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THE SOVIET

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Devoted to the Interests of the Working Class

VOL. 1 NO. 1

EDMONTON, ALTA., FEB. 7, 1919

BUS. MANAGER, BOX 1682

Fixed Price For Grain; World Markets Are Glutted

SERIOUS PROBLEM IN GRAIN SURPLUS

Available Supply Until July 1st About Double Europe's Needs
W. P. Mackenzie's View—U. S. Government Urged to
Remove All Restrictions on Price and Take
Inevitable Loss

(Montreal Gazette)

In a review of the conditions confronting the United States because of an over supply of foodstuffs, with values held at an artificial level by the guaranteed price of wheat, W. P. Mackenzie presents, in an article prepared for The Gazette, facts and figures that are of vital interest to Canada in view of current discussion as to whether or not a price is to be fixed for Canada's 1919 crop.

Mr. Mackenzie, a Canadian by birth, but now a resident partner in Chicago of Shearson Hammill and Co., is well known here as an authority on the grain markets. On his visit to Montreal this week he made the following summary of conditions as affecting supply and demand for food stuffs, taking the stand that the only logical thing for the United States Government to do, in view of the fact that so many problems, economic, industrial and financial depend on the course of the cost of living, is to remove all restrictions on wheat at the earliest opportunity. Mr. Mackenzie says:

In analyzing the world's situation on food and the economic conditions radiating therefrom, one must keep in mind, in the first place, the fact that at no time in the last four and a half years has there been an actual shortage of food the world over. The difference of distribution alone created an artificial shortage in certain parts of the world. With that thought in mind, the present conditions loom up with added force and disclose a situation of over-supply which has in itself many grave dangers if not intelligently handled.

During the period of war, Argentine, Australia and India were practically closed as shipping points for foreign needs. These three countries represent a very large percentage of the world's surplus in normal times, consequently, during this period they have repeated crops and increased their carry-over. In Argentine there is a surplus from previous crops today of 150,000,000 bushels for export. In Australia, including old wheat and the new crop, there is an export surplus of 200,000,000 bushels. Figures are not available from India, but they are similarly situated, and may be estimated as having a very substantial amount for sale. From now on, there will be wheat harvested in some portion of the world every month in the year. With those figures in mind, we may turn to the new production on this continent and Canada.

The Exportable Surplus

January 1st the United States shows an exportable surplus above home requirements of 250,000,000 bushels. Canada shows on the same date, a surplus for export of 80,000,000, making the total for these four countries, and, eliminating India, of 680,000,000 bushels of wheat available for shipment from January 1st to June 30th next. The largest amount of wheat Europe ever imported through an entire crop season of twelve months, is 584,000,000 and, normally considerably below 500,000,000.

Taking into consideration the increased war needs, Europe has an available supply between January 1st and July 1st provided transportation is available, of at least two bushels for every one that Europe can consume in that period, and, after that date, we have then to consider the additional supply from the Northern Hemisphere.

The United States has already seeded nearly 50,000,000 acres of winter wheat, and a prospective spring wheat area of 25,000,000 would bring a conservative estimate with reasonable weather conditions, of 1,100,000,000 bushels production this year. Canada with the same incentive should have a record crop possibly of 400,000,000 bushels. What the world will do with this production is a problem which will tax the intelligence of the best minds and test the efficiency of the administration to the maximum of its powers.

Commercial stocks of grain as issued by the Government on December 1st, last, are as follows:

	bushels	bushels
	1918.	1917
Wheat	219,000,000	82,000,000
Corn	13,000,000	8,000,000
Oats	62,000,000	59,000,000
Rye	14,000,000	7,000,000
xFlour	6,000,000	3,000,000

x—Barrels

At terminal points, January 1st, the Agricultural Department reports stocks of:

	Pounds.
Frozen meat	295,000,000
Cured beef	36,000,000
Lamb and mutton	12,000,000
Frozen pork	60,000,000
Dry salted pork	351,000,000
Pickled pork	295,000,000
Lard	100,000,000

At the same time this department reported:

Hogs on the farm, 75,587,000, an increase of 4,863,000 over last year; sheep, 49,863,000, an increase of 1,260,000; cattle, 44,399,000, an increase over last year of 287,000.

