

# THE RED FLAG

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

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FIVE CENTS

## Why Are You Out of Work?

"On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage."—By  
Thorstein Veblen

We give below a part of an article, under the above caption, contained in the New York "Dial," of April 15.

Veblen is an ex-professor of economics of an American university, one of many who a short time back lost their chairs for refusing to sacrifice their convictions on the economics of capitalism, to the vested interests who dictate the policies of those halls of learning. He is now one of the associate editors of the "Dial," one of the very best of the organs of Liberal thought. A master of irony, in his quiet, dry, humorous way of presenting the matter of his subject, he makes such play with his Marxian logic that he gets his rapier point home unexpectedly to the reader, and in unexpected places. He is always worth reading.

"Sabotage," he says, "is a derivative of 'Sabot,' which is French for a wooden shoe. It means going slow, with a dragging, clumsy movement, such as that manner footgear may be expected to bring on. So it has come to describe any manoeuvre of slowing down, inefficiency, bungling, obstruction. In American usage the word is very often taken to mean forcible obstruction, destructive tactics, industrial frightfulness, incendiarism and high explosives, although that is plainly not its first meaning nor its common meaning. Nor

is that its ordinary meaning as the word is used among those who have advocated a recourse to sabotage as a means of enforcing an argument about wages or conditions of work. The ordinary meaning of the word is better defined by an expression which has latterly come into use among the I. W. W., 'conscientious withdrawal of efficiency'—although that phrase does not cover all that is rightly to be included under this technical term.

"The sinister meaning which is often attached to the word in American usage, as denoting violence and disorder, appears to be due to the fact that the American usage has been shaped chiefly by persons and newspapers who have aimed to discredit the use of sabotage by organized workmen and who have therefore laid stress on its less amiable manifestations. This is unfortunate. It lessens the usefulness of the word by making it a means of denunciation rather than of understanding."

He then goes on to show some of its wider and no doubt to many indiscriminating innocents, unsuspected applications and practices, legal and moral within the bourgeois code, because necessary to the preservation of the bourgeois system of production for profit. We regret to have to skip drastically much of his article, for lack of space. The captions, heading paragraphs, are our own.

### Control of the Rate and Volume of Output

Without some salutary restraint in the way of sabotage on the productive use of the available industrial plant and workmen, it is altogether unlikely that prices could be maintained at a reasonably profitable figure for any appreciable time. A businesslike control of the rate and volume of output is indispensable for keeping up a profitable market, and a profitable market is the first and unremitting condition of prosperity in any community whose industry is owned and managed by business men. And the way and means of this necessary control of the output of industry are always and necessarily something in the nature of sabotage—something in the way of retardation, restriction, withdrawal, unemployment of plant and workmen—whereby production is kept short of productive capacity. The mechanical industry of the new order is inordinately productive. So the rate and volume of output have to be regulated with a view to what the traffic will bear—that is to say, what will yield the largest net return in terms of price to the business men in charge of the country's industrial system. Otherwise there will be "overproduction," business depression, and consequent hard times all round. Overproduction means production in excess of what the market will carry off at a sufficiently profitable price. So it appears that the continued prosperity of the

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## A Reconstruction of the Ruling Class

FROM THE "HAMILTON LABOR NEWS"

### State Capitalism Is the Aim of the Large Interests This Will Aid Continued Rule of King Capital

The reconstruction period, as it is called, will be a very important one for all members of society, but especially for the capitalist class. On the issue of this period depends the existence of their class. In those countries where the capitalists are the ruling class, they will use every means in their power to make their existence secure. All social institutions will be tampered with, more or less. They will be put in new moulds, as it were, that look well. The social and institutional adjustments that will be made by the capitalist class government are of the highest importance, because if they are pleasing to the people, they will form a bulwark of defence for the capitalist system for some time to come.

Let no working man or woman be mistaken on this point, that the reconstruction period is the golden moment for the capitalist class to re-affirm and strengthen its rule over society, and it will not be found napping in making use of this moment.

It is therefore both interesting and instructive to make a survey of the policy the capitalist government in Canada will pursue to accomplish the end the capitalist class desire. The recent purchase of the railway systems by the Canadian government indicates the character of the reconstruction, the general line of development that will be

followed. Nationalization of industry will be a slogan during this period. The government, however, will not purchase all industries, though it may purchase some. But what is more to the point, the government will exercise more control over all industries, whether they actually belong to the government or not, both in their internal and external affairs. In other words, capitalistic forces and influences are endeavoring to move us into a period of social existence which might most aptly be described by the term State Capitalism.

There is a combination of circumstances forcing Canadian capitalism in the direction of state capitalism. The war is just over, and times promise to be pretty hard. Unemployment threatens to be pretty hard. Unemployment threatens to stalk the land again with hungry mein. The working class is restless. The working men would not endure many nights in the bread line. They are already in an ugly mood owing to the autocratic orders-in-council passed by the cabinet in the last days of the war. A few days without bread, a few nights spent without shelter, would react on the patience of the working class like a lighted match reacts on a powder magazine. Moreover, the action of the working class first in Russia, and then in Germany, has given the Canadian working class a feeling of its power, has made it feel somewhat like a boy after he has killed his first bird with a sling shot.

Owing to this mood of the working class, it is

evident the capitalist class has reached the pass where it has to tread with caution. The ground under its feet is very slippery. Something must be done to control this working class, to appease it, to tame it, to cool its revolutionary ardor. The capitalist politicians have responded to their comrades' call to save Canadian capitalism by fleeing into the arms of State Capitalism.

It was not by chance, nor yet by choice, but by necessity that the Canadian government adopted the policy of the nationalization of industry, as it is popularly called. This policy has long been a political fad among the Radicals. The Union government, the high priest of Canadian capitalism, had to get the support of these Radicals to ensure its existence in power. The radicals are made up of four groups—the intellectuals, the petty bourgeois, the Conservative unions and the organized farmers. Each of these groups demand nationalization of industry for reasons peculiar to their economic status. The Conservative trade unions demand it because they think it will give them some reforms and increase their political influence. The farmers look upon the policy as a sort of political patent medicine, which will surely cure all social ills if the directions are only followed scrupulously. And now as the Turgots and Nickers of capitalism have adopted State Capitalism as a policy, the bourgeoisie itself no longer fear this fad of the Radicals, but consider it some-

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## Why Are You Out of Work?

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country from day to day hangs on a "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" by the business men who control the country's industrial output. They control it all for their own use, of course, and their own use means always a profitable price.

### Indispensable Condition of Price System

In any community that is organized on the price system, with investment and business enterprise, habitual unemployment of the available industrial plant and workmen, in whole or in part, appears to be the indispensable condition without which tolerable conditions of life cannot be maintained. That is to say, in no such community can the industrial system be allowed to work at full capacity for any appreciable interval of time, on pain of business stagnation and consequent privation for all classes and conditions of men. The requirements of profitable business will not tolerate it. So the rate and volume of output must be adjusted to the needs of the market, not to the working capacity of the available resources, equipment and man power, nor to the community's need of consumable goods. Therefore there must always be a certain variable margin of unemployment of plant and man power. Rate and volume of output can, of course, not be adjusted by exceeding the productive capacity of the industrial system. So it has to be regulated by keeping short of maximum production by more or less, as the condition of the market may require. It is always a question of more or less unemployment of plant and man power, and a shrewd moderation in the unemployment of these available resources, a "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency," therefore, is the beginning of wisdom in all sound workday business enterprise that has to do with industry.

All this is matter of course and notorious. But it is not a topic on which one prefers to dwell. Writers and speakers who dilate on the meritorious exploits of the nation's business men will not commonly allude to this voluminous running administration of sabotage, this conscientious withdrawal of efficiency, that goes into their ordinary day's work. One prefers to dwell on those exceptional, sporadic, and spectacular episodes in business where business men have now and again successfully gone out of the safe and sane highway of conservative business enterprise that is hedged about with a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency, and have endeavored to regulate the output by increasing the productive capacity of the industrial system at one point or another.

