Problems of American Socialism *The State and the Revolution*
The Military Situation in Russia

THE RED FLAG

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

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Soviet Russia's Trade Representative in New York With Two Hundred Million Dollars for Initial Purchase of Commodities

THE documents printed below comprise (1) the letter of L. C. A. K. Martens, official representative in the United States of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic dated at New York, March 18, which accompanied the submission of his credentials to the Secretary of State; and (2) a Memorandum accompanying the letter. A summary of the Memorandum was handed to representatives of the press on March 20. Mr. Martens, by profession an engineer, was for several years the representative in this country of the Demidoff Iron and Steel Works in Russia. Mr. Nuorteva, the secretary of the Bureau established by Mr. Martens, was for some time the head of the Finnish Information Bureau at New York, and has also represented the interests of the Russian Soviet Government. The temporary offices of the Bureau are at 299 Broadway, New York.

Honorable Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: I have the honor to hand you herewith original credentials of my appointment as representative of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia in the United States, together with an English translation of the same.

I also have the honor to submit a Memorandum of the present political and economic conditions of Soviet Russia, based upon information supplied to me by my Government, and, furthermore, I enclose a translation of the Constitution of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russia.

Holding myself entirely at the disposal of the United States Government for any additional information or for any conference, official or unofficial,

I am, Sir, very respectfully yours,
(Signed) L. A. MARTENS,
Representative in the United States.
S. NUORTEVA,
Secretary of the Bureau.

Memorandum

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was established on the 6th of November, 1917, by a spontaneous uprising of the toiling masses of Russia. Its Government, the council of the people's Commissars, is a government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia, as are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. Those who, while not being unable to work, deliberately refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are elimated from participation in the control of my Government.

Under present conditions those who are willing to work for the common good number at least 90 per cent. of the adult population in the area controled by the Soviets. All such people have full political and civil rights.

The basis of citizenship in Russia being industrial and economic rather than political, and the social system being of such a nature that every person engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly participating in the management of society in Soviet Russia is higher than has been the case until now anywhere in the world. The Russian Soviet Republic affords thereby the widest possible field for a real expression of a conscious popular will. While the Soviet Government is a government of the working class, the abolition of exploitation of labor and the elimination thereby of class division creates a productive community in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My government thus becomes the expression of fully one hundred per cent. of the people. It should also be noted that political rights are granted in Russia to every inhabitant engaged in useful work, though he be not a citizen of Russia but only temporarily working there.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was rapidly acclaimed by the vast majority of the laboring people throughout the former Empire of Russia. It has maintained itself in the face of manifold plots and opposition on the part of small groups of former ruling classes, who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who employed the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the Soviet institutions. Yet nowhere in Russia could

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Trend of Opinion in Great Britain

The Independent Labor Party is to have its twenty-seventh annual convention, beginning April 20, and to last three days, at Huddersfield, York, England. Below we reproduce a few of the resolutions to be submitted. These will indicate to some extent the character of the ideas and trend of opinion of that element of the working class of Great Britain which attaches itself to that conservative body, the I. L. P.:

Resolutions

Reconstruction

5. That the Conference calls upon the Government to immediately nationalize the land for the people as the first step in reconstruction.—Stretford.

Conscription

13. That this Conference, believing that imprisonment without trial or imprisonment contrary to the law of the land constitutes a grave menace to the liberty of the people, and especially to the Labor movement, as establishing a dangerous precedent which may be acted upon in times of industrial and social unrest, demands the immediate repeal of the Military Service Acts, the end of all interference with the free expression of opinion and speech, and the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and conscientious objectors. It further pledges itself to oppose the re-introduction of conscription or compulsory military service in any form.—Batley, Barnsley, Hull Central, Scarborough.

Allied Intervention in Russia and Germany

41. That this conference hereby registers its emphatic protest against the "undeclared" war against Russia, and calls upon the government of Britain to withdraw the British troops from Russia, and also to use its influence to obtain the withdrawal from Russian territory of all Allied armies, whose object, we believe, is to crush the People's Government of that country, in the interests of financiers and capitalist corporations.—North Leeds.

42. That we strongly protest against the armed intervention of the British Government in Russia, and demand the immediate withdrawal of every British soldier from Russian soil, and allow Russia to manage her own affairs.—Hartlepools, Hitchin.