It will be seen therefore that not only is there an excess of grain, but also of other food stocks, and that the shortage of food supplies so called is more artificial than real. According to Bloomhall, whose authority is unquestionable, 480,000,000 bushels of wheat will be required, exclusive of Germany, Austria and Russia during the next seven months.

It is difficult to figure competitive prices accurately at the present time between American prices and those of our competitors, due to the constant shifting of freight costs. The Australian crop was taken by the British Government between 95c. and a \$1, and the Argentine authorities have asked for consideration of a minimum price for their wheat of \$1.71 1-4 and on oats of 43 1-2c, while Argentine corn can be laid down in New York at \$1.25 a bushel as against an average price in Chicago of \$1.0 at the present time.

While there is nothing more fallacious than facts, except figures, the statistics given above seem to me to involve a situation which discloses either a lack of proper analysis on the part of those in authority, or that their plans were entirely thrown out of gear by the unexpected early ending of the war.

Whatever the cause, the problem is with us and in that problem is involved all other problems, economic, industrial and financial with which we are confronted today. In other words, in the cost of living one has the answer to the maintenance of wages and that in relation to the whole industrial life of the country is the great problem which the United States has to solve. In relation to original costs and competitive values, the Government is facing a loss irretrievable and stupendous. Industrial concerns are facing a similar situation through large inventories at high costs, which must be written down.

There is no logical reason why the Government should not take its loss and write down just as a corporation or as an individual must, with the additional fact that in doing so they are returning to the natural laws of "supply and demand" and accomplishing at the same time that most vital need of the world, viz., that the consumer be permitted to benefit from the plenty that exists, rather than suffer from an artificial and uneconomic price-fixing basis, having within itself most of the dangers that lead to chaos, anarchy and Bolshevism.

In considering the competitive factors of this over-supply we are facing in the United States, it will become essential that something be done by the American Government to meet the freight competi-

tion with other countries. At the present time, England is shipping goods to Buenos Ayres on a basis of \$10.15 a ton, while costs from the United States to the same point are \$30.35. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to believe that shipments from the United States to Argentina are out of the question and that the foreign trade supremacy of Great Britain is not in danger. English bottoms will continue to exchange manufactured goods with Argentina for food. It is also interesting to note that rumor has it that Argentine has

granted a credit of \$189,000,000 annually for three years in England, France and Italy for purchase of grain and wool; consequently, all other things being equal, sentiment is eliminated. The cheapest markets are now available and will control the entire trade. Relations will be resumed on the basis of economic laws, where an interchange of commodities for manufactured goods will once more be the deciding factor, rather than the piling up of an already over-extended credit and further loss of gold.

The Red Fleet In The Baltic

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS
(Reprint from The Nation).

In January, 1918, the Soviet Government sent out the following wireless message—one of the many appeals to revolt that were continuously going out:

The Revolutionary sailors of the Baltic Fleet, in conference assembled, send their greetings of brotherhood to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Russian sailors are the High Command. The yacht of the former Czar, the "Polar Star," is now the headquarters of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world.

With the words, "Flower and pride of the revolutionary forces" Trotzky had hailed the sailors of Kronstadt as they stood in July before the Tauride Palace, 6000 strong, demanding "All Power to the Soviet!" These were words, not of flattery, but of fact; for the Russian sailors were first to hoist upon their battleships the red flag of revolt, just as the German sailors are now the first to fly the red emblem of the Revolution. Through all the days of counter-revolution they were the first to scent danger to the new democracy. They have always been first to drop everything and hurry to its rescue.

