

THE RED FLAG

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FIVE CENTS

Ernst Haeckel, Scientist---An Appreciation

WITH the death of Ernst Haeckel, we have the usual flood of ignorant vaporings from the Capitalist Press. Editorial comment whenever anything unusual happens in the scientific world illustrates the abysmal ignorance of the average bourgeois in matters scientific. They are now commiserating Haeckel on his ill fortune in not dying four or five years ago. Then his illustrious fame would not have been dimmed by his action in supporting the Central Powers in the recent world madness. Of course, they cannot but admit his service to science, but unlike the true-born British scientist, he went "further than the facts warranted."

Haeckel has perhaps roused the ire of the orthodox more than any scientist of the last century; and his "Riddle of the Universe" created more than apprehension in the sheep fold of the Lord. This was not because of the matter and method of treating the subject, so much as the instantaneous popularity of the work. Published in 1899, the entire issue of ten thousand was sold in a few months, and the English translation sold over one hundred thousand of the cheap edition in one year. This in itself was sufficient to condemn the author, and the more so because the book contained the latest facts of science, and made a deliberate attack on the dualistic method of thought.

When in 1905, after the death of Virchow, Haeckel's great opponent, he was invited to speak in Berlin, and delivered his three lectures entitled, "Last Word on Evolution", his last of the three on "Ideas of Immortality and God," caused a five-days' sensation. Several sentences of this lecture appeared to foreshadow a change in religious ideas and the word went forth that the great German Darwinist had returned to the orthodox fold. Such expressions as "Orthodox historical Christianity is not directly destroyed by modern science but by its own learned and zealous theologians," (emphasis original); "Our Monistic system, 'the connecting link between religion and science,' brings God and the world into the unity in the sense that Goethe willed, that Spinoza clearly expressed long ago, and Giordano Bruno had sealed with his martyrdom." The concluding sentence especially bids the God-blighted human rejoice: "The will of God is at work in every falling drop of rain and every growing crystal, in the scent of the rose and the spirit of man."

Small wonder the froth-fed fanatics who never look deeper than the surface whereon floats their favorite food, saw reason for hope. Their triumph was short-lived, however; Haeckel was only waxing poetical. Amidst all the rhetoric the stern facts of science still proclaimed God to be "a gaseous vertebrate" and the soul "attenuated ether."

Had Haeckel been desirous of the praise of a vanishing priesthood, or its ignorant and feeble following, he should have died in 1905, and let his lecture go as it looked. They would have done the rest; for no child ever contented itself more with make-belief than does your orthodox Christian! An

ambiguous sentence or garbled quotation from an eminent scientist is worth more to them than the signs and wonders that converted Constantine of Rome or Saul of Tarsus. No medical monk hawked with greater glee the spurious relics of Christ and the Madonna, than does the Great Lying Press the metaphysical madness of a Lodge or a Russell.

Haeckel was jealous of his fame as a scientist, and unless mankind undergoes a complete change, that peculiar mental affliction which prompts great men to seek renown in future ages will never suffer. His tremendous labors in his special fields of zoology and embryology will command the attention of mankind, long as the written word remains a factor in human affairs. And outside of a few ignorant priests or editors, no one will ask what he thought of the past war, or what he did during its course. No Frenchman today remembers that Goethe fought against France in 1792, yet what man of France would care to admit ignorance of the authorship of Faust? Nor yet could a German confess having never heard of that monumental human achievement, "The Mechanism of the Heavenly Bodies," but the fact would fail to recall that other fact—Laplace was a minister of Napoleon the Great, at the same point of time.

The death of Haeckel, however, recalls the statement of his translator, Joseph McCabe, written in 1905: "For him (Haeckel) the red rays fall level on the scene and the people about him. It may be that they light up too luridly, too falsely, the situation in Germany; but the reader will understand how a Liberal of Haeckel's temper must feel his country to be between Scylla and Charybdis, between an increasingly clear alternative of Catholicism or Socialism, with a helmsman at the wheel whose vagaries inspire no confidence."

And that is a matter of interest to us.

Haeckel, as he himself has said, was "wholly a child of the nineteenth century," and had determined with its close to draw the line under his life's work. That he did not we have reason to rejoice, for his "Wonders of Life" was written in the twentieth, and his metaphysical morality regarding the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, might charm the hearts of a few sentimentalists, but can never blotch his life's work.

Far other might be said of other children of the nineteenth century; Blatchford and Hyndman, for instance, who spent that century raving against the evils of Capitalism, and reserved this century to bolstering up the conditions they professed to abhor. Plechanov and Kautsky might also have done well to have set a period at their life's work when last century closed. It is said that a wise choice of birth would go far to make a man, and for those who regard the good wishes of posterity as vital, a long life will go far to marring one.

But about Scylla and Charybdis. Virchow, the discoverer of cellular pathology, was the master of Haeckel at Wurtemberg University, at first a professed Darwinist and Monist, he became a reactionary, which Haeckel charges in his lecture, "Ideas

of Immortality and God," partly to his (Virchow's) psychological metamorphosis, and partly to political motives. . . . It might interest the priests and editors to learn that Darwin, whom they profess had true British caution and regard for truth, said of Virchow, "his conduct is shameful and I hope he will some day feel the shame." Those who are acquainted with Darwin's writings will realize how strong a censure lies in these few words.

Well then, four years after the Paris Commune, of 1875, the Gotha Congress united the German Socialists and in 1877 the Socialist vote in Germany reached almost half a million. In the same year Virchow made a bitter attack on the theory of Evolution, declaring that "Darwinism leads directly to Socialism." The scientific fat was in the fire with a vengeance, the halls and the magazines of science reeked of it. Haeckel was the champion of Darwinism. The battle raged lustily. Schmidt declared that Socialists, if wise, "would do their utmost to kill, by silent neglect, the theory of descent, for that theory most emphatically proclaims that the Socialist ideas are impractical." Haeckel said, "as a matter of fact there is no scientific doctrine which proclaims more openly than the theory of descent, that the equality of individuals toward which Socialism tends, is an impossibility." Of course, Socialists, far from taking the advice of these protagonists of evolution, heartily embraced, and strongly propagated this theory which was supposed to spell disaster to their ideas.

Then came the Anti-Socialist Laws, and in 1881, the Socialist vote fell to three hundred thousand. Science, please God, was saved, likewise Society. But Gott in Himmel, (I trust this is not treason) 1884 saw over half a million votes for Socialism, in spite of the fact that Socialists were outlaws. Seeking no mercy, this fact might, nevertheless, commend itself to the police magistrates of Winnipeg, and elsewhere for that matter.

So Virchow cut the painter and boldly entered the camp of Rome. Very sad. But this vale of tears is full of sadness—and Socialism. And we see that a scientist who should be as careful of his scientific integrity as a maiden of her chastity, who should follow truth, even into the Auto-da-fe, and beyond, braving the terrors of hell and the wrath of a crazy and jealous God, that the truth might prevail, yea, even this man "blows now east now south" as the Socialist vote waxeth and waneth. But Virchow and Haeckel might rest in peace. Whether the German Ulysses be swallowed by Charybdis or consumed by scylla beyond all recognition: the power to build rests with the working millions alone, and from their dire need will arise a new world, in which, as with Ulysses, we shall see that no unseemly idlers waste our substance and corrupt our maidens and youths, and in that new world, Germany will doubtless be remembered, because Haeckel lived there when it was so named. Because of men like him, other parts of that old world shall also be remembered in the new, and their names "clothed in honorableness." J. H.

The Soviet Idea in Germany

(Extracts from an Article in the "New Republic," August 6, by H. N. Brailsford.)