43. That this conference protests against British troops being sent to Russia, asks for the immediate withdrawal of those who are already there, and further asks for the withdrawal of the press censorship in relation to the affairs of Russia.—West Salford.

44. That we view with alarm the continued intervention of the Allied forces in the internal affairs of Russia, call upon the government to immediately withdraw our military and naval forces, as their presence there is a distinct violation of the principles of self-determination, and is inimical to the peace of Europe, and that organized effort be made forthwith to attain that object.—Aberdare.

45. That this conference views with suspicion and alarm the growing hostility of the governing and capitalist classes in this country and also in the Allied contries to the new-born democracies of Germany and Russia. It insists upon the adhesion of the British Government to the principle of "self-determination" in regard to the countries named, in regard to Ireland and to all other countries.

It emphatically protests against the employment of British troops and British money in the prosecution of schemes that aim at or lead to the subversion of the common people.—Scarborough.

46. That this conference strongly urges the Labor Party to take drastic action to prevent the remaining capitalistic governments of the world from pursuing their murderous attempts to strangle the newly created Socialist Republics of Europe.

47. This conference calls upon the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, in conjunction with the Labor Party Executive, to convene a conference of organized Labor for the purpose of considering what action to take to compel the government to withdraw all troops from Russia, in order that the Russian Democracy be allowed to establish whatever form of in-

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Problems of American Socialism

By LOUIS C. FRAINA

(Continued from Previous Issue)

REVOLUTIONARY Socialism does not mean the abandonment of the immediate struggle; it engages aggressively in this struggle. But revolutionary Socialism accepts that struggle, or phase of the immediate struggle, which is fundamental; and pursues this struggle by means in accord with revolutionary Socialism,—promoting the final struggle, and developing reserves for the revolutionary conquest of power.

While the moderate Socialist nobly wages the class struggle by conciliating the "petite bourgeoisie," by introducing in legislative bodies bureaucratic reform measures, by ascribing to parliamentarism a creative and revolutionary significance which it does not possess, the revolutionary Socialist accepts a proletarian ideology, engages in the aggressive mass and industrial struggles of the proletariat, awakens in the proletariat a consciousness of its control of industry,—out of the mass strikes of the proletariat the revolutionary Socialist tries to develop more effective forms of organization and means of struggle. Socialism is **the class struggle**—this is decisive in our policy. The moderate Socialist depends upon the petty bourgeois parliamentary struggles, and degrades politics; the revolutionary Socialist depends upon the proletarian mass struggle, and makes politics **one** phase, and an auxiliary phase, of the proletarian struggle. Vary as the immediate conditions may, revolutionary Socialism always expresses its fundamental policy in theory and **in action**. . .

The necessity of revolutionary Socialism in the United States does not depend upon the immediate coming of the final revolutionary struggle; but revolutionary Socialism develops the coming of the final struggle by adapting itself to the prevailing conditions: out of these conditions emerge revolutionary consciousness and the final struggle.

The revolutionary crisis in Europe is surely influencing the consciousness of the American proletariat, which it is our task to express and bring to a focus; and this influence will become stronger as events sweep on. But certain objective conditions are developing which, in proportion as Socialism appreciates the opportunity, will accelerate the development of class consciousness and revolutionary action.

Capitalism in the United States has profited enormously from the war. But precisely because of this fact, Capitalism must aggressively and consciously accept Imperialism. The new industrial efficiency developed by American Capitalism, the lower costs, the increasing volumes of profits, and surplus capital and goods,—all this implies the necessity for new markets, for undeveloped territory, for investment and markets. American Capitalism must pursue the practice of Imperialism. An understanding of Imperialism, as marking a new and final stage of Capitalism and introducing the revolutionary epoch, is necessary; and equally necessary is the adoption of revolutionary tactics to fight Imperialism. Yet American Socialism to these "problems" of revolutionary theory and practice. . . :

Simultaneously, American Capitalism will itself provide the objective conditions out of which can be developed the spirit for the revolutionary struggle. The war has sharpened imperialistic appetites and antagonisms. Capitalism has been shaken. Capitalism must "reconstruct" itself. In this reconstruction, new and more acute problems will develop, new forms for the exploitation of the proletariat, coincidentally with the development in the proletariat of a more conscious and aggressive spirit.