They had no love for the Kerensky Government; yet when it was island citadel to line up against the wild divisions of Kornilov, when the cadets rose against the Bolsheviks and took possession of one of the nerve centers of Petrograd—the telephone station—it was the sailors who headed the storming party that rushed the courtyard entrance and dug the cadets from their nest. When Petrograd was threatened with being cut off from food, and the November revolution with being starved into submission, the sailors were dispersed throughout the countryside as far afield as Siberia. With argument and bayonet they started the flow of food into the revolutionary capital. When the unity of Russia was threatened by Ukraine and the counter-revolutionists on the Don, it was the sailors pouring down from the Baltic fleet on the north and up from the Black Sea fleet on the South who put fear into the hearts of the separatists.

The reason why the revolution is so precious to the sailor is that to him it means deliverance from the nightmare of a past the very thought of whose return is intolerable. The Russian naval officers were recruited exclusively from the privileged caste. The count against them is that they enforced, not a rigid discipline, but one that was arbitrary and personal. The weal of the sailor might be subject to the whims, jealousies and insane rage of a petty officer whom he despised. His replies to his superior were limited to the three phrases, tak tochno (quite so), nekak niet (no indeed), rad staratsa (glad to try my best), with, of course, the natural salutation "Your Nobility!" In four years 404 seamen were sent to disciplinary battalions, 79 to military prisons, 322 to civil prisons, 1,235 to penitentiaries, 431 to Katerga (hard labor in Siberia) and 56 were executed.

For this reason the outbreak of the revolution meant the killing of scores of officers, the dismissal of hundreds of others, and a sharp watch over all the rest. For this reason Kerensky, when he appeared to be coquetting with those whose eyes were longingly turned to the past, felt the hot blast of indignation from the fleet.

RESOLUTION

The Second Congress of Representatives of the Baltic Sea Fleet has passed the following resolution:
We demand from the Soviet of Soldiers, Workmen and Peasant Deputies and the Centro-fleet the immediate removal from the ranks of the Provisional Government of the "Socialist"—political adventurer Kerensky, as one who is scandalizing and ruining the great revolution and with it the great revolutionary people, by his shameless political blackmail in behalf of the bourgeoisie.

To thee, Kerensky, who hast betrayed the revolution, we send curses, drowning in the Gulf of Riga, are calling us to the defence of the revolution; at this moment when our comrades, stricken down by shells and bullets, and at this moment when we all, as one man, are ready to lay down our lives for freedom, ready to die in open fight on the sea with the external foe and on the barricades with the internal enemy, we are sending to thee, Kerensky, and to thy friends, curses for thy appeals, by which thou art endeavoring to disintegrate the forces of the fleet in this fearful hour for the country and the revolution.

Second Congress of Representatives of the Baltic Fleet. October 16, 1917. Helsingfors.

In no country is it possible to confuse the sailor with the landman. The unmistakable stamp of the open sea is in his bearing and in his blood is the tang of the salt-sea winds. But the Russian sailor has something which marks him off even from his own kind throughout the world. In his heart there blazes the revolutionary fire. As flaming apostles of Socialism the men from the fleet passed along the highways and through the market places of Russia; even in the remotest villages the sluggish-souled peasant felt the quickened touch of these missionaries of revolt. They were ubiquitous, and zealous in every meeting and every plot. But these sailors who have so keenly set out for the democratization of Russia—how well have they democratized their own section of it? They who have so confidently challenged the whole world order—what sort of order have they set up in their own homes?

Home to the 1,500 sailors of the Siberian fleet was Vladivostok. To the 10,000 men in the landlocked fleet of the Caspian it was Baku. To the 5,000 sailors of the ice fleet guarding the White Sea found their refuge in Archangel. The two main fleets—the Black Sea, leading the revolt of 1905, and the Baltic, claiming the honors for 1917—had respectively a personnel of 45,000 and 65,000 men. These sailors from their far-reaching campaigns of propaganda and civil war come homing back to Sebastopol and Odessa in the Black Sea and to Reval, Kronstadt and Helsingfors on the Baltic.