The Left had its own clear and decided idea of the function and future of the Councils. It intended that they should remain a class organization in the broad meaning of that word. Every genuine worker, including the salaried employer and the professional man, should have a vote for them, but no employer, no rentier, none who lived by the toil of others. I heard a debate on the draft of a new formal constitution in the Berlin Soviet during May. Some of the marginal cases were rather curious. The Left was quite ready, for example, to enfranchise doctors in ordinary practice, but it wanted to exclude doctors who make a living by keeping sanatoria in which they "exploit" the labor of junior doctors and nurses. The Right wished to include even the employer if he were himself active as manager and organizer; but in the Berlin Soviet, as it is today, the Left is dominant. The real driving forces of the movement, the extreme "Independents" like Daumig and Richard Muller, and of course the Communists, regarded Parliamentary institutions as obsolescent. They meant sooner or later to make Germany a "Rate-Republic;" in other words, to suppress the rival institutions and to make the Rate (Councils) the sole legislative and executive authorities. Any compromise they regarded as purely transitional.

For the moment the idea of compromise has won. The one permanent result of the March general strike was that the government promised to give the Workers' Councils a definite place in the German constitution. As yet, the scheme agreed upon between the Scheidemann cabinet and a delegation from the Berlin Soviet (in which at that time the "Majority" Socialists were leading) exists only in outline. It is a promise that the constitution shall recognize, or set up (1) Works' Committees representing all workers and employers in every factory, mine, etc. (2) Industrial Councils in every trade of the "Whitley" type to regulate the general conditions of production representing both employers and workers; (3) Chambers of work, representing employers, the professions and the workers of all trades in definite territorial districts; and (4) A Chamber of Work for the whole German realm, with a right of suggestion and consultation on all industrial and social-political legislation.

There is in this German compromise between the old forms of democracy with their basis in territorial representation and the new form with its basis in industry, a close parallel to the solution propounded even before the war, by our British Guild Socialists. The Germans have, however, reached their compromise mechanically. They find the state and the old form of democracy in existence, and they make terms with it but trouble themselves very little to assign it a suitable function. The Guild Socialist on the other hand does not merely tolerate or accept the "democratic" parliament; he regards it as the necessary representation of citizens regarded as consumers. His structure is no mere compromise; it is a recognition of the fact that the same person will act and vote somewhat differently, according as he is organized as consumer or producer. The German "Councils" movement, on the other hand, is thinking only of the worker as producer.

This interesting phase of social evolution in Germany was interrupted for a moment by the crisis over the terms of peace. The next few months will show whether it can be directed into the channels of a constitutional development. For my part, I am inclined to think that the class cleavage, sharpened intolerably by the miseries of war and the blockade, is too acute to admit of such compromises as the government or even Herr Kaliski propose. The Independents and the Communists scoff at the idea of any Chamber of Work in which the employing class has equal representation with the workers.

They are fanatically attached to the Council idea, not merely because it is a more supple and natural form of representation than the old territorial basis, but above all because it represents the worker to the exclusion of the capitalist. The Councils enter as no conventional "democratic" body can, into the worker's daily life. They give to every employee security against unjust dismissal. In them he acts with comrades in close association and to use them as a basis for political action also, is an inevitable development. The compromise is not yet accepted, and the power of the Left is growing. The tactical value of the Workers' Council for the Left is, firstly, that it brings together all the workers, no longer sundered in crafts and divided in trade unions, as a single class with a solid interest against capital as a whole, and secondly, that it can wield the weapon of the political strike. At bottom, it is, I believe, the acuteness of this class cleavage in Germany which explains the decay of Parliament. Parliament is neither a Workers' nor an Employers' Council, but a confused attempt to reflect the unity of a nation, where, in fact, unity no longer exists.

The compromise might, I think, stand a chance of success, if at the start some of the chief industries were already nationalized. If, for example the mines and the big metal concerns were represented among the employers on the Council not by profit-making companies but by the democratic state as owner then the two halves of the Chamber of Work would no longer reflect an unbridgible class cleavage. Under these conditions the Chamber of Work would tend to be a body specially charged with the duty of preparing the progressive socialization of industry and graduating the stages of public control over production. Evolution in the present condition of Germany can hope to cope with revolution only if it moves rapidly and visibly. The pace since November has been too slow primarily because the makers of the republic failed to realize that democracy is no longer for any living society an end in itself.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

LABOR'S ACTIVITIES.

(From the "Dial," July 26.)

As labor in Europe and elsewhere resorts to industrial action to effect political ends, it seems as though the world might discover, in the years ahead, where and how, in the interest of a progressive civilization, political action can be put to use. While political government has served as a tool for the accomplishment of ends which are distinctly finite, it has figured traditionally among common people as a sacrosanct institution. They have been permitted in the most advanced communities to approach the institution at regular, stated, or convenient intervals with a paper offering which they might drop on the altar. This act of the common people constituted a state of affairs called democracy. Having just waged a war for the continuation of this happy state, we are naturally shocked to find that the common people of Europe propose to regard the political machinery at the knocked down valuation to which it has been reduced. There are methods of handling this machinery more realistic than the ballot, and some of these methods are open to the common as well as the uncommon man. All may play the game of hold-up in one way or another. The workers have been loth to use their power, but they have discovered as a result of the war that if their participation in the affairs of common life is to be more than a myth they must accept the terms which others have set up. The game is crude, but the crudity did not become apparent until it threatened to become common. As a matter of fact as labor succeeds in opening up the game for common use and advertising the crudities of political methods there will be a chance, for the first time in the history of political government, to discover how far political machinery can serve political, that is common, interests.

SIBERIA.

(From the "Dial," July 26.)

Weeks pass and the case of Kolchak V. the Soviets drags on interminably. John A. Embry, sometime United States consul at Omsk, reports wholesale killing in the region where the White Terror and the Red overlap—killing for which the Bolsheviki are responsible, Mr. Embry says (New York Times, July 1.) Upon being questioned, the witness states that he now represents a firm of exporters and importers with headquarters at the capital of the Kolchak Government! Comes then one Joshua Rosett sent into Siberia by the Committee on Public Information, a branch of our government not yet suspected of pro-Bolshevist tendencies. This witness testifies that Kolchak broke up the Zemstvo government in Siberia, suppressed free speech and free press, and "exiled or murdered every member of the Russian Constituent Assembly upon whom he could lay his hands," (New Republic, July 9;) the Admiral's method of dealing individually with the members of the Assembly will appear very ingenious when it is remembered that the majority of these persons are now of the Bolshevik persuasion. In a confidential dispatch from the Far East, Arthur Bullard, another representative of Mr. Creel's Committee, says that "allied support of Kolchak's experiment in reaction is a feature regrettable," (The Nation, July 19.) Thus the volume of testimony grows; spectators come and go, wondering casually what the final outcome will be, blind to the fact that those who sit in high places have already given a verdict and that the executions are in progress. Russia asks for bread and receives—whiffs of grapeshot. Typhus and cholera are raging, but medical supplies are denied and material of this sort shipped by the Danish Red Cross is turned back by the Allied forces. The formalities of a trial are superfluous when starvation and the plague are already guiding the hand of "justice" to the throat of the Russian people.

CAPITALISM AND TEACHERS' PAY.

(From the "Christian Science Monitor.")

The other day, outside the class room, in a friendly conversation touching on salaries and prices, a professor in one of the leading American universities was heard to say, "Well, they haven't raised my pay any during the war. My income is just what it was before." And in spite of a half jocose manner, he was thereby stating a fact that is of serious importance to the people of the United States. Notwithstanding the numerous increases common in so-called wage-earning classes, notwithstanding the general understanding of the fact that the cost of living has gone up 60 to 70 per cent. since 1914, the educators of the country have been, to a large extent, left with their incomes just about where they were when the war began.

In this same period, Capitalism has had its innings. United States Treasury Department figures showing the percentage of net income to capital stock for the year 1917, as compared with the same for the year 1916, give some measure of the increase accruing to many lines of capital during the war. One can hardly believe that in some cases it was as high as 33,000 per cent. Yet that is the fact concerning steel. Similarly, the net increase in the return on money invested in the coal industry in the first year of the United States in the war was over 6900 per cent.; in theaters and motion picture shows, 1437 per cent.; in groceries, 2032 per cent.; in warehousing, 4431 per cent.; in clothing and drygoods, 5293 per cent. Doubtless the money of teachers and university professors contributed to all these increases, yet the incomes of such people remained, in many cases, absolutely on a pre-war basis.

Ten Minutes' Talk With the Workers

The Insanity of Capitalism.