But Capitalism cannot reconstruct itself. Capitalism cannot solve the multiplying antagonisms of a system of production that is decaying, that is becoming international while its forms and control are still national. Demobilization will offer enormous problems of providing employment. Adapting industry again to peace conditions means new complications. The sharpening of imperialistic competition and the new industrial efficiency, each will contribute in a measure to unemployment, to the necessity of still more oppression of the proletariat. Crises and antagonisms, industrial dislocation, will characterize Capitalism in the days to come.

Without considering the influence of the developing international revolutionary crisis, the coming period will be characterized by giant industrial revolts, by strikes larger and more numerous than in the past, by an intense unrest of the industrial proletariat. These strikes, which will assume the form of mass revolts, will particularly affect the larger, basic industry, where the industrial proletariat is concentrated. Conciliation, reconstruction, "understanding" between employer and employee, will not prevent the coming of this period of great strikes, of mass industrial revolts, of potential revolutionary mass action.

This situation will offer a great opportunity to Socialism. But if, as in the past, the Socialist Party uses these great strikes to make political capital, to prove to the workers the futility of strikes, and the power of the vote—then a great opportunity will be wasted. That is the petty bourgeois policy, which tries to compress the elemental action of the proletariat within the stultifying limits of parliamentary action, as such.

The Socialist Party, revolutionary Socialism, should use these strikes and mass industrial revolts to develop in the proletariat the consciousness of revolutionary mass action, to develop the conception and practice of political strikes, to make it realize that its action should centre in the large plants, that when it wants to act, its action should develop out of the mill, mine and factory. Our political action should become part and parcel of this mass action, should promote the aggressive industrial struggle. To broaden a strike into a demonstration, to develop, out of these, revolutionary mass action against Capitalism and the state—that is the policy which will transform the coming period of strikes definitely into a period of revolutionary action, preparing the mass action of the Revolution.

The proletariat must be made to realize that the futility of industrial action lies not in its being industrial action, as such, but in that it is incomplete, does not broaden and deepen itself into class action, is not sufficiently general and aggressive. The proletariat must be made to realize that its great strength lies in its control of industry; and it is necessary to develop the consciousness and forms of workers' control of industry. The proletariat must be made to realize that its characteristic tactics consist of industrial mass action developing into revolutionary mass action, and that through this class struggle of the industrial masses alone can the Socialist proletariat conquer.

And Socialism must be made to realize that the value of parliamentary action lies not in "constructive legislation" and bureaucratic, petty bourgeois reform measures, but in revolutionary criticism, in developing the industrial action of the masses, in awakening their revolutionary consciousness; and that when the class struggle turns into a test of power, it is the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat that will conquer, parliaments and parliamentary activity will disappear: politics may assist in developing the Revolution, but can never become the instrument of Revolution, unceasing practice of Socialism must be revolutionary mass action; the unceasing object of Socialism must be the revolutionary conquest of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

An important problem is the movement developing among the unions of the American Federation of Labor to organize a Labor Party; in some cities this has been done, in others the proposal has been approved.

This may, in a measure, be a reflex of similar action among the Canadian unions. It is, in still larger measure, an expression of the new currents that the war and events in Europe are developing in the world's working class—expressed in immature and conservative form. It is, accordingly, a move that, while it should not meet enthusiastic and uncritical acceptance, merits the serious study of the Socialist who does not flee from reality by means of phrases, nor accepts every "reality" as real, but who studies the social alignment, its development and peculiar forms, as the basis for appropriate Socialist tactics.

The organization of an American Labor Party may prove a step forward for the A. F. of L., but not necessarily a step forward for the American proletariat. The A. F. of L., which has insisted all along upon "no politics in the unions" while dickering and compromising with Republican and Democratic politicians, may develop a cleaner sense of independence by means of independent politics, in spite of the petty bourgeois forms these politics will necessarily assume. It may, moreover, by showing the futility of A. F. of L. politics, impress upon the proletariat the necessity of revolutionary Socialist action.

The New York "Call" wails that there is no necessity for a Labor Party, since the Socialist Party has been in the field for twenty years. This is either an admission that the Socialist Party in practice is no more than a Labor Party, or a characteristic Menshevik refusal to admit the fundamental differences between a Labor Party and a Socialist Party. In either case, it is counter-Socialism.