My first glimpse of the sailor at home was in the Gulf of Finland, where the Baltic fleet stood as a barricade on the water-road to Petrograd. An old reserve officer directing me along the quay pointed out a strip of yellow wood which ran around the "Polar Star," the yacht of the former Czar, and said:

That moulding is of the best mahogany and cost 25,000 rubles, but the sailors are now too lazy to keep it polished. So they painted it yellow. In my day a sailor was a sailor. He knew that his job was to scrub and polish and he tended to his job. But the devil is loose among them now. Think of it! On this very yacht that belongs to the Czar himself ordinary seamen sit about making laws about managing the ships and the fleet and the country. And they don't stop there. They talk about managing the world. Internationalism and democracy they call it, but I call it downright treason and insanity.

There in brief is the point at issue between the defenders of the old regime and the champions of the new revolutionary order. In the old order the discipline and control were superimposed from above; in the new they proceed from the men themselves. The old was a fleet of officers; the new is a fleet of sailors. In the change a new set of values has been created; a new code has been formed. In it the polishing of the sailors' wits upon democracy and internationalism has higher rating than polishing the brass and mahogany.

The second indication of the temper of the new fleet came to us as we climbed the gangway of the "Polar Star," where Rasputin and his associates once had their day. The correspondent of the San Francisco Bulletin, Miss Beatty, was informed that the presence of her sex upon the ships was tabooed. The captain was very polite, very much adorned with gold braid, but withal very helpless.

"In such a matter, you understand," he explained. "I can do nothing at all. Everything is in the hands of the 'committee.'"

"But she has come 10,000 versts to see the fleet."

"Well, we can see what the 'committee' says," he answered. The "committee" was complaisant and made a special dispensation in the matter. We were on our way again, with the captain in advance warding off the challenging inquiries of the crew with the

explanation "by special permission from the 'committee.'"

But the word captain is an anachronism. Rule 2 of the Decree for the Democratization of the Fleet reads: "All denominations of ranks existing up till now which serve to show class distinctions are abolished and all are to be called Seamen of the War Fleet of the Russian Republic."

Furthermore, "All giving of titles is to be abolished and all men are to bear the name of their calling in accordance with the special function that they fulfil; for example, grazhdanin kommander (citizen commander). In like manner it is 'citizen artilleryman,' 'citizen electro-technician,' etc." But captain is not the only anachronism. His gold braid is an anachronism likewise, for on the new uniform common to all seamen the trappings and tinsel are at a minimum.

The citizen commander pointed down the corridor past the princesses' suites to the great cabin from whose precincts he said that he was debarred. It was consecrated to the meetings of the Central Committee of the Baltic Sea—or, as it is more familiarly known, the Centrobalt. It consisted of one representative for every contingent of 1,000 sailors, making a committee of about 65. This General Committee is divided into four general departments.

The Administrative Committee deals with questions about the make-up of the fleet, the construction of new ships, and the conditions in the factories where these ships are made. It determines the personnel of the crews, the transfer of sailors from one ship to another, the rate of pay, mobilization, and demobilization.

The Supply Committee looks after the provisioning of the fleet with food, coal, oil and medicines. It looks after the finances of the fleet, accepting the new ships that are built and paying for them.

The Political Committee conducts a propaganda by sending to the front, to the barracks, and throughout the countryside, men with papers, books and speeches. The rules provide that all seamen are free to become members of any political, national, religious, economic or professional organizations, societies, or unions. They have the right to preach freely and openly, verbally, by writing, or in print, their political, religious, or other views. The juridical section of this committee examines into scandals and conflicts between sailors and commanders. The inquest section makes inquiries into bad ships, counter-revolutionary activities, and like matters.