Nothing is more confusing to the average mind than the use of words having two or more meanings. More than two hundred years ago, a great philosopher called John Locke observed that much of the contention amongst men was largely due to the different meanings each attached to the same word. He set about, accordingly, to examine the reason for this, and finally put his conclusions in a book called "An Essay on the Human Understanding." Though it is a great many years since that book was written, it can even yet give quite a number of useful hints on how to arrange our thoughts. It will certainly be found useful in confirming what has been said at the beginning of this article upon the need for a clear understanding about the meaning of the words we use.

One word or term which you must have often seen used in the newspapers and books, and which may be employed in different senses, is the word Society. We may use the word in connection with "friendly" or "provident" purposes, or it may be used to mean the idle rich, who spend their useless lives in setting off their figures, sometimes merely to fill in their time and sometimes as a matter of convenience.

For the moment we want to direct your attention to the word Society as used in a politico-social sense. Used in that sense, Society is simply a single word to mean the whole of mankind's social activities, in a national or international group, and when we talk of the idle rich in Society, or the working class in Society, we are obviously thinking about the social relations of the classes.

Origin of Classes.

It is sometimes argued, especially by those who belong to the rich class, that the arrangement of Society, so far as class differences are concerned, has always been the same, but reference to good history books upon the industrial and social life of the people will teach you different. From these records of how our forefathers lived, you will learn, especially when you go very far back, that there was a time when men did not work for a master as you do now, who were not summoned from bed with the call of a hooter to spend the best part of the day inside horrid foundries, chemical works and factories that they might get the wherewithal to live. With the growth of the idea of private property, however, Society is ripped in two. Finally, we come to a time when a few people own the various things necessary for the maintenance of social life, while another class, forming the large majority of the people, such as the class to which you belong, is absolutely dependent upon the few for its livelihood.

Since the beginning of this cleavage into classes, with their opposition of interests, social progress has been shaped and colored by the struggle for power between these contending groups. This is a very important principle to keep in mind, since newspaper writers, politicians and others, posing as scientific scholars, would have you believe that rich and poor alike formed one happy family with common interests.

The Social Contrast.

Living in one of our moderate-sized industrial towns, you must have noticed this contrast between what is called the East End and the West End. You will have noticed that the man in overalls, corduroys, or moleskins, is seldom seen coming from the West End in the early morning, with his "butty" or "piece" tied up in a red handkerchief, and it must have crossed your mind at times, how strange it seems that those who do all the hard, dirty, and laborious work live in the squalid surroundings of the East End, while those in the West End, who are asleep when you go out of a morning, seem always to be better dressed, fed, and educated, and live in the best surroundings.

Taking the broad results, it seems curious how the more effort and social service you give to Society, as presently arranged, the less you get out of it. The machinery of Society seems out of gear, since the worker does not get what he is worth, but what, in conjunction with his fellows, he can force from his employer.

Another point worth pondering over here is the fact that these conditions are not confined to the British Isles.

Wage Slavery International.

All over the world, go where you will, you will find the same situation. Whether in India, China or Japan, France and Spain, America, Canada or Australia, it is the men and women belonging to the working class that does the world's work—planting tea, sowing corn, shearing wool, curing tobacco, building ships, houses, and so on. It is thus that Society today is maintained.

Like yourself, these things are not done by the workers in other lands because they love work; nor are they permitted to produce these things because employers love the workers, or because Society needs them. The mainspring of production is profit-making. Where that is broken production ceases. The working class only works for an employer in order to live.

Thus we get an explanation for all the various symptoms of insanity in our industrial and social life.

A grasp of this basic principle upon which our modern society rests explains to us the causes of the periodic failures both in the upper class and among your own people, which reminds us of the conditions of the jungle.

Social Wrecks.

Thus, if a particular individual in business fails, all his creditors are on his neck like a pack of wolves. If he has any "friends" anxious to help him, it is generally some astute member of the pack who sees a chance by giving him a lift to get a bit more out of him than otherwise. This "friendly lead" is characteristic in business, and goes far to explain the pretentiousness of commercialism. Even when it is a case like the Chepstow yards, not content with exploiting the war situation by boosting up National shipyards, thereby getting a sale for their inflated stock, our commercial sharks seek to cover up their knavery by giving a "friendly lead" to the engineering and shipbuilding unions, and seek to sell them a "white elephant."

If, on the other hand, a worker should by ill-health, unemployment, and a thousand-and-one ways common to working-class life, become so reduced as to be practically destitute, he is treated as a ne'er-do-weel, a pauper, and kicked about from pillar to post as a veritable leper or plague spot on Society.

Reform or Revolution.

You may not be very keen on political questions, but from what we have seen you will now be able to gather why our modern statesmen have a special interest in getting the workers to follow every will-o'-the-wisp they can conjure up before their eyes, and which is likely to divert their attention away from the real things that matter. Such statesmen are called reformers, but really they are more akin to "quack" medicine-men, who will offer you a cure for as many pains or aches as you can mention.

It is in dealing with this problem of the class antagonism that we have to make use of our talents. So far as reformism is concerned, it is merely a tinkering with things, and in reality a prolonging of the agony from which Society is laboring. Mr. Justice Sankey is its representative head at present. On the other hand, and at the other end of the pole, stands Lenin, the embodiment of social change; the surgeon that is cutting out this rotten cancer of capitalism, which is gnawing at the vitals of our social life.

It surely requires very little wit to distinguish between the Russian scientist and the British jerry-mander. What the working class needs is a little more confidence and self-reliance, both in themselves and their own class. With these qualities developed, many of the so-called problems of present-day Society will be seen to be what they in fact really are, figments of an inspired imagination.

T. B.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

"Soviet Russia," August 2.—Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in the United States has this to say:

"Our readers will remember, in the newspaper accounts of last week, the interesting statement that troops landed on the Western shores of the Caspian Sea, in the rear of the "advancing" army of Denikin, were partly responsible for his "again" retreating. The retreat of counter-revolutionary generals is in itself so desirable a consummation that one is sometimes tempted to forget the tremendous implications contained in the causes assigned for such retreats. To land troops on the shores of the Caspian Sea requires a covering of the transports by means of naval vessels, and the naval vessels in this case must have been torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. They were brought from the Baltic Sea across the whole expanse of European Russia, by waterways deepened and improved by engineers working for the Soviet Government. In December, 1918, when the city of Kazan was taken by the Soviet troops from the counter-revolutionary forces, the assault on the city had been considerably strengthened by small naval craft brought from the Baltic Sea for the purpose, as will be seen from the following extract (found in No. 1 of the "Weekly Bulletin" of our Information Bureau, now no longer published) from an official report on the improvement of ways and communications in Soviet Russia:

Dredging and deepening operations were carried out on the River Svir, at the point of its emergence from Lake Ladoga.

The channel of the River Svir was considerably deepened, thus greatly facilitating the means of communication over this waterway, the importance of which, both for the military and the merchant fleet, will be evident when we consider the fact that the River Svir connects the Baltic Sea, through the Neva and the Tikhvin Canal System, with the Volga.

The carrying out of these dredging operations on the Svir permitted the sending from the Baltic to the Volga, immediately after their completion of a naval flotilla consisting of the mine-layers "Grozny," "Ryeshitelyny," and "Bystry" (Dangerous, Resolute, Speedy,) 7 squadron-mine-layers, 4 simple mine-layers, 4 submarines and 3 supply-ships, which distinguished themselves by the splendid role they played in the taking of the city of Kazan by the Soviet troops.

"If Soviet vessels of war got as far as Kazan, there was no difficulty in getting them to the Caspian Sea, by simply steaming down the Volga. And that they are there is confirmed also by the seizure of counter-revolutionary documents on a steamer bearing a messenger for Kolchak, which was reported in last week's "Soviet Russia." We can only regret that the engineering talents of the Soviet Government, and much of its labor force, are at present being diverted to military ends; but our regret is tempered by the consideration that the military condition is very promising and that after the Soviet Government has defeated all its enemies, it will be able to display to the world greater progress in peaceful organization than is possible among them."