What is a Labor Party? The Labor Party, in England and Australia, has been, from the standpoint of revolutionary Socialism, hopelessly reactionary, consistently un-proletarian. The British Labor Party's policy is a petty bourgeois policy, a counter-revolutionary policy, as has been clearly apparent from its unity with imperialistic Capitalism in the British Cabinet, its declaration that the war was a war of democracy, its accepting petty bourgeois liberalism instead of proletarian Socialism, its nationalistic proposals concerning Ireland, its virtual asquiescence in the expulsion of the Inter-Allied Labor and "Socialist" Conference favoring "democratic" intervention in Russia, its bureaucracy through Arthur Henderson acting against every development of revolutionary energy in the British proletariat. The British Labor Party has been a typical party of laborism, in that it struggles for a place in the governing of things, for petty advantages to the upper layers of the working class, instead of struggling for the overthrow of the governing bourgeois system. The British Labor Party has been and is a party of social-Imperialism: a policy characteristic of laborism and petty bourgeois Socialism.

A characteristic of laborism is that it acts against the broad masses of the industrial proletariat, against the unorganized proletariat of unskilled labor. "The "labor" government of Australia, once in power, used armed force to break the strikes of unorganized, unskilled workers. Moreover, the "labor" government, instead of introducing Socialism, as was expected by the gullible Socialist, strengthened Capitalism, became the unifying centre of bourgeois reaction camouflaged in "labor" and "liberal" colors. When the war broke out, "labor" Australia was even more patriotic and imperialistic than bour-

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geois Canada, "labor" Premier William Morris Hughes becoming the particular pet of the ultra-imperialistic forces of British Capitalism. There has been a revolt in the Labor Party against the "excesses" of Hughes, and more radical currents are developing under pressure of the industrial proletariat and revolutionary Socialism, but the tendency still remains characteristic of a party of laborism.

An Amreican Labor Party would be an expression of the A. F. of L. The policy of the A. F. of L. is clearly reactionary. It acts against the great masses of the unorganized and the unskilled, as is proven by its attitude during I. W. W. strikes. The A. F. of L. is an organization of craft unions, that splits the working class; an organization, moreover, that represents only a very small part of the working class, being largely an organized system of "job trusts." The A. F. of L. during the war has pursued a policy of the utmost reaction, even more reactionary than many circles of Capitalism; it united with Capitalism against Socialism in the United States, and in Europe through its "Labor Missions"; and a Labor Party would pursue an identical reactionary, petty bourgeois policy.

There are elements in the Socialist Party, whose policy is not at all Socialist but the policy of reactionary trade unionism and laborism, who would welcome a Labor Party, and urge merging with it. That would be suicidal; there must be an independent Socialist Party: to merge with a Labor Party would promote confusion, compromise and disaster.

But it must be admitted that the official majority policy of the Socialist party **in action** is, in substance, the policy of Laborism disguised with "Socialist" phraseology. Should our party retain this policy, it would become the fifth wheel of the wagon, serve no necessary mission, and would either decay or become absorbed in the Labor Party. The Socialist Party would have to irrevocably separate itself from a Labor Party and wage war upon it by means of revolutionary Socialism.

The movement to organize a Labor Party, all the developments now trnasforming the world, are a call to Socialist reconstruction, to the annihilation of moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism. The Socialist Party must re-organize in accord with the new conditions, must adopt the policy of revolutionary Socialism, of the Bolsheviki—accept the ideas now developing a new pulse in international Socialism, and which alone represent Socialism and Marxism.

The way to wage war upon a Labor Party, should it eventuate, is not to promise more reforms than the Labor Party, is not to plead and placate, but to develop the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat, to awaken to action the great, unorganized industrial proletariat, which is the dominant force in industry, and which will determine the destiny of the Revolution. This would mean a broadening of the conception and practice of politics—a broadening fully in accord with Marxism and fundamental Socialism. The A. F. of L. does not represent the elements of the real proletariat—the industrial proletariat massed in the basic larger industry. The A. F. of L., except in the case of anachronisms such as the miners, represents the skilled workers, the aristocracy of labor, men who have skill and consider this skill "property." Their ideology is a petty bourgeois ideology, and their domination of Socialism and the industrial proletariat would prove a calamity. The answer to the A. F. of L. compromise and petty bourgeois policy is to awaken the industrial proletariat, and pull out of the A. F. of L. unions, such as the Miners, which belong with the industrial proletariat.

As against the Labor Party, a **Socialist** Party; as against the aristocracy of Labor, the masses of the industrial proletariat; as against A. F. of L. unionism, industrial unionism; as against conciliation with Capitalism, the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism.