### The Common Man Has Won the War and Lost His Livelihood

But after all, such habitual recourse to peaceable or surreptitious measures of restraint, delay, and obstruction in the ordinary businesslike management of industry is too widely known and too well approved to call for much exposition or illustration. Yet, as one capital illustration of the scope and force of such businesslike withdrawal of efficiency, it may be in place to recall that all the civilized nations are just now undergoing an experiment in businesslike sabotage on an unexampled scale and carried out with unexampled effrontery. All these nations that have come through the war, whether as belligerents or as neutrals, have come into a state of more or less pronounced distress, due to a scarcity of the common necessities of life; and this distress falls, of course, chiefly on the common sort, who have at the same time borne the chief burden of the war which has brought them to this state of distress. The common man has won the war and lost his livelihood. This need not be said by way of praise or blame. As it stands it is, broadly, an objective statement of fact, which may need some slight qualification, such as broad statements of fact will commonly need. All these nations that have come through the war, and more particularly

the common run of their populations, are very much in need of all sorts of supplies for daily use, both for immediate consumption and for productive use. So much so that the prevailing state of distress rises in many places to an altogether unwholesome pitch of privation, for want of the necessary food, clothing, and fuel. Yet in all these countries the staple industries are slowing down. There is an ever increasing withdrawal of efficiency. The industrial plant is increasingly running idle or half idle, running increasingly short of productive capacity. Workmen are being laid off and an increasing number of those workmen who have been serving in the armies are going idle for want of work, at the same time that the troops which are no longer needed in the service are being demobilized as slowly as popular sentiment will tolerate, apparently for fear that the number of unemployed workmen in the country may presently increase to such proportions as to bring on a catastrophe. And all the while all these peoples are in great need of all sorts of goods and services which these idle plants and idle workmen are fit to produce. But for reasons of business expediency it is impossible to let these idle plants and idle workmen go to work—that is to say for reasons of insufficient profit to the business men interested, or in other words, for reasons of insufficient income to the vested interests which control the staples industries and so regulate the output of product. The traffic will not bear so large a production of goods as the community needs for current consumption, because it is considered doubtful whether so large a supply could be sold at prices that would yield a reasonable profit on the investment—or rather on the capitalization; that is to say, it is considered doubtful whether an increased production, such as to employ more workmen and supply the goods needed by the community, would result in an increased net aggregate income for the vested interests which control these industries. A reasonable profit always means, in effect, the largest obtainable profit.

All this is simple and obvious, and it should scarcely need explicit statement. It is for these business men to manage the country's industry, of course, and therefore to regulate the rate and volume of output; and also of course any regulation of the output by them will be made with a view to the needs of business; that is to say, with a view to the largest obtainable net profit, not with a view to the physical needs of these peoples who have come through the war and have made the world safe for the business of the vested interests. Should the business men in charge, by any chance aberration, stray from this straight and narrow path of business integrity, and allow the community's needs unduly to influence their management of the community's industry, they would presently find themselves discredited and would probably face insolvency. Their only salvation is a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency. All this lies in the nature of the case. It is the working of the price system, whose creatures and agents these business men are. Their case is rather pathetic, as indeed they admit quite volubly. They are not in a position to manage with a free hand, the reason being that they have in the past, under the routine requirements of the price system as it takes effect in corporation finance, taken on so large an overhead burden of fixed charges that any appreciable decrease in the net earnings of the business will bring any well-managed concern of this class face to face with bankruptcy.

### Prices Must Be Kept Up

At the present conjuncture, brought on by the war and its termination, the case stands somewhat in this typical shape. In the recent past earnings have been large; these large earnings (free income) have been capitalized; their capitalized value has been added to the corporate capital and covered with securities bearing a fixed income charge; this income charge, representing free income, has therefore become a liability

on the earnings of the corporation; this liability cannot be met in case the concern's net aggregate earnings fall off in any degree; therefore prices must be kept up to such a figure as will bring the largest net aggregate return, and the only means of keeping up prices is a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency in these staple industries on which the community depends for a supply of the necessities of life.

### For the Good of Business It is Necessary to Curtail Production

The business community has hopes of tiding things over by this means, but it is still a point in doubt whether the present unexampled large use of sabotage in the businesslike management of the staple industries will now suffice to bring the business community through this grave crisis without a disastrous shrinkage of its capitalization, and a consequent liquidation; but the point is not in doubt that the physical salvation of these peoples who have come through the war must in any case wait on the pecuniary salvation of these owners of corporate securities which represent free income. It is a sufficiently difficult passage. It appears that production must be curtailed in the staple industries, on pain of unprofitable prices. The case is not so desperate in those industries which have immediately to do with the production of superfluities; but even these, which depend chiefly on the custom of those kept classes to whom the free income goes, are not feeling altogether secure. For the good of business it is necessary to curtail production of the means of life, on pain of unprofitable prices, at the same time that the increasing need of all sorts of the necessities of life must be met in some passable fashion, on pain of such popular distress when it passes the limit of tolerance.

### Price Is Essence of Case—Livelihood Is Not

Those wise business men who are charged with administering the salutary modicum of sabotage at this grave juncture may conceivably be faced with a dubious choice between a distasteful curtailment of the free income that goes to the vested interests, on the one hand, and an unmanageable onset of popular discontent on the other hand. And in either alternative lies disaster. Present indications would seem to say that their choice will fall out according to ancient habit, that they will be likely to hold fast by an undiminished free income for the vested interests at the possible cost of any popular discontent that may be in prospect—and then, with the help of the courts and the military arm, presently make reasonable terms with any popular discontent that may arise. In which event it should occasion no surprise or resentment, inasmuch as it would be nothing unusual or irregular and would presumably be the most expeditious way of reaching a "modus vivendi." During the past few weeks, too, quite an unusually large number of machine guns have been sold to industrial business concerns of the larger sort, here and there! at least so they say. Business enterprise being the palladium of the Republic, it is right to take any necessary measures for its safeguarding. Price is of the essence of the case, whereas livelihood is not.

### Business as Usual

The grave emergency that has arisen out of the war and its provisional conclusion is, after all, nothing exceptional except in magnitude and severity. In substance it is the same sort of thing that goes on continually but unobtrusively and as a matter of course in ordinary times of business as usual. It is only that the extremity of the case is calling attention to itself. At the same time it serves impressively to enforce the broad proposition that a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency is the beginning of wisdom in all established business enterprise that has to do with industrial production. But it has been found that this grave interest which the vested interests always have in a salutary retardation of industry at one point or another cannot well be left altogether to the haphazard and ill-coordinated effort

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## A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RULING CLASS

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what as they do H. G. Well's latest novel—something exquisitely elegant, but almost painfully harmless.

Indeed, the capitalists, as a class, have nothing to fear from State Capitalism. They certainly feather their nest and feather it well, by exchanging stocks, in many instances of doubtful value, for well secured government bonds. The dangers lie all in the side of the working class. There are the dangerous consequences, and they are considerable, that will ensue from the increased power the government will secure as a large employer of labor. The quality of mercy which a government as an employer of labor has towards its employees has been sufficiently illustrated during the war so as not to need any further comment. The government as the national trustee of capitalist property, will become as ultra-conservative and reactionary as such trustees always are. Besides, the government officials, usually recruited from the ranks of the bourgeois class, will have few sympathies for the aspirations of the toiling masses. They never do. Alienated from the people by the jealousy with which they guard their prestige as officials, they will be further estranged by their over-estimation of their responsibility as wards of government properties. It will not make these officials any more sympathetic because they have been elected by some democratic form of election procedure. It has never had that effect in the past, so why in the future? Especially in a land where the corporate interests have always succeeded in securing the election at the polls of their political favorites. Besides, the corporation stockholders and the government bondholders will not relax in their efforts to secure suitable and desirable officials and members of parliament. Quite the contrary. For under the new arrangement, even more so than under the old, it will be necessary for the latter class to see to it that there is an obedient government in power, with a sufficiently pliable retinue of officials, so that its property and its bonds may be securely guarded. Thus, government under the order of State Capitalism is but a more thoroughly organized hegemony of the capitalist class.