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Progress of the Trials

THE preliminary trial in Winnipeg of the labor officials who were arrested in connection with the late strike, is now finished, and they are all committed to stand trial at the assizes in October.

According to a press despatch, the prisoners may not be allowed out on bail as it is stated the government fear they may foment further labor unrest which might result in a strike in October. If bail is refused they will stay in gaol for two months awaiting the second trial. However, the lawyer for the defence has still hopes for securing bail.

As to the fear of a strike in October, we are at a loss to account for that, except that the government is afraid of the people hearing the prisoners side of the case. Is the government's case so weak that it fears the bar of public opinion? Be that as it may, we know this, that the people of Canada and the rest of the English speaking world have not been placed in possession of the case for the defence. That has been, by sabotage, suppressed by the capitalist press, which has on the other hand taken extreme care to feature the case for the prosecution. In doing that, however, it serves its own interests and that of the class who control it, and not the interests of the people. The people require the truth, or if not that, then both sides of the matter so that by comparison they may judge. For, we hold that the people are the last and final court of appeal on matters of political moment. And of such a nature are the offences charged against these officials of organized labor. Is the government afraid of the test?

In addition to the press reports of the court proceedings having been manifestly one-sided, the progress of the trial has, unchecked by shame or public authority, been accompanied by slanderous imputations in editorials and other press comments deliberately constructed to prejudice the public mind against those awaiting trial. And more, there is not the least hope that this malign propaganda will cease.

It is the function of a ruling class to rule. The Bourgeoisie, having the power, are using it. We expect them to do so. As socialists, our function is to show them doing it, and why and how they do it.

The trial in Vancouver of a number of Russians under the amended Immigration Act continues. Only two cases, we believe, have been tried so far. We do not know how far we may be allowed to comment on the proceedings of this case. It is certain we have not the free swing of the capitalist press. Suffice it to say that from the provisions of the Act itself down through the constitution of the Board of Enquiry right to the method of procuring evidence, equity, as generally understood, is conspicuous by its absence.

The amendment to the Act, under which these men are tried, was rushed through both houses of parliament unchallenged by either Liberals and Conservatives. An examination of its provisions shows beyond all question that it is susceptible of being used for the purpose of oppression and terrorism.

The members of the Board of Enquiry, vested with power to deport the prisoners, are mere im-

REAL WEALTH.

"The wealth of today does not consist in the superb mansions, inhabited by the privileged of society, nor does it consist in their costly apparel, or in the gold or precious stones of their jewelry, or in the heaps of goods peeping through the show windows of our great cities. All that as well as the coin and bullion in the trunks and safes form but an appendix or, so to speak the tassels and tufts, behind which the wealth is concealed—the rock on which our hope is built.

What authorizes the people to believe in the salvation from long ages of torture—nay, not only to believe in, but to see it, and actively strive for, is the fairy-like productive power, the prodigious fertility of human labor. In the secrets which we have wrung from nature; in the magic formulas by which we force her to do our wishes and to yield her bounties almost without any painful work on our part; in the constantly increasing improvements of the methods of production—in this I say, consist the wealth which can accomplish what no redeemer ever could." Dietzgen, in his philosophical essays.

The great danger to capitalism is free discussion.

Herbert Hoover, at a banquet in England, states that Europe could not survive twelve months at the present rate of productivity.

DO YOU WISH FOR AN AUDIENCE.

Articles are desired on the Socialist philosophy, or on current events interpreted in the light of its principles. Send them in.

migration officials, without that legal training necessary in the difficult art of sifting evidence or for deciding points of legal procedure. Every issue raised by the Council for the defence has to be referred by the board to its own Council, who, by the way, happens also to be, at the same time, the Crown Prosecutor.

Sir Samuel Romilly, a legal mind of the highest attainments, and a strenuous advocate in the 18th century for the reform of the British penal code, stated that "the laws of Britain were written in blood." The same brand of infamy will be stamped on this amendment to the Immigration Act should these men be handed over to the ruthless Siberian dictator Kolehak. Whatever the degree of guilt or of no guilt of these men, deportation is their death.

Were the workers of Canada worthy of the historic mission of their class, they would demand for these men an open and public trial by jury, and a strict and severe enquiry into the methods of procuring evidence against them.

In any event, we warn our readers against the carefully prepared reports in the capitalist press on the proceedings of this enquiry. The case for the prisoners, because they are tried "in camera," has not been placed before the people. Therefore, we ask suspension of judgment until this be done.

In conclusion, in the name of all the prisoners involved in prosecutions, in Vancouver, Winnipeg and elsewhere, we thank those who have sent in funds for their defence, and would urge that efforts for that purpose be not relaxed.

Take up collections at your union meetings, picnics and at the workshop.

Send all money and make all cheques payable to V. R. Midgley, Defence Fund, P. O. Box 879, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth avenue east, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, Room 12, Labor Temple, Winnipeg.

Contributions will be acknowledged through Labor and Socialist Press.

Lawyers for the defence in Vancouver, Bird, MacDonald & Earle.

The Plumb Plan of Nationalizing Railroads

Indorsement of Plumb Plan.

The statement, signed by the chiefs of the four brotherhoods and by the acting president of the railway employees department of the American Federation of Labor, was an indorsement of the so-called Plumb plan for railroad management, embodied in a bill introduced in the House of Representatives on Saturday by Thetus W. Sims, Representative from Tennessee, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee in the last Congress. The basic features of the bill may be summarized as follows:

1. Purchase by the government of all railroad systems on a valuation to be determined finally by the courts.
2. Payment for the properties by the issuance of government bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest.
3. Operation by a directorate of 15, five to be chosen by the president to represent the public, five to be elected by the operating officials and five by the classified employees.
4. Equal division of surplus, after paying fixed charges and operating costs, between the public and the employees.
5. Automatic reduction of rates when the employees' shares of the surplus is more than five per cent. of the gross operating revenue.
6. Regional operation as a unified system.
7. Building of extensions at the expense of the communities benefited in proportion to the benefit.

The inclusion of employees on the directorate is designed to check the evils of exclusive governmental operation which lay in the older "nationalization" plan.

The general adoption of the above plan would still leave capitalism in existence, with those features of it which threaten civilization even more intensified. There will still remain production for the world's market, competition in the disposal of products, the struggle for the control of the sources of raw materials and of territories for the reinvestment of surplus values. These were the basic factors which produced the late war with its millions dead and its aftermath of starvation blockades, and foreign military interventions.

The raising of sections of the workers into a co-partnership in capitalist industry simply means that they will then be directly interested in capitalist imperialistic aggressions. The conflicting interests will then be represented by groups more cohesive and powerful than heretofore with results not pleasant to contemplate. In the mass, men are dominated by material interests even although they may, unconsciously, raise them into moral ones. Let us have no illusions on that score. History proves it, and the working class have no monopoly of certain virtues, and can claim no immunity from those material influences any more than the capitalist class.

Subscriptions to the "Red Flag," \$1.00 for 20 issues.

DIED—COMRADE GEORGE BLOOMFIELD.

We regret to announce the death of Comrade Bloomfield, which occurred in the Vancouver General Hospital, Sunday, August 10. Though quiet and unassuming in character, he was one of the most earnest students and tireless workers in the movement. As a mark of regard to his many good qualities a few of his Comrades of Local Vancouver No. 1 S. P. of C. attended his funeral.

Clippings From the Press

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR.

The Central Congress of Organized Labor in South Africa has been sitting. The great problem there appears to be that of the relation of native labor to the organized white workers. Evidently, by the discussion the native labor is gradually encroaching on the white workers' monopoly of the skilled trades. This tendency is a serious menace to the standard of living of the whites. The question was raised of the admittance of native labor to the unions but met with strenuous opposition, especially from the miners. They have in some instances been already organized it seems, and it was advocated that they be thrown out.

However, in spite of the growing competition between the two elements, on the labor market there are still those who have the manhood to see beyond that basely materialistic struggle to one with a higher purpose.