The War Marine Department (Voyenno-Morskoy-Otdiel) is the executive head of the fleet. It consists of a commander and two assistants, one managing the operative and the other the technical side. In all operative and technical affairs the War Marine Department is of supreme authority. All the orders to the fleet, to the smaller units, and to the individual ships are given under the signature of the chief and countersigned by a number of the department attached to his service. In matters of navigation and technique this commanding staff is in complete control over the whole organization both in and out of battle. It holds command over the drilling; and fixes the time for the sailing of the ships. Having such a large measure of authority, it is responsible for its actions before the plenum of the Central Committee and the higher organs of state. In all orders and dispositions regarding the technical and operative side of the fleet the chief of this department must assume full responsibility for results. As for the work executed in conjunction with the Central Committee on economic, administrative, or political affairs, the chief is responsible only when the resolution of the Central Committee is in conformity with his own report. If the resolution passed by the Central Committee is opposed to the views announced by the chief on the subject, he is freed from all responsibility as to the results of its execution.

By the irony of history these seamen were put to work upon the problems of radical democracy in the very cabin where but a few months before the most reactionary autocrat in all the world held control. My credentials secured me entrance to the cabin which had none of the elegance that I had imagined. The piano and other decorative furnishings had been removed, while the table and chairs were protected with brown canvas covers. It had been turned into a workshop and carried as business-like an air about it as did the seamen who were conducting their routine work in it. Ordinary seamen they were who had suddenly turned legislators, administrators, and clerks. They were a bit awkward in their new role but they clung to it with desperate earnestness for sixteen hours a day. For they were dreamers held by an ideal whose drive and scope appear in the address which they presented to me after my greetings had been interpreted by the captain.

TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY,
ALBERT WILLIAMS, IN REPLY TO HIS GREETING TO THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BALTIC FLEET

The Russian democracy in the person of the representatives of the whole Baltic Fleet sends warm greetings to the entire proletariat and all the workers of the country beyond the ocean and hearty thanks for the greetings

sent by our brothers in America.

Comrade Williams is the first swallow come flying across to see us to the cold waves of the Baltic Fleet, which now for a period of over three years has been dyed by the blood of the sons of one family, the International.

The Russian democracy, the Russian proletariat, will strive up to its last breath, to unite everybody under the red banner of the International. When starting the Revolution, the Russian democracy did not have in view a political revolution alone. The task of all true fighters for Freedom consisted in the creation of a social revolution and the advanced vanguard of the revolutionaries in the person of the members of the Russian Fleet and the workmen will fight to the end for the realization of these great ideas and will hope to find sympathy, an answer to their call, and help in other countries.

The flame of the Russian Revolution, we are sure, will spread over the whole world and light a fire in the hearts of the workers of all countries, and we shall obtain support in our struggle for a speedy general peace.

The free Baltic Fleet is awaiting with impatience the moment, when it will be able to go to America and relate there all that the Russian democracy went through before the revolution under the yoke of czarism and capital and what it is feeling now when the banner of the struggle for the freedom of peoples is unfurled.

LONG LIFE TO THE AMERICAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.
LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES.
LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL.
LONG LIVE GENERAL PEACE.

The Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet, Fourth Convention.

(SEAL)

(Signed by the officers and thirty-four members of the Committee.)

Feodor Averichin, secretary of the Central Committee, escorted me on the pilot-boat to his battleship, the "Respublika." The entire crew was assembled on deck to give cheers and to hear the news from the first foreign tovarishch (comrade). The declaration that he was an American Internationalist put him immediately at one with 960 out of 1,020 members of the crew. The officer Zazloki translated, but a speech was not necessary. The phraseology of the new revolutionary ideology has entirely displaced the old patriotic and religious ideology in Russia. The mere reiteration of the new battle cries has power to charm and in spirit these new disciples of revolt. The sounding of them in my foreign accent drew such an outburst of applause that it echoed like a salvo from all the ship's batteries. A testimonial was inscribed with an array of seals and signatures in the characteristic Russian manner.

The photographer was called upon to make a record of this historic event—the American and the Russian Internationalist shaking hands on the bridge of the battleship "Respublika" off the coast of Finland. It was done amidst great acclamation from the crew.

In all this the commander and his staff hung on the edge of the crowd as if they were outsiders or outcasts. I pointed this out to Averichin and suggested that it savored of humiliation. He averred that the proceedings were quite in accord with regulation Number 37, which provided that the commanding staff be debarred from all affairs which were of state or international significance.