Accordingly the reconstruction projects as designed by the capitalist class, through its agents, does not aim at making any radical changes in social relationships and in the machinery of government. Of course, some of the more antiquated social forms and relations will be discarded, and new ones substituted. And as for the government machinery, certain repairs will be made, and improvements will be introduced into some of its working parts. But all this will only enable the plutocracy to guide, direct and control, the more efficiently, the many national activities. Moreover, this governmental machine will spin long, legal fingers that will stretch out and worm themselves into and direct even the simplest social relations. Indeed, its buzzing wheels will hum with but one tune—the siren song, direct and control.

To control the working class, that is the great objective of the whole reconstruction policy. For unless the working class is put under control, the capitalist class cannot go on with its work of extending trade, increasing profits, grabbing new possessions and preparing for the next war. Before a working class that it cannot control, the capitalist class stands as helpless as a lamb does before a lion. Consequently, it does not take a very great power of insight into political matters to see how essential it is that our class government should plan on passing such legislation, should seek to create such social conditions, as will give it the proper control over the minds and bodies of the toiling masses.

This, at present, is the greatest problem which confronts the government, and its array of officials and social welfare workers. And owing to its intricate complexity and the many variations

that enter in, it is a difficult problem to solve. But, on the whole, the proletariat is looked upon by the bourgeoisie as a mass of human animals that must be given employment, must be housed, must be amused, and whose thinking process must be trained to run along certain cerebral grooves. These four requirements constitute "the problem of politicians, and professors, too, is to accept it as a law that the measure of peace and order that will obtain in a state at any given moment can be gauged by the degree to which these four fundamental requirements of the proletariat are satisfied. Evidently, politicians and professors have their own peculiar way of sizing up the needs and demands of the working class. They are clever enough to know that the first thing the working class demands is employment. Indeed, employment has a double virtue. For a working class that is employed can not only furnish itself, to some extent at least, with all its requirements, but it can and does also, at the same time, create profits for the employers. The latter is, of course, the highest virtue. On the other hand, a working class that is unemployed is a hungry mob and dangerous. It is not, therefore, strange that the chief concern of the government in the coming adjustment from a war to a peace basis, should be to secure employment to all the workers in Canada. In truth, its fate does, in the last analysis, depend upon its capacity to do this.

But peradventure the government cannot provide the necessary number of jobs—what then? Recourse will then be taken to other means. These means easily suggest themselves. For it is a fact that man does not live of bread alone. He has the hunger for amusement, the hunger to bury and to forget his personal troubles in the bosom of pleasant imaginations, the hunger which arises from the hope "which springs eternal in the human breast." This hunger for the ideal is certainly a legal appetite, and its presence promises well for the future development of the working class. But the capitalist class wants to use this appetite for its own purpose, as all ruling classes have always done. Knowing full well that as a man thinks so he is, it wants to get the working class to think in such a way that this class will play right into its hand. And by puffing up the workingman with a sense of national pride, by indoctrinating him with a narrow patriotism, by centering his reading on nothing more serious than the ordinary love story, by limiting the range and the depth of his thought to the vagaries of bourgeois ethics and by feeding his imagination with such intellectual treats as the common run of moving pictures, the bourgeoisie hope to develop a type of workingman that can be easily controlled, and to whom amusement and recreative pleasures will act as a substitute for food, a stimulant to the body and a narcotic against the pangs of physical hunger. Such an one would indeed be an ideal workingman. For passively and patiently he will hope and wait for and dream about better days to come, although he may, all the while, be wasting away and dying in poverty and misery.

But what the government wishes to do and what it will actually do are, of course, two different matters. It may be that the working class has learned so much that it will not take kindly to being indoctrinated with the bourgeois ideal of a workingman, for assuredly, it is only the most ignorant and docile that would submit to such an indoctrination. And so, in the way of a precautionary measure, lest the patience of the working class runs out too soon, the government has revived the old, and once disbanded, R.N.W.M.P. to look after the recalcitrant.

Obviously, however, all other plans and schemes to the contrary notwithstanding, the first and most difficult problem the Canadian government has to solve is the providing of employment, for no one can live any length of time on hot air and the imagination. But as the solution of this problem depends upon international relations over which no one government has any complete control, there is no one national government that can

solve it. The Canadian government cannot solve it alone—no, not even for Canada. So all its promises and endeavors along this line appear as so much stage play. Hence one is forced to the conclusion that the reconstruction policy of the government, so far as the working class is concerned, is, when boiled down to its simplest form, the old game of the capitalist class—to keep the working class quiet and apparently contented while it develops the means whereby it can continue its parasitic existence on the body of the toiling masses.

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forts of individual business concerns, each taking care of its own particular line of sabotage within its own premises. The needed sabotage can best be administered on a comprehensive plan and by a central authority, since the country's industry is of the nature of a comprehensive interlocking system, whereas the business concerns which are called on to control the motions of this industrial system will necessarily work piecemeal, inseparably and at cross-purposes. In effect, their working at cross-purposes results in a sufficiently large aggregate retardation of industry, of course, but the resulting retardation is necessarily somewhat blindly apportioned and does not converge to a neat and conspicuous outcome. Even a reasonable amount of collusion among the interested business concerns will not by itself suffice to carry on that comprehensive moving equilibrium of sabotage that is required to preserve the business community from recurrent collapse or stagnation, or to bring the nation's traffic into line with the general needs of the vested interests.

## Necessary Modicum of Sabotage

Where the national government is charged with the general care of the country's business interests, as is invariably the case among the civilized nations, it follows from the nature of the case that the nation's lawgivers and administration will have some share in administering that necessary modicum of sabotage that must always go into the day's work of carrying on industry by business methods and for business purposes. The government is in a position to penalize excessive or unwholesome traffic. So, it is always considered necessary, or at least expedient, by all sound mercantilists to impose and maintain a certain balance or proportion among the several branches of industry and trade that go to make up the nation's industrial system. The purpose commonly urged for measures of this class is the fuller utilization of the nation's industrial resources in material, equipment, and man power; the invariable effect is a lowered efficiency and a wasteful use of these resources, together with an increase of international jealousy. But measures of that kind are thought to be expedient by the mercantilists for these purposes—that is to say, by the statesmen of these civilized nations, for the purposes of the vested interests. The chief and nearly sole means of maintaining such a fabricated balance and proportion among the nation's industries is to obstruct the traffic at some critical point by prohibiting or penalizing any exuberant undesirables among these branches of industry. Disallowance, in whole or in part, is the usual and standard method.

The great standing illustration of sabotage administered by the government is the protective tariff, of course. It protects certain special interests by obstructing competition from beyond the frontier. This is the main use of a national boundary. The effect of the tariff is to keep the supply of goods down and thereby keep the price up, and so to bring reasonably satisfactory dividends to those special interests which deal in the protected articles of trade, at the cost of the underlying community. A protective tariff is a typical con-

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## Law and Order

Marxian students are acquainted with the name of Joseph Priestly, if from no other source than the analogy which Engels draws between his chemical discoveries and their amplifications by Laviosier and the manner in which Marx amplified the economic theories of Ricardo. Perhaps they are not aware that the pioneer of modern chemistry was driven from England, his dear, dear, native land, by a lawless mob, intent on preserving "law and order."