We take the following from the "Christian Science Monitor:"

BLOEMFONTEIN, South Africa.—At the second day's sitting of the congress of the South African Industrial Federation, a notable speech was delivered by Mr. A. L. Clark of Durban, president of the National Union of Railway and Harbor Services. He said that what impressed him at the congress was that while they might be organized in their numbers they were not organized in their ideas and opinions. They should not part without appointing delegates to go up and down the country for the purpose of educating the workers. They must be organized whether British or Dutch, from the point of view of solidarity. There were only two alternatives, to go under or to get hold of the machinery of production so that they might control their own lives and abolish the rule of the capitalist class. So long as the wages system remained, so long would they be economic slaves. As a man who had been 40 years in the country he advised young trade unionists to act cautiously and wisely on the subject of the race question and study the commission on indigeneity's report which told them the standard of living in South Africa was three times as high as that in England and twice as high as in Australia. The report stated they had to come down to Kaffir level in the work of the country and so long as workers did not control their own industrial life it was just that degradation that the capitalist class would like to impose on them.

UNREST IN SIBERIA REPORTED.

LONDON, England.—A Moscow wireless message reports considerable unrest in Siberia and claims that there is an insurgent front extending from Tashkent in Turkestan to Nikolayevsk, and that insurgents are continually wrecking the troop trains. A further message states that an important Bolshevik detachment is advancing from North Siberia toward Tomsk.

PATRIOTS AT WORK.

Director of Factory Construction in Britain Tells of Graft by Employees.

LONDON, Aug. 10.—Sir John Hunter, director of factory construction and iron and steel production under the ministry of munitions, in the course of testimony before an investigating committee on national expenditures yesterday, said that in the erection of works for the air ministry, no man employed had earned the money he received.

These men numbered 70,000, Sir John declared, and in some cases wages were drawn regularly and charged to the government for men who did not exist. Sir John added that he had found a conspiracy of government men and contractors, saying some of them were arrested, but the crown declined to prosecute them.

MAY PROCURE COAL FROM GERMAN MINES.

LONDON, Aug. 4.—Coal will be brought from Germany this winter to relieve the acute shortage in Central Europe and reduce shipments from the United States, if the plans laid before the Supreme Economic Council materialize. The council today stated that a committee will meet with the reparations commission to evolve a plan by which immediate coal production will be made attractive to Germany.

In the opinion of the council's members this would mean a lessening of the reparation strain on Germany through other channels. In order to facilitate the delivery of coal the council even considered special inducements of clothing and food to the German miners to get them to work. This plan superseded a Central Europe control, discussed yesterday.

CASUAL COMMENT.

(From the "Dial," July 26.)

How often in the course of individual and collective history do love of war, love of power, love of woman, or of the several arts draw rich curtains of emotion between the intellect of man and those flat realities of life that seem so to cry out for study and appraisal! How much will a man endure from outrageous fortune if only his verses have occasional acceptance, or his lady smile once in a moon! For Baudelaire, one kind or another of inebriety is a necessity—to hide from men the bare bones of truth, unendurable to the eye. Just now, when the promises of religion are becoming daily less effective as palliatives for unendurable conditions, certain people who accept a full measure of religious comfort—being for the most part little in need of it—are engaged in a very energetic campaign to remove out of existence a cherished comforter which has helped for a long time to hold people of another sort in quietude. For the most part the church people do not want to see things generally upset, and yet here they are, depriving the workingman of his beer! Perhaps they do not understand the stabilizing effect of beer upon society, in which case Mr. Gompers of the American Federation of Labor will willingly supply the necessary data. The wobblers of the I.W.W. would also be willing to testify, though unlike Mr. Gompers, they have no vested interest in stability. It is even said that they accuse Mr. Gompers of bad faith, insisting that for the failing consolation of

Pie
In the sky
By and by

he is far too willing to substitute the amber joys of Beer
Right here.

ANOTHER HOPE (?)

(From the "Christian Science Monitor.")

BOSTON, Massachusetts.—Industries which can not pay their workmen a living wage must acknowledge their inability to do so and give over their field to the State, in the opinion of Frank P. Walsh, formerly chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission; and more recently of the National War Labor Board.

"The war has taught the lesson that no industry is fit to survive which does not recognize that every man in it is entitled by his own effort to a life in reasonable comfort and health. Whatever that may be, the industry must now pay; unless it can do so, and its production is necessary to any legitimate need of society, then the private owner must acknowledge his inability to render the called-for service to society and the State must conduct the operation."

WISHING TO UNITE.

(From the "Daily Herald," July 11.)

YORK, England.—A preliminary meeting of the Executives of the National Amalgamated Workers' Union and the National Union of General Workers has been held at the Station Hotel here, to consider how far it may be possible to amalgamate the two organizations, which are in touch on the subject with other organizations.

Should the amalgamation take place, the organization will be the largest in the country outside the Miners' Federation.

THREATENS "DRASTIC ACTION."

(From the Vancouver "Sun," Monday, Aug. 11.)

Once more is "drastic action" threatened against the profiteer. The United States Government has "taken the subject up in earnest," and congressmen are promising that something severe is going to be done, although, of course, the government "will not act hastily."

This is all very interesting. What it is likely to amount to in practice may be judged from the fact that one of the large American packing firms, (Swift & Co.), which has been convicted of sending adulterated milk to Alaska, has been fined a hundred dollars for the "error."

QUESTIONS AWAITING AN ANSWER.

If the Bolshevik Government must be overthrown by Allied intervention because it does not represent a majority of the Russian people, why did the Allies not intervene to overthrow the Tzarist Government which certainly was not representative? Instead of doing this, why did they ally themselves with it? Why did they make secret treaties with it to partition the territories of a foreign nation—Turkey? Will the kept press answer? We have been asking these questions a long time.

The red-light district of Petrograd has, under the Bolsheviks, disappeared. Alike in Hungary and in Moscow, the Socialist Governments have abolished the alcohol dope!

But, under Capitalism, Piccadilly thrives!

OUR LITERATURE.

The Communist Manifesto, at the rate of \$8 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Slave of the Farm . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

The Present Economic System, by Professor W. A. Bonger . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific . . Single copies 15 cents. \$13 per 100.

Wage Labor and Capital . . \$8 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Capitalist Production, being the first nine chapters of Vol. I. Marx's Capital . . Single copies, paper cover, 50 cents; cloth bound, \$1.00.

Ten Days That Shook the World, By John Reed, \$2.00.

Kolchak, Autocrat and Tyrant. The actual story of Kolchak and his methods told by an American official recently returned from Siberia. With this is included, Anti-Bolsheviks and Mr. Spargo, by William Hard. Taken, with apologies from the July 9 "New Republic" . . \$6 per 100. 10 cents per single copy.

Postage Paid.

Make all Money Orders payable to C. Stephenson, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.

Straws in the Wind

The phrase "Straws in the wind, show which way it is blowing," is often repeated without attracting more than passing notice.

Anyone who today is in the least cognizant of current events is conscious of the fact that the wind is blowing 'in torrent' and heavy laden with straws.

However, "Straws in the wind" is a metaphor implying consequence to incidents. The question arises as to how the correct consequence can be attached to these incidents or how the latter can be correctly interpreted. The Socialist Philosophy provides an efficient spectroscope for examining the nebula of Political Activities. By this means the following factors, "Straws" or incidents will be examined:

"Vancouver Province," 12-8-19; Secretary of State Lansing, admits in the United States Senate that he did not know that Japan had an agreement with Great Britain and Powers regarding Shan Tung. This is called the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. It seems like a Secret Treaty, and gives one the impression that it is not in harmony with the principles of "Self-determination of Peoples," "Open Diplomacy," "League of Nations," etc.

"Vancouver World," 11-8-19; Secretary of the United States Navy, Daniels, in a speech of wel-

come to huge United States Armada on its arrival in the Pacific, mentions the "Significance" of the incident stating that it has not come for a day but forever. "It will be a permanent defence against any possible aggression from any foreign foe." What possible foreign foe? Surely not so formidable a Naval Force is to be used against the Mexican Navy?

"Vancouver Province," 12-8-19. "24,000 workmen in arsenals of Tokyo threaten strike."

