictatorship by the proletariat—that is, the workmen of the cities—as the original step toward, first, the "emancipation" of the peasant population, and later a general leveling, he is in accord with the great genius, Karl Marx, who gave form to modern socialism. If his end is a simple communal state practically without laws, he does not disagree with the writings of Friedrich Engels—Marx's "right hand"—or with the dream of other socialist philosophers. The difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism as it appears in the works of the two schools is almost entirely a difference in immediate practical methods of bringing the proletarian dictatorship about. Lenine is for the "direct method," for violent domination; the others for orderly political processes. It is no surprise to learn from Simeon Strunsky, who looks upon socialism with the indulgent eye of a good-humored student, that the Socialist Conference at Berne was overwhelmingly against the ways of Bolshevism. But so were the liberals of the world against the methods of the French revolutionists, who nevertheless almost broke the heart of Europe before their madness came to an end.—Collier's Weekly.

ART UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKS

The general impression conveyed to the reader of the English Press is that the Bolshevik regime is one of sheer destructiveness; that art has perished and morals gone entirely by the board. The lie about the marriage law has been sent all round the world, and though now admitted by the New Europe to be a lie, the mischief has been done. Now we learn on unimpeachable authority that life in Moscow provides more aesthetic pleasures than London: Chaliapine is singing nightly to packed houses in opera—French, German, Italian, as well as Russian; the ballet is in full swing; and on any evening in the week the theatres offer a wide choice of classical and modern plays—Shakespeare and Moliere, as well as Tchekov and Gorki. Moreover, in Petrograd the Hermitage and Alexander III. museums are now more full of pictures than they ever were before. They are well looked after, no pictures have been stolen or damaged. On the contrary, many people have sent to these galleries the best works out of their own private collections. As regards the terrifying statistics given as to the decline in the population of Petrograd it should not be forgotten that it has long been the deliberate policy of the Russian Government—a policy attempted by Kerensky, unsuccessfully, and carried out, successfully, by the Bolsheviks—to induce the inhabitants of Petrograd to evacuate.

WOMEN WANT WORK, NOT DOLES

We heartily congratulate all connected with the women's deputation to Mr. Bonar Law upon the stand they have taken on behalf of women who want to do good and useful work for the community, instead of receiving official doles in order to keep them quiet. That is the right spirit. Work for ALL: Overwork for none. The numbers of unemployed are mounting up by leaps and bounds.—Justice.

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

FOREWORD

Wilfred R. Humphries, a bright, mentally alert, young fellow, hailing originally from Manchester, Eng., met me in the office of the Seattle Daily "Union Record." I had heard of his projected lecture for Seattle, which he was to make a few days later, assisted by lantern slides made from photographs taken by himself and others. Knowing that it would be impossible to come to Canada, yet realizing the value of the material he carried, I pressed for an interview—"if you are not too tired through travelling," I suggested.

"Oh, no!" said he, "I will only be too pleased."

The simplicity of his story and the calmness, yet earnestness, with which he gives his facts; the quick response to any and all questions, make him a most valuable addition to small, yet growing, coteries of enthusiastic apostles of a much-maligned and traduced working class Russia. It is impossible to record all the information he imparted, nor the vivid impressions he made.

This series of articles is based upon the actual interview, supplemented by other written matter which he passed over to me in answer to many questions.

"You have met Lenin, Trotsky, Kollantay?" I asked, almost as soon as we were introduced. "Yes," he replied, "and Kollantay is a most remarkable, a most wonderful woman." "Did you see the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly?" was my next query. "Yes!" and here he laughed as though the recollection amused him. "I saw the big Lett sailor place his hand on Chernoff's shoulder and tell him that it was time to go home to sleep, that the guards were tired and they had talked long enough."

He told me of the confident smile that Lenin wore and how, having been up all the previous night—he laid himself down beside the presidium while Mensheviks and others saviours of the bourgeois order talked and talked as though Russia's economic salvation depended on mere volubility. Then I got from him, as already stated, the following story. It is not presented in the order in which I got it, but as best suits, in my opinion, the purposes of this series.

Means of Propaganda, Correction of Mistakes and Attitude Toward America

"I reached Moscow," said Humphries, "just as Kerensky was being overthrown and the Russian army was breaking up. The people felt that Kerensky had failed to represent them; he hadn't got at the fundamental problems related to the distribution of the lands and the control of the industries. He had kept too close to the old order of things, that the people were determined to overthrow. The troops were glad to quit because they were sick and tired of the war and because they had never understood what in the world they were fighting for."

What Kind of Propaganda Was Put Out by the Soviets and How Did They Manage to Get It to the Germans

"The pamphlets and leaflets were taken over to Germany by airplanes and were smuggled across the border at night by Russians who had formerly been prisoners in Germany during the fraternizing period. Then, too, the Russians did a lot of work among the Germans by distributing pamphlets that consisted largely of illustrations, with very little reading matter, the kind the simplest peasants could understand. They also sent material that would appeal to the trained Socialists. I have amongst my effects a picture of the build-

ing that used to be occupied by the German embassy in Petrograd. Could I show it to you now you would observe that the windows are boarded up, and that a big banner hangs from the side containing the words of Karl Marx, 'Workers of the World, Unite.'