Priestly was active in other fields of thought; in fact, chemistry was merely a side-line. He was a dissenting minister, and finally became a Unitarian. He also had very liberal views regarding monarchy. However, his writing in the field of theology had threatened the comfort of that large and, at that time (1774-1779), powerful class which sponged upon the working population as ministers of the established church. They could not answer his argument; their curish spirit prevented them from attacking by other means, so they had recourse to the means usual with such upholders of law and order. They incited a mob to do the work they were too cowardly to even attempt.

It was customary for the radical bourgeois of England to celebrate the anniversary of the French Revolution, and this event generally found Priestly in attendance.

Of course, much trepidation was felt by the spongers over these annual celebrations, and in 1791, Priestly was the victim of their malice to the extent of having his house, library and laboratory destroyed, besides narrowly escaping death at the hands of a booze-crazed mob. This mob, however, quite like other mobs, did not stop when the desires of its instigators had been accomplished. Many other respectable citizens suffered. Quite a number of the mob were killed owing to being overcome by the booze being within burning houses. We learn from eye-witnesses that the rabble stood knee-deep in booze. Quite remarkable how much booze can be found in the cellars of our best citizens. This and the quantity of water they imbibe in the morning, proves they never drink booze. We are not without experience so far as booze is concerned, but it seems that we can never find closer resemblance to the 18th century mobs than by the booze route.

Just previous to the annual dinner of Birmingham in 1797 a very inflammable handbill was circulated, and although several hundred guineas was offered for information as to the writer, printer, publisher or distributor thereof, and all the powers of state aided in the search, none of these people were apprehended. That is very remarkable, when you think it over. However, the mob, to the slogan of for "Church and King," did the dirty work. Another remarkable incident is that at a dinner given by the city shortly after the Birmingham riots, the sponsors of law and order proposed the toast of "Church and King," and one fine old fellow, Dr. Parr, sprang to his feet with these words: "No, sir; I will not drink that toast! It was the cry of the Jacobites. It is the cry of incendiaries. It means a church without

a gospel, and a king above the law!" Which goes to prove that you cannot detect an anarchist by the color of his flag nor the length of his whiskers.

Anarchy is going beyond the leather and prunella, action without law. Of course a lawyer or a parson would soon have us in deep water by asking, "what is law?" Well, we will not answer, but Joseph Priestly, the finest character in all England and one of her most active and penetrating intellects, had to flee the country before a booze-besotted mob!

Now, ordinarily, society has machinery for smoothing over the manifold and grievous frictions which arise from the various conflicting interests of its members. But on this continent a situation has arisen where a certain section of the community have taken upon themselves the function of making and enforcing laws of their own. They, being respectable citizens, and for the most part having aid from men who have been in the army during the late war, their actions are looked upon as patriotic and proper. They are nothing more nor less than anarchists. No matter how many wars they fought in, nor how many gods they worship, just plain anarchists.

Comrade McKenzie has been run out of Cranbrook, and money legally in his possession has been extracted from him by threats. Comrade Naylor has been forced out of Silverton and Trail while there on "pursuit of his lawful occasions," as the prayer book says. And now, Comrade Roberts, secretary of the Miners' Union at Silverton, has been ordered to leave town by the twenty-first of this month, by these same anarchists.

Of course this sort of thing has gone far enough. We suffer passively, though not quietly, the many restrictions upon our liberty, imposed by constituted authority. But we don't propose to allow every group of anarchists who imagine themselves the saviors of society to drive us from pillar to post, because our ideas do not flow in the well-worn channel which accommodates their concepts of citizenship.

We mentioned a couple of weeks back that in our opinion, an attempt to interfere with a member of the working class engaged in purely working class business would be the rallying point for the prevailing sentiment regarding the One Big Union. It would seem that some people were determined to supply the seed for that which they look upon with abhorrence and dread. That, however, is solely their affair.

To return to Priestly: King George wrote to his secretary that he could not "but feel better pleased that Priestly is the sufferer for the doctrine, he and his party have instilled, and that the people see them in their true light; yet I cannot approve of them having employed such atrocious means of showing their discontent."

Priestly wrote, "This invasion of the Goths and Vandals, I little foresaw, and hope it will never be repeated, as I fancy the experiment will not be found to answer."

He was mistaken: the bourgeois are true Bourbons; they learn nothing; neither do they ever forget.

In his spirited letter to the inhabitants of Birmingham written July 9, 1791, he says: "Answer your arguments and your business is done; by your having recourse to violence, is only proof that you have nothing better to produce. Should you destroy myself as well as my house, library and apparatus, ten more persons of equal spirit and ability would instantly rise up!"

This latter assertion is, of course, somewhat questionable as a corollary to the destruction of one pioneer, but, as a consequence of a four dimensional principle of human progress, it follows, from a basis which Priestly clearly saw and expressed in many ways, of which perhaps the following words are the best: "It was ill policy, in Leo the Tenth, to patronize polite literature. He was cherishing an enemy in disguise. And the English hierarchy (if there be anything unsound

## India

[New York Nation]

"In discussing the proposed coercion bills under consideration by the Government of India, the London "Herald" observes that Britain has discovered by bitter experience in Ireland 'how impossible it is for 45,000,000 people to govern 4,000,000 against their will.' Obviously, the problem becomes even more impossible when the 4,000,000 are increased to 300,000,000, as in India, when 6,000,000 lives have been lost by influenza in the last few months, and when the worst famine in years is ravaging a helpless population. With prices of food grains ranging from fifty-one to one hundred per cent. higher than last year's record, and a fodder famine threatening the cattle supply, it must comfort the people very little to hear that from a total of £86,000,000 in the present annual budget, £41,000,000 is to be devoted to military expenses. The unrest and economic distress now promise to be aggravated by the enactment of two coercive laws carrying into effect the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission which investigated sedition. The two bills, which are reported to be certain of passage, provide severe measures of repression and punishment for Nationalist agitation. The All-India National Congress has protested unanimously against the bills. The entire native press is in opposition. According to the "Herald," twenty-six public meetings and every Indian association of importance have joined in the protest. Twenty-two of the twenty-four non-official Indians on the India Legislative Council are opposed to the measures. There is, however, no indication that native opposition or liberal British opinion will prevent their enactment. Apparently Great Britain is bent upon flourishing the whip with one hand while she offers her subject peoples sweets with the other. The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for reform and increased self-government in India seem to be an honest, if excessively cautious, attempt to satisfy the aspirations of the people. They are opposed by extreme Indian Nationalists and are supported only with certain reservations by the moderates, but the unanimous opposition of the conservative British elements in India and the Tories in England makes it evident that they are at least liberal in intent. Great Britain, however, intends to be prepared for any contingency. If the Montagu reforms fail to satisfy her Indian subjects, the sedition measures will be at hand to make satisfaction compulsory."

in its constitution) has equal reason to tremble even at an air-pump or an electrical machine."

We might suggest to the heroic gents who are intent upon saving society, that, of far greater menace to their so-called "law and order" is the contemplated air voyage across the Atlantic ocean, than all the One Big Unions and Bolsheviki extant. Happily, "they never learn, neither do they ever forget." J. H.

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, APRIL 20

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speaker ..... W. W. Lefebaux

## Source of Capitalist Class Profits

According to the Marxian law of value, all commodities, including the commodity gold, are exchanged at their value, taken over a period of time during which the fluctuations of prices in their rise and fall, cancel each other. How then, the question arises, does Marx account for capitalist profits?

The sale of commodities results in no more than equivalents being exchanged. Therefore we are forced to the conclusion that the increase must result as Marx says: "from the use-value, as such, of the commodity, i.e., in its consumption."

In order to extract value from the consumption of a commodity the capitalist must find on the market a commodity whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value. Raw materials, machinery, buildings, etc., can only contribute their own value. For instance, a machine costing \$1,000, whose life was ten years, would contribute, to the value of the commodities produced, at the rate of \$100 per year. Each year the value of the machine would depreciate to that extent.