There is no magic in "labor"—it depends upon what labor represents, its tendency and action. There is no magic in Socialism" either; both may be reactionary and counter-revolutionary. The great task of Socialism is its own reconstruction—this animates its policy on all problems.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S TRADE REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK

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such elements of their own accord organize any noticeable resistance to the popular will, as expressed by the Soviet Government. Only in sparsely populated outlying districts and in such of those districts where our opponents had access to foreign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organized opposition and to wrest from the control of Soviet Russia some territory. Today, after sixteen months of existence, the Russian Soviet Republic finds itself more securely established than at any previous time.

During the current year the Soviet Government has been particularly successful in retaking vast territories wrested from its control during the preceding months. By February, 1919, the Soviet troops on the northern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On the eastern front they have lost Perm, but they have regainer Pereufa, Ufa, Stelitamak, Bellbey, Orenburg and Uralsk. The railway connection with central Asia is at present in the hands of the Soviet Government. On the southern front they have taken the railway stations at Pavorino, Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalatsk, and Begutchar, which have assured them of a control over the railways of that region, while on the southeastern front the Ukrainian Soviet troops threaten the army of Krasnov from Ugansk in the rear. In the Ukraine the Soviet troops have acquired Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Krementchug, Tchernigov, and Obrutch. In the Baltic provinces and in Lithuani the Soviet power has been extended to a great part of the territory formerly occupied by Germans, with the large cities of Minsq, Vilna, Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau, and others in the control of adherents of the Soviet.

These last-mentioned successes are largely due to the fact that, after the evacuation by the German armies of the territories wrested from Russia during the war, and the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which the Soviet Republic was forced to sign under duress, the workers in such territories everywhere are rising to support the ideals and the social order represented by the Soviet Republic.

The resentment against former ruling classes, who did not hesitate at inviting foreign military help against their own people, has evinced itself by an ever-increasing popular support of the Soviet Government, even among such people as at first were either hostile or indifferent to the Soviet rule. Men and women of literary or technical training and of other intellectual accomplishments are now in great numbers rallying to the support of the Soviet Government, and co-operate with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great majority of whom from the very outset were supporting the workers' revolution, have become more consciously attached to our social system, realizing that in the support of the workers' republic lies the only guarantee for their remaining in control of the land which they have wrested from their fromer oppressors. The economic isolation of Russia, which so far has prevented the Soviet Government from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is, of course, causing hardship among the peasantry; yet the peasants generally do not place the blame for this privation at the door of the Soviet Government, well realizing that it is due to the deliberate interference in the affairs of the Russian people by hostile groups, and that a remedy for this privation is not a weakening but a strengthening of the Soviet power. They fully realized—and their experiences in such instances where counter-revolutionary forces temporarily succeeded in overthrowing Soviet institutions clearly demonstrated it—that an overthrow of the Soviet rule, if possible at all, would lead to the establishment of a tyrannical, reactionary, bloody autocracy.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of Soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which the members of the former Constituent Assembly have begun with the Soviet Government. Representatives of the former Constituent Assembly, as Tchernov, Rakitnikov, Sivatitzki, Volski, Bourevoy, Tchernenkov, Antonov, all of whom are also members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary party, recently arrived at Moscow to participate in a conference with the Soviet Government with the view of giving support to our Republic. This conference has led to an understanding whereby these well-known Social Revolutionists and former bitter opponents have ceased their opposition and declared themselves with great emphasis against the Entente intervention in Russia.

An improvement of the Soviet Government's relations with the elements formerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change in the attitude of the Mensheviki, whose conference has likewise protested against the Entente intervention.

The army of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has been successfully organized and numbers today over a million men. A system of universal military training has been inaugurated which steadily supplies the army with reinforcements, with the view of creating a force numbering by the end of the current year three million men. The forces of the Government are led partly by officers of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the Soviet Government, and partly by officers developed from the rank and file by the military educational institutions established by my government. The Commissariat of War has been successful in establishing and maintaining a strict discipline within the ranks of the army—a discipline not based on fear of punishment or on docile submission, but on the ardent conviction of the workers from whose ranks the army is recruited that it is their privilege as well as their duty to defend their social achievements against encroachments from any source. This same conviction of the necessity of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has made it possible for us, in spite of all economic obstacles, efficiently to organize the production of military supplies.