"But isn't your commander a good fellow?" I asked. "He looks that way to me."

"Why, yes," Averichin replied. "Even before the revolution he was a good fellow and now he is one of the best in the world. So if you want him in the picture, all right."

The captain smiled and took his place in the picture amidst much applause from the crew. After the love feast we retired to the ship committees' quarters where I was plied with innumerable questions about the American navy ranging from "Do the American navy officers reflect solely the viewpoint of the upper classes?" to "Are the American battleships kept as clean as this one of ours?" As we talked, eggs and steak were brought to me, while a great plate of potatoes was served each member of the committee. I commented upon the difference.

"Yours is officers' fare and ours is sailors'," they exclaimed.

"Pochemoo, revolutsia?" (Why, after the revolution?) I exclaimed.

They laughed and said, "The revolution has given us the thing that we value most—our freedom. We are masters of our own ship. We are masters of our own lives. We have our own courts. We can have shore-leave when not in service. Off duty we have the right to wear civilian clothes. We do not demand that the revolution should give us anything." Afterwards, however, these men became a bit more ambitious gastronomically, though on account of the shortage of food the democratization of the ration was accomplished more by sabotage on the officers' ration than by levelling up that of the sailors.

The crew not only elects its own committee—generally on the basis of one member for every fifty sailors—but likewise chooses all its officers. For the position of commander the list of candidates is drawn up by the ship's committee together with the flagman. For the position of assistant commander the list is made up by the committee in consultation with the commander. The balloting then proceeds on the basis of general suffrage and the election is valid if two-thirds of the crew participate.

Each group of specialized workers elects its own head. The electro-technicians elect one of the number as chief. The divers

elect one of their number as chief of their guild. The list of the candidates is made up by the men in consultation with the commander. The Crew is informed of the results of the elections. If during seven days no protest is raised upon the part of the crew against any elected person he is regarded as confirmed in his position by the personnel of the ship.

Every seaman has the right to refuse the post to which he has been elected, provided he gives the motive for his refusal. The final decision as to the acceptance or rejection of this refusal is left to the Central Committee of the fleet, to whom must be submitted a detailed record of the case.

There are three tendencies in the present democratization of the fleet: (1) The formation of specialized groups like divers, and mechanics into corporations or guilds. This action exhibits a syndicalist viewpoint. In the medical force the professional union of physicians and feldshers (assistant surgeons) presents its candidates to the different ships. They are then confirmed in their position by the different crews, and the results of the election are communicated to the Central Committee.

(2) The concentration of much power in the executive heads. This begins with the chief of War-Marine Department, and runs down through the commanders of divisions, flotillas, divisions of ships of the second, third and fourth rank, airships, coast defence, hydrographical expeditions, etc.

(3) A wide provision for the use of the recall in the individual ships and in the fleet at large. One-third of the members of the crew may raise the question against any one in authority. It is the same in a specialized group. If for example, the electro-technicians are dissatisfied with their chief, one-third of their number can raise the question of his recall. If two-thirds of the contingent vote for the recall it is directed by the ship's committee, together with a report of the chief of the unit to the Central Committee for final confirmation of the decision.

As there are fleets on the different seas and rivers, the next body above the central committees of the different fleets is the All-Russian Convention of Fleets. They elected first of all a Marine Council of twenty members, which exercises a general supervision over the building of new ships, the inspection of wharves and barracks, and the new courses in the naval colleges. The most important function of this Marine Council is to sit as a part of the great central governing body of Russia—the Soviet of Workmen's Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies in Moscow.

The second superior body by this All-Russian Convention of Fleets is the Supreme Marine College of three. The chief of this is ex-officio a member of the Council of People's Commissaires. The sailor Dybenko was the first to hold that office. The second member of the Supreme Marine College was Modest Ivanov under whose direction were the departments of the Naval Ministry in the great Admiralty Building in Petrograd. Here is his letter to the editor of the Revolyutziyony Flot:

Citizen Editor:

Having received numerous letters containing threats even of death, and not having the time or the opportunity for answering them, I consider it my duty to explain why I entered the Supreme Marine College.