"Those words, by the way, are quoted again and again all over Russia, often with the words that belong with them, 'You have nothing to lose but your chains.' The revolutionists were great believers in propaganda. They Bolshevized the two million and a half Austrians and the half-million Germans that were interned in the Russian prison camps. They didn't rely on spoken and printed appeals alone. They gave the prisoners good treatment. It included plenty of freedom. They also let the prisoners see for themselves the constructive work the Bolshevik government was doing.

"One consequence was that when the German military commission came to Russia to arrange for the transfer of the German prisoners they decided to take back only the officers. They knew the officers were close to the military system and hard to convert. They didn't want the common soldiers to spread the Bolshevik spirit through the army. In fact, while I was in Russia I learned that the German authorities wouldn't tolerate any reference to the revolution whatsoever."

What Was the Feeling Generally of the Russian People to America?

"They trusted her. They greeted all Americans over there cordially. They thought we understood them. They thought we'd let them try their great experiment. They were very happy over the reference that President Wilson made in the fourteen points to the treatment of Russia by her sister nations during the months to come as the acid test of their sincerity. Gradually it dawned upon them that even President Wilson's own country was not going to meet this acid test very successfully. It was a blow to them when America intervened. They had plans for trade development with the U. S. They had decided not to allow goods made by cheap labor in the Orient to come into Russia. They wanted to import large quantities of machinery and goods, all of which they insisted should bear the union label."

But Didn't the Russian People Make Some Blunders?

"Yes; at the beginning of the revolution they made the mistake of swinging too violently from centralization to decentralization. They wanted to get democracy just as close to the people as they possibly could. One result was that there was a certain amount of confusion in the management of affairs; too many committees: You would get distracted appealing from one to the other. Very quickly, however, the Russians in power saw their mistakes and made corrections. And they have succeeded in winning over many of those who opposed the revolution. The novelist, Maxim Gorky, for instance, when he saw what was being done in the way of constructive social work, ceased his opposition. He is now an active force in the new government and he has been made commissar for the people's education."

Next Issue: No. 2—Land Policy, Attitude Toward Co-operation, Desire to Fight German Imperialism, and Offer Made to Allies.

COMPETITION IN THE WORLD MARKET

A few weeks ago there appeared in a Manchester, Eng., paper, an advertisement offering Japanese cotton goods in the British cotton-opolis. Another Manchester paper drew attention to this advertisement, and pointed out the seriousness of this threatened competition.

The Wrongs of Egyptian Peasants

AN APPEAL TO LABOR AGAINST THE CRIME—By DR. L. HADEN GUEST, M.C., L.C.C.—FROM THE "LABOR LEADER," APRIL 3

OF the many failures of the Executive Government of this country during the war, Egypt is one of the worst.

The whole Eastern question has been mismanaged.

India was treated with contempt in the early days, and her sons refused either commissions or the right to serve along with other British subjects.

Then there was the terrible disaster of the operations in Mesopotamia, conducted by the Government of India; the almost equally bad disaster of Gallipoli; and then, the chronic disaster of the maltreatment of the Egyptians, with its result—the present rebellion. The blight of incompetent officialism is on the East and it seems worse in Egypt than in India.

The Executive Government might have saved the situation had they wished, but now, when they have failed, labor must take up the responsibility and help those who are too weak to help themselves.

The Cause of the Revolt

The facts are briefly these:

On December 18, 1914, Egypt was formally declared a British protectorate, and we became entirely responsible for its government and administration. We declared Hussein Kamil to be Sultan (no longer Khedive), and he has since been succeeded by the Sultan Fouad, who is reigning at the present moment. But the Sultan of Egypt only takes important action on the advice of the High Commissioner representing H. M. the King. Sir Reginald Wingate was appointed to this office on January 1, 1917, but is now in England, and all power at the moment is in the hands of General Allenby, who is virtually dictator.

During the war Egypt has been under exceedingly severe military restrictions amounting to a very large measure of martial law, and governed on the civil side by the fiat of the High Commissioner and of the military by the orders of the General Officer in Command of the Forces in Egypt.

The High Commissioner receives his orders from the Foreign Office and the G. O. C. from the War Office. The Home Government, therefore, is directly responsible for the executive acts of the civil and military sides of the Egyptian Government.

When it became necessary during the war to raise a large body of men for transport duties, road-making and other work on the lines of communications of the army in Egypt recourse was naturally had to the men on the spot, the Egyptian Fellaheen.

The Egyptian Fellaah, or peasant, of whom there are about 11,000,000 in all Egypt, is a simple, laborious, almost entirely illiterate, man. The vast number of these people are Mohammedans, and they live in the little villages of mud-hovels and in the small towns and large towns of Egypt all along the course of the Nile.