The Soviet Government inherited a legacy of utter financial disruption created by four years of war and a year of revolution. This state of affairs, and also the necessity of co-ordinating the financial system of Russia with the new industrial and economic system represented by my government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common property rights. This reorganization, which aims at exchanging the money system for a system representing labor value, is still in the state of formation. Regardless thereof the Soviet Government, in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of financial transactions suitable for the financial system of other countries.

The period up till the establishment of the Soviet government also badly disrupted the machinery for producetion and distribution. The Soviet Government inaugurated a system of public control and ownership of industries. It has actually taken over many important branches of industry, and has established the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy over all industries. Great handicaps have been faced because of the obstructionist methods of our opponents, lack of raw material and machinery, and because of the gen-

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THE RED FLAG

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Editor ..... C. Stephenson

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THE SOCIALISTS AND THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT

The history of the development of the State as a social institution, shows it to be behind the make-believe of its apologists, but the executive committee of the economically dominant and ruling class. In these days of the concentration of the economic powers of modern capitalist nations into comparatively few hands there has also accrued a corresponding increase of power to their executive committee.

Under State capitalism, which now prevails, the State itself has delegated to it social powers which were formerly considered outside its proper sphere of operations. It now operates industries which at one time were subject to the control of individual enterprise. It has had more and more arbitrary powers given to it for adjucating and settling the disputes which arise between employers and employees. In addition to these greater social powers it has also greater and more effective physical force, within beck and call, in the army, navy and police, than was ever exercised by a tyranny before. Built and raised on force, from foundation to coping stone, the State had its beginnings with class society in ancient chattel slavery and the introduction of property as a social institution. It has thus always been the protector and bulwark of the dominant economic class. Being organized force itself, a conservator of things as they are, it has never respected anything else but force.

Innumerable examples of this truth might be mentioned. Suffice it point to the late strike in Glasgow, when the State sent an army which invaded the city with all the paraphernalia of modern war—bombing planes, artillery, barbed-wire, tanks, machine-guns, and horse and foot. Compare that with the attitude it assumes when a triple alliance arrives upon the scene speaking in terms of power.

There is a moral to be drawn from such spectacles: Organize!

Let us call to mind that we live in the year 1919 when there are other questions besides wages and conditions of labor, of vital interest, affecting the proletariat of this country. Three-fourths of Europe is under or is rapidly coming under the dictatorship of the proletariat, though arriving at that point ahead of other countries because the forcing power of the abnormal conditions generated by the war, were more drastic there. Nevertheless, the proletariat of the other countries is also stirring and forward looking towards that deepest of all revolutions—an economic revolution.

The proletarian movement towards emancipation, however, is not of mushroom growth, is not a leap, hey presto! but of organic development along the line of struggle induced by the conditions of life itself. Only the Utopian, with his head in the clouds, could expect the mass of men to accept enlightenment from conversion by written or spoken word. Only a Utopian could conceive of sitting down and waiting for a hypothetical catastrophic collapse of the capitalist system.

If what Marx says is true that, in all the history of political society, class struggles have been the chief instrument of political development and must be so, so long as class society endures, if the overthrow of the capitalist system is to be the result of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, then it follows that it is the function of the Socialist to develop the class struggle.

The Socialist movement is but subsidiary and contributory to the broader, deeper historical movement, that of the proletariat. Its function is by precept, cultural. The theoretics of scientific Socialism are a fundamental necessity of the development of the class struggle, and that implies, as a matter of course, their application to the events and problems that press upon us daily as a class, otherwise they are as barren as the chatter of apes or the interminable argumentation of the schoolmen of the middle ages. It is to castrate the Socialist movement to confine its labors to the field of polemic or to the lecture room. In practice, the place of the Socialist is in the van of the proletarian movement giving it point, marshalling its forces towards definiteness of purpose; clarifying and sharpening all issues with the light of Socialist knowledge.

The Socialist Party of Canada is organized on the political field. All workers, employed or unemployed, irrespective of conflicting interests on the labor market or in industry, may find under its banner a common rallying point for the seizing of the powers of the bourgeois State, which stands between them and the common ownership of the means of wealth production.

Until the workers are ready to take over the machinery of wealth production and operate it for the benefit of society as a whole, the Socialist Party of Canada uses the political field for carrying on the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism.