Twenty-four thousand workmen in arsenals of Tokyo, only. It is apparent that there is activity in Arsenals in the Orient. This can not be accounted for entirely by twenty odd wars going on at the present time for it is well-known that there were sufficient Arms, Equipment and Ammunition remaining at the signing of the Armistice to carry on a considerable amount of warfare for some time. The war market was glutted. It was reported in the United States Senate amid severe criticism that large numbers of United States Aeroplanes were burned. Explosions of ammunition dumps in areas of recent hostilities are frequent. It has recently been admitted in British House of Commons that Great Britain was providing large quantities of ammunition, arms, equipment, etc. to Denikin and Kolchak. The United States, according to the

"Vancouver World" of the 13th instant, is sending "45,000 rifles and several million rounds of ammunition to Kolchak and additional equipment would be forwarded on army transport from San Francisco this week." As it is stated that the prevalent unemployment is the result of the cessation of the arm and munition industry, it is apparent that these shipments are from stocks on hand. Glutted war market.

"Vancouver World," 13-8-19; "Grey accepts important post." "Often averted wars by unusual diplomatic talents."

This refers to post of British Ambassador at Washington. Why select an ambassador who has gained distinction in averting wars to represent us in the land of our staunchest ally. The ally who is bound by blood and kinship. This is striking in view of the reported retirement of Sir Edward Grey, from Diplomatic Service on account of approaching blindness. Reference to a standard reference work e.g., the "Encyclopedia Britannica" adduces the information that the Allies experienced friction in the Boxer uprising and that Great Britain offered, (threatened) to allow Japan full support of her treasury for Japanese co-operation in that venture.

The pound sterling in New York is quoted at from \$4.29 to \$4.34. The normal rate is \$4.86.6.

This is because the balance of trade is against Great Britain. That is Great Britain is indebted to the United States. This could only be paid by shipping British commodities to the United States. This can not take place, because Germany must pay the indemnity in commodities. That is, Germany supplies American wants gratis as an indemnity, and Great Britain can not compete with "Convict Labor." It will be recalled that the A. F. of L. was very active at one time in its history against "Convict Labor." How can A. F. of L. membership compete with German labor? This manifests the absence of an expanding market which is essential to capitalistic production as does the increasing number of unemployed. The unemployed will increase and the rate of exchange fail to respond to resuscitation as the German industries revive and as German goods supply the limited market. Recalling the depression prior to the world war, and the prosperity during the war, it seems as though wars make good markets if they are large enough. Considering the development of the machinery of destruction and production during the recent war the next war (which will take place, according to Sir Douglas Haig in a recent speech, in the Orient) would only provide a market of sufficient dimensions if it were on a large scale. The reader can draw his own conclusions from the foregoing but it is probable that there will be demand for workers who have acquired training as soldiers and sailors at some future date.

The following items are peculiar by their relative insignificance to the above. According to the "Vancouver World" of the 12th instant, the United States have protested to Mexico against certain agrarian legislation enacted by the Mexican State of Sonora, which is said to be detrimental to the United States interests. The same paper of the same date also reports that General Pershing has been recalled irrespective of his arranged visit to King Albert of Belgium. Is there work of greater importance that the exchange between the General and His Majesty? It may be that the United States does not approve of the action of Belgium in purchasing German goods in preference to American goods, particularly as Belgium can not offer no better reason than that German goods are cheaper than American products. However, a war with Mexico would not provide a market of very great dimensions and it does not seem logical to fight for what is already controlled.

Camouflage is an art which developed in the recent war and its adaptation to politics and diplomacy would be a simple matter if it could be beneficially adopted.

KINNEY.

Russian Raw Materials and American Business

(From the "Soviet Russia," August 2.)

Proof that the leading American firms desire to sell their wares to Soviet Russia was given in a previous issue of this magazine. Extracts from typical letters from the largest concerns in the country showed that American business men are ready and willing to meet to the limit of their capacity the urgent need in Russia for goods of foreign manufacture. Only the refusal of the United States Government to allow exports to Russia holds back the meeting of these powerful human and economic forces—Russia's need and America's desire.

But these are not the only forces that beat upon the walls of the Russian blockade.

Just as there is a banked-up reservoir of American manufactured goods ready to find its level in Russia's shortage, so there is a reservoir of surplus materials in Russia straining to find its level in demands of the United States. Just as the files of the Commercial Department reflect this situation in the desire of American business men to send their goods to Russia, so also do they show that American firms are eager to secure the vast supplies of raw materials which the Soviet Government as sole exporter for the Russian people has now on hand for distribution in foreign parts.

Russia has always had a trade balance in her favor. That is to say, she has exported to other countries more than she has imported from them. Russian trade has been an exchange of raw materials for manufactured products with the balance distinctly in her favor. Russia exceeds any other country in the world in the production of flax, rye, oats, hemp, barley, platinum and timber. She has exported vast quantities of these commodities as well as other materials produced in Russia on a large scale, such as hides, dairy products, bristles, licorice, sugar, wheat and other goods.

Previous to the war, Germany controlled 33 per cent. of all exports from Russia. A large proportion of these exports were re-exported from Germany to other countries, Germany acting as broker or middleman. German brokers with the aid of the Imperial Bank were, before the war, in a strategic position to finance Russian trade transactions. Now that the war is over, German interests are making strenuous efforts to resume their control of Russian

trade.

The nationalization of foreign trade by the Soviet Government has, however, enabled Russia to finance her trade in direct negotiations with buyers and sellers in other countries. German competition and the increased facilities for direct relations with Russia are an added stimulus to American trade at the present time.

In spite of the exhaustion due to the world war and to the utter disorganization of economic life, which the Soviet regime inherited from the Czar and Kerensky, and from the vast dislocation of revolutionary change, the Soviet Government in behalf of the Russian masses has accumulated large stores of these raw materials. They are piling up in Russian ports in increasing rates as the reconstruction of the country's economic machines proceeds and the Allied blockade keeps back their normal flow in export trade.

An official wireless dispatch in the latter part of May from the Soviet Government stated that large stocks of merchandise were then ready for exportation. Included amongst these, the dispatch stated, were over 3½ million poods (approximately 56,250 tons) of flax, hemp and other merchandise.

The following excerpts from the Soviet Bureau's files show the kind of demand among American business men for Russian raw materials.

(We have only space for one of the excerpts, Edit R. F.)

As 97 per cent. of the world's output of platinum is produced in Russia, American firms are especially anxious to buy this commodity from the Soviet Government, the sole Russian exporter. A leading manufacturing and importing chemical concern with headquarters in New York and branches in all the largest cities, writes as follows:

".....We are purchasers at all times of platinum and its allied metals....."

"If you have anything to offer in the line of platinum or iridium, we should be pleased to know what quantities you have and what prices could be made on arrival in New York....."

"If we can give you any further information regarding this matter, we will be only too pleased to reply to any communication you may address to us."

Bolshevik Russia and Jacobin France

(Extract from the "Dial," July 12.)

So far there has been little adequate appreciation of the spiritual kinship between the French and Russian Revolutions. Those who form their impressions of Soviet Russia from the testimony before the Overman Committee and similar sources naturally see nothing in the Bolshevik upheaval except a gigantic and altogether unparalleled outburst of criminal lunacy. Apologists and sympathizers with revolutionary Russia sometimes cite the French Reign of Terror as a precedent for the excesses of the Bolsheviks; but here their sense of historical resemblance seems to stop.

The characters of the Bolshevik and Jacobin leaders are generally cast in a common mold. With few exceptions they are men fanatically devoted to their ideals, reckless of their own lives and of the lives of others, supremely disinterested, and through this very disinterestedness devoid of pity for those whom they consider enemies of the revolution. Among them, as among the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, the most burning enthusiasm for a doctrinaire ideal is often combined with great shrewdness and practical sagacity. Coming down to specific examples, the resemblance between Lenin and Robespierre is unmistakable. The Russian is a devotee of Karl Marx; the Frenchman an ardent worshiper of Rousseau. Both men are characterized by inflexible will-power, and by a personal integrity that extorts the reluctant admiration of their bitterest enemies. Lenin has a more enlightened mind, a wider international background. Perhaps the best proof of his mental superiority lies in the fact that he has never fallen a victim to Robespierre's fatal delusion that terror is an effective means of securing the fruits of revolution. Yet in essential outlines the two types of character are quite similar. In the same way a forerunner of Trotsky appears in St. Just, the fiery young enthusiast whose boundless energy and passionate eloquence contributed so much to the organization and victories of the revolutionary armies.