He does find on the market, however, a commodity in whose consumption there results an increased value, and that is labor-power, i.e., the labor power of the laborer, the cost of production of which, per day, is less than the total values produced during his day's labor.

We shall quote Marx to show what conditions must obtain for labor power to be found on the market as a commodity.

"But in order that our owner of money may be able to find labor power offered for sale as a commodity, various conditions must first be fulfilled. The exchange of commodities of itself implies no other relations of dependence than those which result from its own nature. On this assumption, labor power can appear upon the market as a commodity only if, and so far as, its possessor, the individual whose labor power it is, offers it for sale, or sell it as a commodity. In order that he may be able to do this, he must have it at his disposal, must be the untrammelled owner of his capacity for labor, i.e., of his person. He and the owner of the money meet on the market and deal with each other as on the basis of equal rights.

with this difference alone, that one is a buyer, the other a seller; both, therefore, equal in the eyes of the law. The continuance of this relation demands that the owner of the labor power should sell it only for a definite period, for if he were to sell it rump and stump, once for all, he would be selling himself, converting himself from a free man into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity. He must constantly look upon his labor power as his own property, his own commodity, and this he can only do by placing it at the disposal of the buyer temporarily, for a definite period of time. By this means alone can he avoid renouncing his rights of ownership over it.

"The second essential condition to the owner of money finding labor-power in the market as a commodity in the market is this—that the laborer instead of being in the position to sell commodities in which his labor is incorporated, must be obliged to offer for sale as a commodity that very labor power, which exists only in his living self."

The condition of the laborer being on the labor market with his one and only commodity, labor power, is the result of a historical process. It is the result of the development of the hand tool into the machine, which turned the individual producers of small hand-tool production into the proletariat, dispossessed of tools of production, with only their labor power to sell as a means of existence.

The profits of the capitalist class, or what are known as surplus values, arise from this, that labor power is sold at value. This value being determined by the food, clothing and shelter, etc., necessary for its production, which is a quantity of value less than those produced by the working class during their labors over any definite period, leaving a surplus for the owners of the means of production.

The legal right of the owners of the means of production to the products of industry, lays in that ownership, which, in the end, is guaranteed by the State. The workers supply of the products is obtained by purchase out of the proceeds of the sale of their labor power on the labor market, or in other words, wages.

## INTERESTING MATTERS BROUGHT OUT AT THE ENQUIRY INTO THE CONDITIONS IN BRITISH COAL MINING INDUSTRY

The very first day of the Commission's sitting brought out revelations which startled the public mind. The financial advisor to the Coal Controller showed that in June, 1918, 2s 6d a ton was added by the Controller to the price of coal in order to help collieries that were working at a loss. When he made this advance, he knew nothing of the position for the first quarter of the year. "The effect of that," commented Sidney Webb, "was that consumers, in the aggregate had to pay £25,000,000, out of which the Coal Controller got £10,000,000, and the exchequer £10,000,000, leaving £5,000,000 in the hands of people who were already doing so well that they had to pay excess profits. You were actually putting money into the pockets of those who do not need it. The wealthiest of the coal-owners were given £5,000,000 because you wanted the poorer of the mine to become a little more solvent." It came out later that the extent of the profits of many colliery companies had been obscured by the capitalization of reserves and other readjustments of capital. The most successful companies were able by these methods and by dividends which were in reality larger than they appeared to return to their shareholders every few years the whole of the share capital originally subscribed by them, while the undistributed reserves are still so considerable that the present market value of the shares is several times their nominal value. For ten years ending with 1918, a South Wales company had paid dividends equivalent to about 243 per cent. on the increased capital, or over 300 per cent. on the actual capital.

Again and again Robert Smillie compelled an unwilling mine owners' representative to speak on such matters as the present housing conditions, with their appalling consequences to the health of the men and their families. A Scottish coal-owner had to admit that one of his companies whose ordinary shareholders had received dividends of 197½ per cent. in ten years, had over a hundred houses with only one room. His excuse was that it was impossible to build new houses while the war was on. When the subject of baths was introduced, it was alleged that the miners would not use them when they were provided. . . . And so the enquiry laid bare one sore place after another in the existing system. . . . It was the stripping off of rag after rag of the meretricious raiment by which the nation covers up its shame. . . . If landlords, farmers, provision merchants and all the other trades concerned in the supply and distribution of food were compelled to declare and justify their gains we should indeed have some piquant and wholesome revelations.—(The above is extracted from an article in the New York "Nation" of April 12, by Herbert W. Horwill.)

## IRELAND

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union now embraces a multitude of trades. Its numbers are steadily growing and it forms the most important element of the militant Irish Trade Union Congress and Labor Party.

## DETERMINE MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS

The headquarters of the Norwegian Soldiers' Councils (says the Gothenburg "Post") recently issued a manifesto to those liable to military service exhorting them to organize themselves and demand the right to determine the military arrangements and conditions at the camps and the transference of authority from the officers to the soldiers. Then, says the manifesto, the way will not be long to revolution and Socialism.

## Clippings From the Press

### SPAIN

#### Methods of Dealing With Strikers in Spain

The strikers followed the method of calling out new industries on each day of the continuance of the strike.

The government first proclaimed martial law, occupied the streets with troops, and then proceeded to mobilize the strikers. But at least 40 per cent. of those mobilized refused to appear and the conflict ended in a signal victory for the men.

### GREAT BRITAIN

#### Who Said Atrocities?

A. Fenner Brockway, late editor of the British "Labour Leader," organ of the I. L. P., who is imprisoned as a conscientious objector, has been on bread and water for three months until his health was affected. For eight months he has been kept in the strict solitary confinement, only being allowed out of his cell for forty minutes each day, when he is given "exercise" alone in a small enclosed yard. He is not allowed any library books, nor is he allowed any book of his own except an Esperanto New Testament. He is not, of course, allowed writing materials or paper. He is not allowed to write or receive letters, or have any visits. He is not even allowed to attend the prison chapel.

### JUGO-SLAVIA

Those Jugo-Slavs for whom we fought seem to have some Socialists among them. A meeting at Lailbach of the South Slav Social Democratic Party has passed the following ungrateful resolution:

"All these decisions of the Council of Ten, who are representative of world militarism, are null and absolutely not binding."

The Social Democrats are striving for a peace satisfying all the peoples of Europe and, uniting the proletariat of Europe. Such a solution of the European problem could be brought about only by a revolution of the world proletariat.—"Labor Leader," March 27.

### RECRUITING IN FRANCE TO FIGHT THE BOLSHEVIKI

In spite of the bankrupt condition of the country recruiting is still going on for service in the "Russian Sanitary Cordon" among the French troops, who are being promised five francs a day and other advantages if they will fight the Bolsheviki, according to "L'Humanite," which bitterly remarks, "they got one franc a day for defending their native land."

# Problems of American Socialism

By LOUIS C. FRAINA

(Continued from Last Issue)

Socialism must have an economic basis—industrial power. That is one argument made in favor of a union Labor Party. But does conservative unionism use its industrial power for large purposes? Is it using it for the release of Tom Mooney? Did the British Labor Party use its industrial power to secure for its delegates access to conferences held in other nations?

Socialism must possess industrial power. But industrial power emerges only out of the class consciousness and revolutionary activity of the proletariat. Socialism must have industrial power, but this will develop not out of parliamentarism, not out of unity with a reactionary Labor Party, but out of the aggressive mass action of the industrial proletariat, out of awakening the masses to independent revolutionary activity, out of industrial unionism.

The moderate Socialist has never concerned himself with the struggles of the revolutionary Socialist to develop industrial power by means of industrial unionism; the moderate Socialist thinks of this only when it may promote reactionary purposes, never when it may promote the Revolution.