The members of the party realizing that, by the process of palliatives and reforms, the workers can never materially improve their lot as a class or achieve their emancipation from wage slavery, therefore conceive that they best serve the cause of the proletariat and the social revolution by specializing on the education of the workers. They do this by propaganda meetings. They publish this paper, also leaflets, pamphlets, etc.; distribute them, along with much other literature. They hold educational classes on history, economics and philosophy in order that members of the working class may go out mentally equipped to educate their fellows.

The party members function as teaching the nature of the scientific method as an instrument of enquiry; as propagating the findings of scientific enquiry into society, the history of its growth and change of form, the forces discovered that make history, that develop or retard its progress, and the tendencies and line of social development. They explain the structure of the present capitalistic form of society out of which issues the problems of our day, for whose successful solution, a knowledge of the foregoing is necessary. They press persistently upon the workers that the world problem is peculiarly and particularly, theirs; by the mandate of history itself, theirs and theirs alone to solve, and try to arouse them to a realization of this and to the disastrous consequences involved, upon them and society at large if they do not, through ignorance or slavish humility or apathetic indifference, assume the responsibility placed upon them.

They hold that if the workers are ignorant, it is our Socialist duty to educate them; if apathetic, to arouse them, if lacking in leadership and initiative to supply it.

As with society itself, social classes are organic in their nature, and so is the class struggle, having a growth, a life history and a technique of development. "Follow where the cannons roar, and throw yourselves upon the enemy," said old Blucher, when discussing the tactics of war.

So, Socialism is not for the lecture room alone. Where the proletariat is, there is the class struggle. The class struggle, it is Socialism. Socialism it is the class struggle.

The capitalist system, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the class struggle, Socialism—are all the products of history, indissolubly linked together. And it is the proletarian struggle for its emancipation from economic bondage under the capitalist system, that history provides as the key to open the gateway that leads humanity towards a new world.

TREND OF OPINION IN GREAT BRITAIN

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ternal government they require.—Rotton Park.

The International

50. That this conference views with alarm the continued attempts made to form a distinct International Trade Union movement by the American Federation of Labor, believing such a course to be detrimental and distinctly antagonistic to the International Socialist and Labor movement, and we are of the opinion that this effort to divorce the workers from politics will undermine the solidarity of the working class.—Aberdare.

Hours of Labor

52. That this conference reaffirms its belief in the need for a reduction of the number of hours of labor, and considers that a six-hour working day and a five-day week should be established by statute.—Leicester.

53. That this conference calls upon the Government to frame and introduce a bill, to take effect on demobilization, making the maximum working week of five days of six hours each, 30 hours in all, abolishing factory home work and without lowering the standard of living.—Tranent, Carluke, Bridgeton, Lochgelly, College, Glasgow City, Perth, Douglas Water, Musselburgh, Greenock, Cowdenbeath, Mingavie, Lesmahagow, Hutchesontown.

Industrial Programme for India

54. This conference is of the opinion that, while legitimate desires of educated Indians for a larger share in the government of their country are worthy of sympathy, the Labor organizations of Great Britain should promise active co-operation and support only on condition that the various Indian bodies desiring such co-operation incorporate prominently in their programme a demand for an eight-hour day, minimum wages of at least 15s. weekly, abolition of child labor under 14 years of age, and other ameliorative measures for the industrial population of India.—City of London.

Ireland

55. That this conference asks for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland in view of the decisive vote of the people in Ireland at the last general election.—West Salford.

Party Organization and Recommendations and Instruction to N.A.C.

82. This conference, recognizing that the workers in their struggle to emancipate themselves from the thraldom of capitalism must use every weapon, calls upon the workers to perfect their organizations in order that they may be better instruments for the final overthrow of capitalism.—Liverpool.

89. That the N. A. C. be asked to enter into negotiations with the B. S. P. and S. L. P., with a view to forming one united Socialist Party of Great Britain.—Newport.

94. That this conference protests against the repeated appeals of the N. A. C. to the representatives of capitalistic and imperialistic governments; and is of the opinion that the emancipation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves, and that the time is now opportune for the N. A. C. to call a conference of the workers to put into full operation the principles and aims of the Leeds Conference.—Liverpool.

99. That this conference, realizing the futility of calling upon a capitalistic government to socialize the land, coal mines, mineral wealth, quarries, railways and ships, is of the opinion that the propaganda of the I. L. P. should be directed towards the absolute overthrow of the capitalist system.—Newport.

Can Capital and Labor Produce Efficiently and Exist in Harmony?