Russia, like France, has had her emigres; and here again the parallel is obvious. The Russian grand dukes, like the French nobles, are naively convinced that their regime of cruelty and rapacity, extravagance and oppression has somehow endeared them to the masses of the common people. The whole revolution, in their eyes, is the work of a few bad men, anarchists, criminals; all that is needed to destroy it is a little modest outside help in men and money. In Russian and French aristocrats alike is found the same inability to appreciate realities, the same ferocious hatred of their own people, the same disgraceful willingness to make any sacrifice of their country's peace and happiness that may help to give them back their old privileges and possessions. Prince Lvov and his associates in Paris protesting against every suggestion to relieve starvation in Bolshevik Russia are worthy successors of the French emigres who applauded the savage and bloodthirsty manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick from their safe retreat at Coblenz. In exile as in power the Russian and French ruling classes consistently uphold their previous record of cruelty and selfishness.

Jacobins and Bolsheviks alike were called upon to face the most difficult and exacting problems of administration. They were obliged simultaneously to repress domestic plots, to repulse foreign invasion, to save their people from absolute starvation as a result of the abnormal conditions created by war, revolution, and previous maladministration. That they succeeded in maintaining their hold upon the government in the face of all these obstacles was not due solely, or even primarily, to the remarkable organizing capacity of some of their leaders. It was due rather to the intensely active co-operation of the revolutionary elements among the masses. In Russia these masses organized themselves in local Soviets. In France they created the patriotic societies which radiated all over the

country from the Jacobin stronghold of Paris. These active popular bodies formed the very backbone of the French and Russian Revolutions. Out of them came the best soldiers for the armies, the best workmen for the factories. It was due to their vigorous exertions that the supply of food and clothing and munitions was somehow kept up, that both revolutions did not perish in a welter of sheer chaos and anarchy.

Both movements temporarily inaugurated a new style of diplomacy. The fundamental spirit of Tchitcherin's recklessly unconventional state papers is summed up in the famous announcement of the Convention that it was "the friend of all peoples and the enemy of all governments." In consistently making desperate and more or less successful efforts to supplement arms with propaganda, to break the iron ring of their enemies by fomenting domestic uprisings, the Bolsheviks are only following in the footsteps of the Jacobins. Other points of resemblance between the two movements are a pronounced anticlerical tendency, a passionate fondness for fetes and celebrations, an ardent and almost pathetic zeal for the speedy diffusion of enlightenment among the illiterate masses.

The French and Russian Revolutions both have their dark and bloody aspects. Through both there runs a strain of fierce fanaticism, the natural product of cruel and prolonged repression. This fanaticism often finds expression in acts of shocking and senseless brutality. Revolution, like war, makes men dangerously susceptible to the passions of suspicion, intolerance, and mob violence. The fruits of the French Revolution were partially lost through

its excesses. Russia may have a similar experience. But, whatever the crimes and mistakes of the Jacobins and the Bolsheviks, the reactionary legends that represent them as monsters of unmitigated iniquity are certainly very far from the truth. To their account must be laid not only the terror, but also nearly all the glorious positive achievements that are associated with the two great modern efforts to realize a freer and better world. If, in the course of the struggle, they often had recourse to stern and bloody methods, it should be remembered that, in this respect, their opponents were equally guilty. The Vendean counter-revolutionists of 1792, like Kolchak's Cossacks today, were notorious for their remorseless and diabolical savagery. French and Russian revolutionists alike were animated by the loftiest ideals, ideals that are admirably expressed in the great blazing watchword: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. And, though these ideals might be often forgotten or trampled under foot in the heat and fury of a desperate civil and foreign war, yet somehow they impress upon both movements an unmistakable character of beauty and nobility. Jacobin France did not develop into Rousseau's ideal state; yet there are few intelligent Frenchmen who would wish to see the years of the Revolution blotted from their country's history. Bolshevik Russia will probably not evolve into the perfect Marxian commonwealth; but future history will scarcely deny that the Russian Revolution played a part, and a very important part, in the advance of the human race towards spiritual and material freedom.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN.

Official Murder by British Officers

(From the "Soviet Russia," Aug. 2.)

We are enabled this week to present a new version containing the names of British officers responsible for the crime of the murder of Soviet officers who had been captured by British forces at Baku. We published an earlier version of the message referred to in No. 6 of "Soviet Russia."

Chicherin sent a wireless to the British Foreign Office on April 21, in which he repudiated the allegation that the British went to Baku to defend the town against the Soviet Republic. The British entry into Baku merely helped the Turks in their attacks. When they began to bombard the town, the British fled, carrying with them the two Baku Commissaries of the Soviet Republic. The fate of these Commissaries could not be ascertained. The British kept it secret even during the negotiations last autumn on the question of the mutual exchange of prisoners. Various rumors of their murder were spread about; but the well-known Socialist-Revolutionary Chaikin, a member of the Baku Socialist Committee, has published a detailed communique, based on reliable facts. This communique proves that after the hasty retreat of the British from Baku, an English officer, Reginald T. Jones, together with Russian Trans-Caucasian counter-revolutionaries, agreed to murder the Commissaires secretly. An official communique issued at the time said that the Commissaires were sent to India. The train, however, stopped at a lonely place in the desert, where the escort provided by the British Military authorities and the Russian counter-revolutionaries was ordered to shoot the prisoners, 26 in number, and bury them. The British Authorities tried to keep the crime secret. General Thomson asked Chaikin for the facts on which he based his statement. Chaikin, however, demanded a guarantee for the safety of the witnesses, and at the same time an inquiry into the crime by a mixed impartial commission. General Thomson refused.

The British Government is thus officially convicted of vile, cowardly and treacherous murder of defenceless prisoners, whose only crime was their

loyalty to the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, which the British so loudly condemned for the so-called "Red Terror" (measures taken in self-defence.) Yet, despite exaggerations, the British Government can not accuse the Workmen's and Peasants' Government of any crime equal to this in baseness and treachery. In view of the British War Minister's denunciation of the Bolsheviks as "murderers," this disclosure shows who are the real murderers. Before the working masses of the whole world, the Russian Soviet Government protests against this foul deed committed by the British authorities, and appeals in particular to the workers of Great Britain to realize their duty to defend the honor and welfare of the masses.

LAND FOR THE EX-SERVICE MEN.

A scheme has been exposed of the Overseas Settlement Co., of Great Britain, of sending ex-service men and women out to East Africa. The scheme provides for two types of grant. The first, 160 acres; the second, 5000 acres. Those taking the 160 acres were to be possessed of several hundred pounds, and for the larger grant, several thousand. News of the scheme, however, has finally reached the ears of those familiar with the country and it seems that a man can not earn a living on less than 5000 acres and in addition the climatic conditions are peculiar. Fevers and the sun frequently entailing a doctor who will cost £25 to £50. It appears that before the war, the government had made free grants of 5000 acres each to those who would spend £100 per annum, for three years on improvements. Enquiry now shows that the people who were now sitting on this committee were those very men who had taken up land under these conditions, and in many cases had acquired 60,000 to 150,000 acres, with the mere formality of fulfilling the conditions. These men are respectable people of the hoi poloi in the old country, not as you or me. Patriots and anti-Bolsheviks, every blasted one of them. But it was good business to take the ex-service man's savings from him and turn him into an East African peon.

EXCHANGE

A Consideration of the Money-commodity—Its Properties and Functions.

IV. SILVER.

It has occurred to me that it would be well, before tackling the silver question, to state the law which governs the amount of money required in circulation. Now there are two leading theories:

- The labor or cost of production theory and
- The quantity theory of money.