But the task of developing this industrial power is important. The coming period of strikes will provide an excellent opportunity for the development of more effective forms of organization, for the construction of industrial unionism, for the building up of a revolutionary labor movement. This is a task that Socialism cannot shirk. The argument that the Socialist Party is a political

party, and therefore, cannot concern itself with problems of union organization, is a miserable subterfuge; a "Socialist" Party is a party of Socialism, of the proletarian class struggle, of the Revolution; and it must concern itself with every problem that affects the revolutionary struggle and the coming of Socialism. The problem of unionism, of revolutionary industrial unionism, is fundamental,—all the more, since in its theoretical phase, the construction of an industrial state, the abolition of the political state, contains within itself the norms of the new proletarian state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A revolutionary union movement—that must be an integral phase of our activity. Life itself will determine the most appropriate means of accomplishing this task; but a general revolutionary attitude and activity are indispensable. The constituent elements for a revolutionary union movement are here: unions of unskilled workers in the A. F. of L., who do not belong there and who are betrayed by the aristocracy of labor; a large number of independent unions, the radical character of which might develop into more revolutionary consciousness; the I. W. W. and the masses of the unorganized industrial proletariat.

This is an important problem. But it is not the decisive problem. The Revolution will not develop out of industrial unionism, but out of a crisis developing into revolutionary, mass action and proletarian dictatorship. Not organizations, but revolutionary class consciousness—that is the instrument of the Revolution. Industrial unionism must

not become an end in itself; even the I. W. W. is becoming conservative. The proletarian revolution annihilates the old bourgeois order and the old organizations. The Revolution is the act of the organized producers; but the producers are not organized before, but during the Revolution—by means of Soviets.

The revolutionary struggle by means of mass action—that constitutes the process of the Revolution and the Revolution itself in action.

I am simply projecting some of the problems of American Socialism; there are others, but these are fundamental. My purpose is to arouse discussion of these problems. The fatal defect of our party is that there is no discussion of fundamentals, no controversy on tactics. The bureaucracy and representatives of the party discourage discussion and controversy: where the spirit of enquiry prevails, there is potential opposition. Let us, together and in fraternal spirit, discuss our problems and build the new Socialism of the final struggle, and victory!

Let us reconstruct the party. As a preliminary let us integrate the revolutionary elements in the party, an organization for the revolutionary conquest of the party by the party! The American Socialist Party needs a definite, organized, vocal left wing, a unified expression of revolutionary Socialism in theory and practice. Thus alone shall we prepare for the coming struggles; thus alone shall we become a decisive factor in the new third International—the international of revolutionary Socialism and the final struggle.

## WHY ARE YOU OUT OF WORK?

(Continued from Page Three)

spiracy in restraint of trade. It brings a relatively small, though absolutely large, run of free income to the special interests which benefit by it, at a relatively, and absolutely, large cost to the underlying community, and so it gives rise to a body of vested rights and intangible assets belonging to these special interests.

Of a similar character, in so far that in effect they are in the nature of sabotage—conscientious withdrawal of efficiency—are all manner of excise and revenue-stamp regulations; although they are not always designed for that purpose. Such would be, for instance, the partial or complete prohibition of alcoholic beverages, the regulation of the trade in tobacco, opium, and other deleterious narcotics, drugs, poisons, and high explosives. Of the same nature, in effect if not in intention, are such regulations as the oleomargarine law; as also the unnecessarily costly and vexatious routine of inspection imposed on the production of industrial (denatured) alcohol, which has inured to the benefit of certain business concerns that are interested in other fuels for use in internal-combustion engines; so also the singularly vexatious and elaborately imbecile specifications that limit and discourage the use of the parcel post, for the benefit of the express companies and other carriers which have a vested interest in traffic of that kind.

### Comprehensive System of Vexation and Delay

It is worth noting in the same connection, although it comes in from the other side of the case, that ever since the express companies have been taken over by the federal administration there has visibly gone into effect a comprehensive system of vexation and delay in the detail conduct of their traffic, so contrived as to discredit federal control of this traffic and thereby provoke a popular sentiment in favor of its early return to private control. Much the same state of things has been in evidence in the railway traffic under similar conditions. Sabotage is serviceable as a de-

terrent, whether in furtherance of the administration work or in contravention of it.

In what has just been said there is, of course, no intention to find fault with any of these uses of sabotage. It is not a question of morals and good intentions. It is always to be presumed as a matter of course that the guiding spirit in all such governmental moves to regularize the nation's affairs, whether by restraint or by incitement, is a wise solicitude for the nation's enduring gain and security. All that can be said here is that many of these wise measures of restraint and incitement are in the nature of sabotage, and that in effect they habitually, though not invariably, inure to the benefit of certain vested interests—ordinarily vested interests which bulk large in the ownership and control of the nation's resources. That these measures are quite legitimate and presumably salutary, therefore, goes without saying. In effect they are measures for hindering traffic and industry at one point or another, which may often be a wise precaution.

### Even the Mail Service Insufferably Efficient

During the period of the war administrative measures in the nature of sabotage have been greatly extended in scope and kind. Peculiar and imperative exigencies have had to be met, and the staple means of meeting many of these new and exceptional exigencies has quite reasonably been something in the way of avoidance, disallowance, penalization, hindrance, a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency from work that does not fall in with the purposes of the Administration. Very much as is true in private business when a situation of doubt and hazard presents itself, so also in the business of government at the present juncture of exacting demands and inconvenient limitations, the Administration has been driven to expedients of disallowance and obstruction with regard to some of the ordinary processes of life, as, for instance, in the non-essential industries. It has also appeared that the ordinary equipment and agencies for gathering and distributing news and other information have in the past developed a capacity far in excess of what can safely be permitted in time of war. The like is true for the ordinary

facilities for public discussion of all sorts of public questions. The ordinary facilities, which may have seemed scant enough in time of peace and slack interest, had after all developed a capacity far beyond what the governmental traffic will bear in these uneasy times of war and negotiations, when men are very much on the alert to know what is going on. By a moderate use of the later improvements in the technology of transport and communication, the ordinary means of disseminating information and opinions have grown so efficient that the traffic can no longer be allowed to run at full capacity during a period of stress in the business of the government. Even the mail service has proved insufferably efficient, and a selective withdrawal of efficiency has gone into effect. To speak after the analogy of private business, it has been found best to disallow such use of the mail facilities as does not inure to the benefit of the administration in the way of good will and vested rights of usufruct.

These peremptory measures of disallowance have attracted a wide and dubious attention; but they have doubtless been of a salutary nature and intention, in some way which is not to be understood by outsiders—that is to say, by citizens of the Republic. An unguarded dissemination of information and opinions or an unduly frank canvassing of the relevant facts by these outsiders, will be a handicap on the Administration's work, and may even defeat the Administration's aims. At least so they say.

### Press Misinformation Sabotage on the Public

Something of much the same color has been observed elsewhere and in other times, so that all this nervously alert resort to sabotage on undesirable information and opinions is nothing novel, nor is it peculiarly democratic. The elder statesmen of the great monarchies, east and west, have long ago seen and approved the like. But these elder statesmen of the great monarchies of the dynastic regime have gone to their work of sabotage on information because of a palpable division of sentiment between their government and the underlying population, such as does not exist

(Continued on Page Seven)

## Strength of Bolsheviki Government

The Manchester Guardian of March 20, contains a despatch from a correspondent in Warsaw, capital of Poland, giving details of the strength of the Bolsheviki Government, of which he has a great opinion, and their methods for achieving it. Since the correspondent made his report, the Bolsheviki forces have made still further substantial gains and according to all reports the Soviet Government in Russia itself is more firmly established than ever because of its success in reorganizing the economic life of the country upon a new basis.