Their living depends on their daily work in their fields; they are intensely conservative and home-loving. So big a factor is this in their character that there are practically no Egyptian sailors, the voyage even to Greece taking them too long away from their homes. Their physical and mental character seems much the same now as 2,000 years ago. Besides the Fellaheen there are about 1,000,000 other people in Egypt, including all the Europeans, and this 1,000,000, who correspond roughly to the educated and propertied classes, include the small group of educated non-European Egyptians, who are "nationalists." To the peasantry our civil and military administrators turned for help when men were needed, and devised a plan of "voluntary" enlistment in the Labor Corps, Donkey Transport Corps or Camel Transport Corps, for service with the E. E. F.

Forced Labor for the Fellaheen

The period of enlistment was to be for six months (as-a-rule), the rate of pay good from the peasant standpoint, and food, clothing, blankets and tentage were also to be provided.

A certain number of men enlisted readily enough. Then there came a pause, and men were still required. Orders were then sent round to stimulate the recruiting, and eventually a press-gang method was established. A friend described to me how it was done.

A party of "recruiters" would go up to one of the little mud villages (many look like big ant-hills) and wait for dusk when the fellaheen would return from the fields. When they returned they were "rounded up" like cattle, and the suitable ones picked out and enlisted. If they refused to "volunteer" they were lashed with the Egyptian shorthide whip until they changed their minds.

There were boys of 14 taken and men of 70 or even over.

The medical examination, if any, was a farce, and men gravely ill were sent to do military duties. Once the men were enlisted discipline was maintained by the free use of the lash, and whippings were so common that a medical officer told off to oversee the administration of the punishment arranged to have his "sick parade" and his "whipping parade" at the same time, the whipping parade being quite near to his tent where he saw the sick, so that he could overlook both functions (with little agility) at the same time.

"They Died Like Flies"

The men received their pay regularly, I understand, but rations were often deficient, and clothing, blankets and tentage very often deficient. In the winter of 1917-18 Egyptians died like flies as the result of epidemics of typhus fever and other diseases, cold and insufficient food.

The medical arrangements for the men were entirely inadequate, and the sickness rate and death rate would prove interesting, if grim reading, if they could be obtained. Egyptians were treated so brutally in their own units that they were afraid to report sick, and those discharged as permanently unfit on medical grounds were not exempt from being recruited again by the next press-gang party which came to their village. Very frequently indeed also men were kept beyond the stipulated time of their contract service, and our word as Britons broken.

In addition to these raids on the homes of the fellaheen for men we also requisitioned nearly the whole of their donkeys and their camels—at any rate, all the good ones.

Of course, these animals were paid for, but the peasant cultivator could not make a few piastres do the work of a four-footed assistant. Also we bought up much food, and directly and indirectly, as a result of the presence of large bodies of troops in Egypt, the cost of living went up tremendously without a corresponding rise in wages.

Before November last the Egyptian papers even—which are censored as to practically every word by a semi-military official—were reporting riots around food stores and shops, where half a dozen people were killed. In Alexandria practically all the poorer classes were underfed—Egyptian and European alike.

Is it very remarkable, therefore, that we were hated and detested in Egypt, and that it was currently said that all Egyptians were pro-German?

What I have said hitherto is the economic social foundation of the "trouble."

But this has not contented our Imperialists. We have conquered Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Turkey—and been studiously mysterious and

vague about what we are going to do with these countries. Are we going to turn the Arabs out? That is a question which Egyptians of the highest standing could not get answered when they asked it of those in power. How, then, should the Arab in his village get an answer?

And the rumor ran from village to village, from camp to camp, of some vague disaster overhanging the Arab Moslem world from the infidel Frank world. Is it any wonder we lighted up religious fanaticism against us?

In the east "nationality" does not exist as it does in the West, and its place is taken in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and adjoining countries by the sentiment of religion. Men feel themselves one as Mohammedans. Egyptian nationalism is thus only the local expression of Near Eastern Mohammedan religious feeling—and the more dangerous for that reason.

Labor Must Act

The whole of the Near East is in a dangerous ferment. We have treated the Egyptians with gross injustice; we have not cared for their elementary human needs as it was our bounden duty to do; we have stirred up Mohammedan religious feeling against us; we are now playing the fatuous game of "high politics" with the destinies of races and continents as though they were card counters.

Let Labor insist on the immediate despatch to Egypt of a small commission armed with full powers to examine witnesses, report and act with the same rapidity as the Coal Commission has done. And let Labor insist on having half the members of that commission its own nominees, of which a proportion shall be Egyptians nominated by the Labor members after arrival in Egypt and consultation with the Egyptians there.

We cannot and do not trust the Foreign Office. We must have an open commission and a commonsense and humane settlement.

Not machine guns, but reason and humanity are needed. The Egyptians are men as we are men, and enjoy and suffer as we enjoy and suffer. They are weak and unorganized; many, nay, most, are illiterate and unlearned in ways of governments and rules of diplomacy—let us then of the Brotherhood of Labor take these younger brothers under our protection, and say to the government: "Give these men justice and reparation for wrong. They are our brothers, and we fight for them as we fight for ourselves."

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