The first of these is the only one consistent with the arguments here set forth and is to the effect that: The total quantity of money functioning during a given period as the medium of exchange is determined by the sum of prices of all commodities circulating during that time, divided by the rapidity of the circulation of money, that is, by the number of turns made by each single coin. The sum of prices, of course, depends on the quantity of commodities and all these three factors, the quantity of commodities, their prices and the velocity of the currency are variable. The velocity of the currency is greater in cities than in the country and greater in some cities and countries than in others, depending on the wealth of the country and the density of its population. Nevertheless, at any given time and place these factors are given quantities and, in combination, their general effect will be as stated. For instance, supposing that the total prices of the commodities produced and sold in a given time to be one million dollars and further, that each dollar makes twenty turns in that period, then the quantity of money required in circulation will be fifty thousand dollars. This law follows inevitably from the law of value. As we have seen, money is a commodity. The exchange-value of any commodity is determined by its social cost of production. Price is the exchange-value of any commodity expressed in money. Consequently, it would be a contradiction to say that the quantity of money required to circulate a given mass of commodities was not determined by the sum of prices of those commodities divided, of course, by the number of times each money unit functions. "The quantity wanted will depend partly on the cost of producing gold, and partly on the rapidity of its circulation. The rapidity of circulation being given, it would depend on the cost of production; and the cost of production being given, the quantity of money would depend on the rapidity of its circulation." (Senior, quoted by Mill.) This law, of course, being based on the law of value, is subject to such variations and modifications as the law of value itself may be subject.

So far, we have considered gold as the only money-commodity as, in fact it now really is in all the great industrial countries. Until comparatively recently, however, silver was money in those countries and still circulates in large quantities as a kind of subsidiary currency. Even if no other reason existed for its use, it is obvious that it would be exceedingly inconvenient and expensive, if not impossible, to use gold for the multitude of small transactions carried out daily. In all of those countries, however, which have now adopted the gold standard, silver was once money as well as gold, that is to say, they used the bi-metallic system. Not that any of them consciously adopted such an impracticable money system. The fact is that the countries of Europe were, during the middle-ages, almost exclusively silver using countries. With the development of trade and commerce, however, gold was coined in greater quantities. The discovery and exploitation of the Americas resulting in a largely increased supply of the precious metals at a cheaper rate caused considerable depreciation in the existing stocks. This again brought about an era of greatly enhanced prices, which, along with the greater amount of business that was being done, necessitated a more valuable money unit. Gold, therefore, took its place alongside silver as money and was coined at a fixed ratio to it. Here, then,

the trouble begins. Both gold and silver are commodities and as such vary in value from time to time. Naturally, their values will vary relatively to each other, a fact of no great importance in itself, but which is of immense consequence when the commodities in question are functioning as money. The difficulty lies in the fact that, in any system of bi-metallism, three things are essential.

- (1) That the two metals be coined at a fixed ratio to each other, say 16 of silver to 1 of gold.
- (2) That both have the privilege of free coinage, that is to say, that the coinage is unrestricted and that anyone bringing silver or gold to the mint shall have it coined. Such coinage may be gratuitous, or free of charge, though this is not essential. It has, however, been the practice in England and the United States.
- (3) That both be legal tender. This phrase will bear some explanation.

A debt can only be extinguished by the payment of money. Money is what the creditor contracted for and the only thing he will take. Of course, in default of money he will take what he can get but that is another matter. Well then, the quality of "legal tender" attached to any form of money means that such money being "tendered" or offered by the debtor must be accepted by the creditor, otherwise the courts will not consider the debt collectable. That is to say, that the tender of such money extinguishes the debt whether it is accepted or not. This law, no doubt, had its origin in the middle ages when it was the custom of certain kings who, having the privilege of coining the money and wishing to make a little easy money, would coin money, not only of a diminished weight but of baser metal. This money, very naturally, people refused to accept and so, in order to give it what is known as forced currency, it was invested with the quality of legal tender.

Now then, as we have seen, the two money-commodities, although coined at a fixed ratio to each other, will nevertheless vary in value relatively to each other. This means that one or the other will now be rated below its bullion or market value and a profit can be made by melting or exporting it.

"Suppose, for example, that gold rises in value relatively to silver, so that the quantity of gold in a sovereign is now worth more than the quantity of silver in twenty shillings. Two consequences will ensue. No debtor will any longer find it his interest to pay in gold. He will always pay in silver, because twenty shillings are a legal tender for a debt of one pound, and he can procure silver convertible into twenty shillings, for less gold than that contained in a sovereign. The other consequence will be, that unless a sovereign can be sold for more than twenty shillings, all the sovereigns will be melted, since as bullion they will purchase a greater number of shillings than they will exchange for as coin. The converse of all this would happen if silver, instead of gold, were the metal which had risen in comparative value." (Mill.)

"The result of all experience and history with regard to this question is simply that, where two commodities perform by law the functions of a measure of value, in practice one alone maintains that position." (Marx.)

The obvious mode of escape from these difficulties is, of course, the adoption of one metal as money and as silver, on account of its low specific value and great instability, is the less satisfactory in this respect, the leading nations, one by one, beginning with England in 1816, adopted the gold standard and "demonetized" their silver. The process of demonetization consists in (1) denying to silver the privilege of free coinage, that is, the government now buys the metal, coins it for its own account at such times as it thinks fit, and profits by the seigniorage. This latter is the term used for

FREE SPEECH.

It is said that a government ought to guarantee its subjects "security and a sense of security;" whence it is inferred that magistrates ought to keep ears open to the declamations of popular orators and stop such as are calculated to create alarm. This inference, however, is met by the difficulty that, since every considerable change, political or religious, is, when first urged, dreaded by the majority, and thus diminishes their sense of security, the advocacy of it should be prevented.

Evidently such proposals to limit the right of free speech, political or religious, can be defended only by making the tacit assumption that whatever political or religious beliefs are at the time established, are wholly true; and since this tacit assumption has throughout the past proved to be habitually erroneous, regard for experience may reasonably prevent us from assuming that the current beliefs are wholly true. We must recognize free speech as still being the agency by which error is to be dissipated, and can not without papal assumption interdict it.

It is to the abnormal condition of the body politic that all evils arising from an unrestrained expression of opinion must be attributed, and not to the unrestrained expression itself.—Herbert Spencer, Principles of Ethics, 1879.

SANCTITY UNDER CAPITALISM.

Under Socialism, women would not require to sell themselves for hire; under Socialism the artistic side of the personality of man would be free to develop.

Under Capitalism, Sir Alfred Keogh, surgeon-general, reported to a meeting, in Queen's Hall, London, on June 13, 1917, that the admission rate to hospitals for venereal disease was:—

21 per 1000 in France.
32 per 1000 in Egypt.
48 per 1000 in Britain.

Henceforth, let the apologists of Capitalism keep silent about the sanctity of the marriage tie!

Subscriptions to the "Red Flag," \$1.00 for 20 issues.

the difference between the face value of the coin and its value as bullion. In the second place, the quality of unlimited legal tender is withdrawn. For instance, in England, silver is only legal tender to the extent of 40 shillings and in the United States to the extent of 10 dollars—this only applies to the smaller coins as the silver dollar appears to occupy a somewhat anomalous position. Thirdly, it has been the practice, in some cases, to so reduce the weight or fineness of the coins that their bullion value will be permanently, so far as possible, below their face value. This is to prevent their being melted in case of a rise in the value of silver. Under these circumstances silver, while no longer money—continues to function as a medium of exchange in the form of "tokens."

This change, however, did not take place without considerable difficulty and great opposition. This opposition, apart from that raised by people interested in the silver industry, was due to those who, misled by the "quantity" theory of money, were of opinion that the demonetization of silver had something to do with the low prices of commodities prevailing towards the latter end of last century. This theory of money, however, will have to wait till next week when it will be necessary to take it up in the consideration of paper "money."

By the way, I notice that silver which, not so long ago, was as low as 45 cents an ounce, is today quoted at 1 dollar 12 3/4 cents, and still going up. Now there are 371 1/4 grains of fine silver in a dollar and 480 grains in an ounce. A little arithmetic will show that when silver gets to \$1.29, the silver dollar will be worth a dollar. A slight advance above that again will send all the "iron men" to the melting pot.

GEORDIE.