WARSAW, Feb. 21.—That the Soviet Government of Russia is engaged in carrying on a vigorous and far-reaching international propaganda to establish a Bolsheviki republic in Europe, extending from the Volga to the Rhine, a sort of Bolsheviki "Mittel Europa," was the statement made to me today by Georgy Gavrilovich Ledkevich, editor of the Warsaw Russian daily, "Warszawskaya Riech." M. Ledkevich, who is in daily communication with Russia as well as with the Russian refugees constantly arriving in Warsaw, said:

"There was organized in Petrograd in the last few weeks a committee on social uprising. At the head of this committee stands M. Zinovieff, the chairman of the Northern Commune of Petrograd. The object of the committee is to foster social revolution in Central Europe. Included in the membership of the committee are Socialists from the Spartacus group of Germany and Radical Socialists from various other Central European states.

Bolshevik proclamations and pamphlets are published in every European language, in Petrograd and Moscow. Trotsky and Lenin have set aside entire trains, consisting of three and four coaches, which are used for propaganda purposes. The coaches in these trains are fixed up as libraries and book stores, and they travel from one part

of the country to the other, distributing the revolutionary literature best suited to each community.

"The organization of the army is arranged with a view to making it effective not only as a fighting but also as a propaganda organization. Thus, near Baranovitch, for instance, there is stationed a Bolsheviki army of 30,000 Russian Poles. The idea is that when the time comes for this army to enter Poland, every soldier, as soon as he has stepped on Polish soil, can for a time drop his role as a soldier and become a schoolmaster to his own Polish people, teaching and converting them to the Bolsheviki idea."

### Intellectuals and the Government

With regard to the general position of the Soviet Government in Russia, Mr. Ledkevich said: "It is unfortunately true that the Soviet Government is growing stronger and stronger. The extent to which it now feels itself secure is best shown by the fact that it no longer has to rely upon violence to maintain itself. Men are still being shot summarily in Petrograd and Moscow, but not for political opinions. Summary execution is now meted out to robbers, murderers and other criminals. The last political execution of the Soviet Government was held on January 31, when five or six grand dukes were executed. Since then it has been very quiet.

"The Bolsheviki regime is gaining in strength through the fact that all resistance on the part of the intellectual classes has ceased. The intellectuals of Russia are exhausted. They cannot struggle any longer and are now taking employment under Bolsheviki management. Former ladies-in-waiting at court, whom for a time bitterly resented the unceremonious treatment accorded them by Bolsheviki officials, are resigned now, and may frequently be found working as clerks in book or picture shops, or as waitresses in tea and coffee parlors. . . ."

### WHY ARE YOU OUT OF WORK?

(Continued from Page Six)

in the advanced democratic commonwealths. The case of Imperial Germany during the period of the war is believed to show such a division of sentiment between the government and the underlying population, and also to show how such a divided sentiment on the part of a distrustful and distrusted population had best be dealt with. The method approved by German dynastic experience is sabotage, of a somewhat free-swung character, censorship, embargo on communication, and also, it is confidently alleged, elaborate misinformation.

#### Censorship Form of Sabotage

Such procedure on the part of the dynastic statesmen of the Empire is comprehensible even to a layman. But how it all stands with those advanced democratic nations, like America, where the government is the dispassionately faithful agent and spokesman of the body of citizens, and where there can consequently be no division of aims and sentiment between the body of officials and any underlying population—all that is a more obscure and hazardous subject of speculation. Yet there has been censorship, somewhat rigorous, and there has been selective refusal of mail facilities, somewhat arbitrary, in these democratic commonwealths also, and not least in America, freely acknowledged to be the most naively democratic of them all. And all the while one would like to believe that it all has somehow served some useful end. It is all sufficiently perplexing.

THORSTEIN VEBLEN.

### SIMFEROPOL REPORTED CAPTURED

PARIS, April 15.—The Matin reported today that the Ukrainian Bolsheviki have captured Simferopol, in the Crimea, key to Sebastopol.

### BOLSHEVISM GROWS IN ITALY

WASHINGTON, April 14.—Bolsheviki propaganda is being spread broadcast in certain Italian cities, creating a situation of grave possibilities, a message to the state department intimated today. Extra police are patrolling the streets of Turin, a big industrial centre, and 500 cavalry troops are reported to have been quartered there to suppress possible uprisings. The troubles are officially spoken of as "an impending strike," and the Italian authorities, the state department said, have the situation under control. Turin is 75 miles southwest of Milan and its position at the junction of several Alpine mountain routes lends it much military importance. Its population is about 350,000.

### RED PROPAGANDA AIMS AT U. S. TROOPS

WASHINGTON, April 15.—A mass of Bolsheviki propaganda, believed responsible for undermining the morale of American troops in Russia, has been received at the war department. The propaganda was taken by army authorities from letters forwarded by soldiers to their relatives in the United States.

Much of the propaganda was directed at British troops. All pamphlets declare that Allied troops are in Russia as part of the conspiracy to restore a czar to power. One leaflet, under the heading, "All Lies," declared the Allied troops are in Russia against the will of the people, and that "except for a few hungry peasants," immediately around Archangel, the Russian people wish to be left alone to work out their own destiny.

"We don't mind admitting that we are humanitarian enough to hope that they never find the guy who called it the PEACE conference—there has been quite enough bloodshed in the world of late.

## The "White Terror" in Finland

### Workers Shot by the Thousand

[From the Manchester Guardian, March 20]

We have received from a Finnish correspondent an account of the "White Terror" which raged in Finland at the time of the suppression of the "Red" rebellion. He writes:

The greatest slaughter did not take place until the Whites, aided by over 10,000 German first-class troops, had completely defeated the Red Guards. It is well-nigh an impossible task in a few lines to give an impression of the unspeakable horrors which now followed, and which have no counterpart in the history of any other civilized nation in the world.

After the insurrection was over sometimes weeks and months later, there commenced a most frightful slaughter, with the permission of the Germans and by the order, assent, and full knowledge of the White Government. There are more than five hundred municipal districts in Finland, and to each orders for "reprisals" were given with the effect that in the following districts approximately the following numbers of workers were shot without any kind of legal procedure:

Kiehimäki, 600; Varkaus, 450; Lahti, 2000 (among them over 300 women); Forssa, 400; Hanho, 100; Jamsa, 400; Vihti, 450; Viborg, 4000; Tammerfors, 600; Hyvinge, 300; Lojo, 200; Karhula, 76; Seinäjoki, 70; Kokkola (Gaolakarleby) 100; Nurmijärvi, 80; Kotka, 400; Helsingfors, 600 (125 women); Lammi, 300; Abo, 400; Jokioinen, 40; Kuhmoinen, 40; Palkane, 17; Jokela, 10; Karis, 40; Asikkala, 27; Borga, 14; Teisko, 80; Fexholm, 15; Kajana, 11; Kotojärvi, 16; Hirvensalmi, 10; Lavia, 10; Virolahti, 10; Perkjarvi, 39; Reirkolli, 20; Atsari, 38; Jyväskylä, 10; Korpi-lahti, 30; Kemi, 50; Eurajoki, 14; Lieksa, 48; Kukainen, 10; Karisalmi, 13; Voikka, 114; Kymi, 42; Joensuu, 30; Hoplaks, 45; Kokemäki, 60.

This makes a sum approximately 12,500 killed. And it is to be observed that these figures refer but to about fifty districts of the five hundred. Also, these persons were not killed in fighting during the civil war, but slaughtered weeks and months after the termination of the warlike operations.

Besides, according to official figures, between 80,000 and 90,000 prisoners were taken and kept in occasional prison camps, where the conditions, in consequence of deliberate neglect and bad organization, proved so miserable that approximately 15,000 persons, men, women and children, died of hunger and disease. In the barracks in Ekenas alone died 2,821 prisoners between June 4 and October 19, among them 2,256 without having been brought to trial. Over 60,000 have been sentenced to punishments between two years' imprisonment and death. All except some 6,000 have got their punishment changed to a conditional one and have been released (but remain deprived of all rights of citizenship). About 450 have been sentenced to death, but only a little over a hundred actually shot. Forty Socialist members of the Diet who remained in the country have got between eight years and lifetime unconditional prison. Out of 92 members only one was uncompromised and allowed to reoccupy his seat in the Diet.