I must tell you who I am. I am Modest Ivanov, forty-two years old. I took part in three wars which Russia conducted. I was at Pori, Arhar, have been wounded twice and have decorations for active service, including the sword of St. George. I am an Academician. At the moment of the March revolution I was commander of the cruiser "Diana" and on leave of absence at Kronstadt. I was not there subjected to any violence or insult. In reply to a telegram of the crew and the officers of the "Diana" I arrived immediately at Helsingfors and went to the "Diana," where I was received most heartily by all. On May 14 I was elected by the second detachment of cruisers ("Rossia," "Grombol," "Diana," and "Aurora") and appointed at the request of the crew chief of the detachment. I retained the post for six months, accomplishing all the time certain responsible tasks. During this period there was not a single case of insult to an officer on the part of the crews. The commanders were also elected, and the sailors and officers lived in perfect friendship.

But I saw clearly that the officers were lagging behind the progress of political thought in the country. They were becoming more and more separated, losing contact with the crews, that is, with the people. My opinion is, that the fault lay in the difference between the staff of the commander of the fleet and the highest democratic organization in the fleet, that is, the Centrobalt. At the most critical moments (Kornilov's attempt and the separation of Finland) the voice of the commander of the fleet and his staff was not heard. The position of the officers became acute. They were in a cul-de-sac. Owing to certain events (my conflict with the former Minister of Marine Lebedev) I knew that the crew, that is, the people, trust me, not as a leader of any political party, but as a naval officer, Modest Ivanov, who stood up for the power of the people in the person of the committees, and whom the sailors knew by his service in the fleet during the course of twenty-four years. After the revolution of November, on the 27th, I received from the Centrobalt a telegram demanding my consent to be put up as a candidate for the Supreme Military College. I was given one hour in which to decide. I consented immediately. My candidature was unanimously confirmed by the Centrobalt, and afterwards the All-Russian Convention of Fleets, the first in the history of the world, elected me finally and promoted me to the rank of rear-admiral.

You ask me why I entered the Supreme Marine College. I will give you a precise answer: I hoped and still hope to find a common language between the sailors and the officers for the creation of a future, maybe a national fleet. . . . Most of you write that my name will be nailed to the pillory of history. . . . I answer: "Let it be nailed, but let Russia

have in the future a great commercial national fleet, as she has a military fleet."

(Signed) Member of the Supreme Marine College and Manager of the Ministry of Marine, Rear Admiral. Modest Ivanov.
January 19, 1918.

In spite of all the terrible vicissitudes through which the fleet passed since Modest Ivanov wrote these words, he has retained his faith in the integrity of the sailors, and the reports of the Fifth Congress of Soviets show him still the ardent believer in their great adventure of democratization. But as a class the officers still cling to the hope of a return of the old order. After the decree of democratization they met at their club and in a resolution declared that the decree would inevitably lead to the complete disorganization and ruin of the fleet, that it compelled the officers to be on the same footing with soldiers in the common rights, and that they would recognize only the decision of the Constituent Assembly.

How has all this affected the efficiency of the fleet? Many experts will testify that they find in the fleet the inevitable effects of the destruction of the old discipline—a considerable lowering of its technical efficiency. Others assert that after going through three years of war and two revolutions the fleet was in as good condition as any in the world. This seems a partisan view. As to its moral efficiency, there is no doubt that it was superb. The battle of the Moon Sound Isles furnished a good test-case. Outnumbered by the German squadron and outdistanced both in speed and gun-range, these revolutionary sailors fought a brilliant engagement with the enemy. Even their worst detractors have admitted that the fighting morale of the fleet was unsurpassed. The fervor of the sailors would probably have assured the success of the experiment in democratization if the officers instead of "sabotaging" had given enthusiastic support to the undertaking. But they are technically fettered by the habits of their class and by the ingrained prejudices of their tradition. Though some strove to make the democratic gesture and to repeat the shibboleths of Socialism their hearts were not in the task.