The last general amnesty included also amnesty for all those who in one form or another had behaved "too severely" against the workers during the "cleansing" of the country. Accordingly no one can be brought to trial for having murdered any workers, stolen their property, etc.

### GREAT BRITAIN

The Manchester Guardian reports the British Minister of Labor as saying that there were one million unemployed in that country. And still they babble of chaotic Russia.

# Russian Bolshevism---Tyranny or Freedom?

By BESSIE BEATTY

(Author of the "Red Heart of Russia")

THERE is a wide divergence of opinion among American liberals concerning the Russian Soviet Government. There are even radicals in this country who are opposed to the Bolshevik idea. Among the Russians in America there is bitter disagreement, and this disagreement has been one of the largest contributing factors to the general chaotic American opinion. The majority of Russians in America, in spite of the systematic campaign of misrepresentation that has been conducted against the Russian Soviet, have a rather wonderful faith in the adventure which their countrymen across the world are making. There are a few whose positions, in view of their economic background and previous preaching, is quite as difficult to understand as any factor in the Russian situation.

Telling the story of Russia in revolt as it appeared to me, I am confronted again and again with the same questions:

"Can the Soviets be considered democratic when they deny representation to the bourgeoisie and aristocratic classes?" "Have not the Bolsheviks suppressed newspapers and imprisoned people who disagree with them?" "Are they not an autocracy of the proletariat?" "Is an autocracy of the proletariat any better than an autocracy of the Czar?"

"The Bolsheviks dispersed the Constituent Assembly. How is that justified on any grounds of democracy?"

"If the Constituent Assembly was not elected under fair conditions, why did the Bolsheviks not call another election, and immediately convene another Constituent Assembly?"

Coming from the lips of the liberal, whose social vision stops with the guaranty of political rights, of free speech, free press and inviolability of person, these questions are understandable enough, but from the lips of the Socialist, whose conception of liberty is based upon an economic rather than a political foundation, such sentiments are queer indeed. It seems that the divergence of opinion among radicals in this country comes largely from confusion as to the true meaning of democracy.

Nicholai Lenin, when he overthrew the Kerensky government, made no claim to being a creator of a new democracy. He scoffed at democracy as it was practiced in the western nations. He declared that just as the French revolution challenged feudal control, the Russian Soviet challenges the bourgeois political control; and that just as the feudal control was moribund and fell, so the direct form of economic social control for which the Soviet stands will destroy every form of bourgeois political control.

He saw that the western democracies suppressed the press and imprisoned people for disagreeing with them and charging them with failure in the business of government, which is to house, to clothe, to feed and to educate its people.

He laid no claim to the establishment of a millennium in Russia. He said merely that Russia had entered into the transition period that will lead to Socialism. To the "parlor Socialists," who call him undemocratic, I heard him say:

"To imagine Socialism as these gentlemen would have it, we would have to serve it to them on a silver platter. It is impossible. It will never be. There is no other road to Socialism except the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the merciless suppression of the rule of the exploiter."

The Bolsheviks do claim that the Soviet form of government contains the rudiments of a democracy, much broader, more complete than any of the democracies of the western powers.

In America we require that a man must have attained his majority, that he must be a citizen of the United States by birth of naturalization, and that he must not be either insane or a criminal, before we permit him to vote. We do not claim that we are undemocratic because we do not per-

mit the criminal and the insane, the unnaturalized, and those who are under twenty-one, to vote. Some Americans will not even agree that we are undemocratic when we refuse the vote to American women. Russia has fewer election laws than we have, but she has one fundamental one, that if you do not work you have no right to a voice in the government. Every man and woman in Russia above the age of eighteen can immediately qualify as a voter by complying with the one fundamental electoral rule of the Soviet—by going to work. If he is a working producer, working with his hands or with his brains, whether he is a ditch digger or a superintendent, he may be admitted to participation.

The Bolsheviks disenfranchise by different standards than those used in all other democracies. The Bolsheviks disenfranchise the parasite class just as we disenfranchise the insane and the criminal classes, on the principle of the social good. They refuse to permit any individual or group of individuals to make use of the past stored labor power of the world, or to control and profit from the present labor power.

It is true that the Bolsheviks suppressed the press and imprisoned persons who disagree with them. They offered in justification the same reasons offered by the governing group in America; that it was a war measure which the safety of the government demanded. A study of the Russian papers since the November revolution will show that, drastic as this suppression of the press was, it was less drastic than that practiced in America. I mean to say that the newspapers of Russia have been full of attacks against the Bolsheviks such as would never have been permitted against the governing group in America. It is not possible to excuse it in America. Yet it would seem that we should be very timid about making overmuch of this charge when we consider that we have generations of organization and stability back of us while the new government of Russia has just come struggling into existence out of centuries of oppression, and is fighting for its life against odds such as we have never known.

As to the Constituent Assembly, I saw it come and go, and it is my honest opinion that it would have been dissolved if Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, or any other group of English, French or American statesmen had been in the position of Lenin and Trotzky. The Constituent Assembly was elected under rules laid down by the government of Kerensky, and was a relic of the political revolution in Russia. It was dissolved, not on that January morning when the sailors told the delegates it was time to go home, but on that November day when the government which created it evaporated like a pricked balloon. The Bolsheviks claimed it was not representative of the Russian masses. Their claim seems to have been upheld by the people themselves, for though there were twelve million bayonets in Russia from which to gather a nucleus of effective protest, no group in Russia has been able to make that protest.

Our evidence of the vitality of the Soviet in Russia is to be found in the fact that it has survived every form of counter-revolution from within, and Allied intervention from without. Nicholas Chaikovsky told me that it had completely swept the country, that every time one of his delegates of the Peasants' Council went back to his village, he found the people there had swung further and further to the left. Harold Williams, in a dispatch to the London Times, written while he was in Russia, declared that Bolshevism had swept the country, invading even the ranks of the Cossacks.

We are told that the position of the Bolsheviks has been maintained by force. Yet every time the Soviet formulas met the bayonets massed

against them, the bayonets went down before those formulas, and the soldiers who had come to overthrow remained to participate.

The Bolsheviks would not call a Constituent Assembly because they believed the will of the majority was better expressed in the more flexible convention of the Soviets, which had already replaced the Constituent Assembly, even before its formal dissolution.

The challenge of which Nicholai Lenin spoke is beginning to be recognized by the statesmen of the world. The Russian Soviet is at the peace table. Whatever the decision of the peace plenipotentiaries, the fact remains that Russia is there. Not the Russia of Prince Lvoff; Bakmatieff, whose campaign of misrepresentation is largely responsible for the anomalous intervention policy of the Allies; not the Russia of Korneloff or Kalden or the Czar; but the Russia of the masses of peasants and workers who are fighting and starving and dying to fling their challenge at the world.

Whether delegates of the Soviet are there in the flesh makes little difference. Soviet Russia and that which it has unloosed upon the world is uppermost in the mind of every man who sits at the board.

The challenge cannot be met by sticking the national head under the sand and denying the existence of the Soviet or the extent of its power. Continued misrepresentation of its program or its performance will not suffice to crush it. The pathetic wail of the few anti-Bolshevist Russians in America about the suppression of the press and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly will change nothing. If we are to meet the Russian situation, we must look ahead.

Military intervention has failed. It deserved to fail for its sheer criminal stupidity, if for nothing else. The scarcely less sinister policy of starving Russia into submission to the will of other nations can be hardly more successful. The paper-mache governments of the opposition which have sprung up like mushrooms all over that vast land and have been as short-lived as mushrooms, offer no hope for any working solution. It is time to make an honest effort to find out the true condition of Russia, and to understand what has really happened there.

The most essential thing in understanding the Russian situation is a realization that it cannot be judged by any of the old measuring sticks. We have here an experiment in government which has never before been made in the story of the race.

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