To insure success, behind the democratic machinery there must be the enthusiastic democratic spirit. The sailors, realizing this, have made ready for the training of their commanders out of the ranks of the workers. They founded a university in which hundreds of sailors were taking courses, ranging from the most elementary to the most advanced. In the meeting of the Educational Committee, when they were organizing their curriculum, I blun-
tly asked the chairman from what school or university he came. He blushed and hesitated, then said: "No university; no school. I am almost one of the dark people. But I am a revolutionist. We know that our greatest enemy is ignorance, and we are going to begin right now to kill that foe." By his ardency he persuaded several members of the University of Helsingfors, many officers, and several co-operating scientific and educational societies to join in this work. While the regulations demand that "all persons appointed to commanding posts must have corresponding training, theoretical and practical, attested by certificate from special schools," in the present exigencies seamen who are particularly skilled and who can pass practical tests before the commission appointed by the Central Committee are allowed to hold certain posts. The Sailors' University provides a shortened theoretical education for them.

The world-wide rise of the working class forcing a new social reorganization is based not solely upon the demand for the necessities of life but on the claim for a larger participation in some of its amenities. Coming down the main street of Helsingfors one night I was commenting upon the absence in this part of the usual bands of sailors rolling down the street. Suddenly we were brought sharply up before an imposing building which had the dimensions and appearance of a great modern hotel. The door opened and we heard strains of music. Entering, we went along a richly carpeted stairway and through curtained doorways until we came to the dining-hall. There, in a room set with potted plants and mirrors, with hundreds of lights shining upon the glistening napery and silver, were the diners, listening to the orchestra playing Chopin and Tchaikovsky interspersed with an occasional ragtime piece from the American conductor. It was not the usual hotel assemblage of adventurers, speculators, bankers, and politicians, with their retainers and their women, but the seamen of the war fleet of the Russian Republic. The game and smoking rooms were crowded, while through the halls and corridors streamed a procession of laughing, jesting, arguing sailors in their suits of blue.

The hotel bore in letters the sign Matrosski Kloob (Sailor's Club). When it was opened ten thousand sailors immediately joined, paying their dues of two marks a month and organizing their club on the Russian Soviet plan. Every fifty members of the club chose one delegate. That made about 200 members in the central committee, from which was chosen the presidium of twelve. Eighty-five per cent. of the sailors are literate—a proportion surprisingly high among the Russian proletariat. The club accordingly boasted a much-used magazine room, the nucleus of a library, and an excellent illustrated weekly journal, Moryak (The Seaman). The motto of the organization was: "A welcome to all sailors of the world."

After hoisting the red flag of revolt one of the first acts of the revolutionary fleet was to abolish all outward signs of the hated old regime. Those ships which carried in their names reminders of the old autocracy were rechristened and came forth from their baptism of paint with names fitting the new republican order. By this ceremony the "Emperor Alexander II" became the "Dawn of Liberty" (Zaria Svobody); the "Czarevitch" became the "Citizen" (Grazhdanin); the "Emperor Paul the First" became the "Republic" (Respublika). Such changes were easy to make, but they were not merely superficial. They are symbolic of a change in reality. They are the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual fact—the democratization of a great fleet. Many changes in the technique have been and will be made, but it will always be a democratic fleet. Just as the fervid revolutionary spirit of the seamen made this democratization and consequent socialization possible, so this socialization in its turn reacting upon the psychology of the seamen. They have a deep feeling of communal ownership. When the ship's boat carried me away from the "Respublika," Averichkin with a gesture that took in all the gray ships riding at anchor in the bay, and with a gleam of pride in his eye, exclaimed: "Our fleet! Our fleet! And we shall make it the best fleet in the world. It will always be ready to fight for liberty and justice"; and then, as if looking out beyond the gray mists which hung above the bay and beyond the red mists of the world war, he added, "until we make the international revolution and the end of wars."