Explanation of terms in brief:

Capital in this case represents not only capital; ut also the investors of capital. It represents the wnership of the means of life held by a class of ersonalities called capitalists. So, we have to eal with a class of owners.

Labor not only means labor power in action but eans labor power whether in action or not. Labor ere means the world's workers, a class which is rictly proletarian, with the exception of the peaant farmer and the petty craftsmen who work n their own in a two-by-four shop. The mass of bor is proletarian, and as such I will deal with em.

Produce efficiently means the elimination of aste not only of material, such as the raw materl used in production; but also of labor power.

Exist in harmony means to live within capilisict society with a minimum of friction. This the thermometer. Any society which fails to roduce harmony with a minimum of friction reaes its failure. It is thrust upon it by agitation roduced out of its unevenly developed state. It s outlived its usefulness.

The capitalist class are the owners of the means life, access to which labor must have in order live. Here is friction right on the start, and produce harmony out of friction is some task, lieve me. The capitalist class control the state d the military machine. With this power they ape their policies and laws as a protection to eir property. Thus, by means of the state, the litary and the police, they control the destinies society, including the slave portion commonly d politely called employees. All these institions, or manifestations of force, ownership, state, litary, judiciary and police, are direct products private ownership. They are not the product genius, but of material conditions.

Seeing that all power is vested in favor of the ning class, and that the workers are really werless, being non-owners of property, and aves to the owners, how can harmony be proced? It is impossible to treat this subject from local standpoint such as J. Coughlan's or Walce's of Vancouver. Although there are exceptns amongst the capitalist class who have adopt- modern ideas of efficiency long before the avege capitalist, still, those exceptions were engaged such businesses as could be controlled easier than such basic industries as shipbuilding, mining, railroading and others. I refer to Cadburys, Lever Bros. and others. These men did succeed in producing the maximum of harmony possible under this system. They also increased their dividends. All those companies, however, as their businesses expanded, and as efficiency improved, employed less workers in relation to the output than formerly. The workers thus thrown out of work were absorbed by the proletarian mass who were less securely provided with a steady job. So that these apparent benefactors were, by using efficiency, creating friction outside its own particular sphere.

The idea of building ships in Vancouver, or in England cheaper than elsewhere is untenable so we must apply efficiency world wide, and in every industry and calling, whether it be making ships, matches, railroads, textiles, or farming.

The market is limited. By that I mean it is possible to glut it. There was a time when it was comparatively unlimited. That is, it could not be glutted internationally at one time. Individual countries could keep their workers constantly employed for several years, but for the last fifty years over-production has constantly decreased the cycle of time and produced depressions. This has gone on in every industrialized country, first affecting each country at slightly different times and gradually bringing the crises in each country simultaneously. This happened very strikingly in 1913-14. A world-wide glut of an international market took place. The machinery of production had outgrown the market. The anarchy of production manifested itself in the form of an overstocked market and a starving working class. The year 1914 produced the pinnacle of friction arising out of the class nature of society: Out of private ownership and social production.

The centralization of capital tends to decrease the number of capitalists and increase the number of workers. Efficiency in production means nothing less than cheapening the cost of commodities, and, so soon as efficiency becomes effective, it must of necessity react uon the commodity, labor power. Instead of "insuring the endurance" of industry, and "sustaining the wage standard," efficiency will have the opposite effect. A given number of men efficiently trained will produce quicker than if they were inefficient, thereby glutting the market that much sooner. Their position as workers changes to that of idlers—unemployed—sooner than they would under an inefficient plan. This is not an argument favoring inefficiency, but is an argument refuting the statement of "insurance of work" through applied efficiency under capitalism.

There can not be "mutual confidence between the firmand its employees." The ninth article in the Coughlan-Metal Trades Council's agreement contradicts it. It excludes any mutuality in my mind. The Big Six appear as an equal representation, but when first, the manager; second, the firm, and third, the Royal Commission takes a hand in the game, the workers' half of the Big Six looks small, indeed.

A fair day's work for a full day's pay," is a new one. It used to be a fair day's work for a fair day's work. The workers, ever since fuedalism have done a full day's work for which they received from one half to one-eighth of the total product. Today, with a modern machine used, and efficiency applied, the workers will reduce their share of pay even less than one-eighth. I don't mean in Coughlan's, but I take the industrial activities of an efficient working class world wide. The same principle will apply less strikingly in Vancouver. Many of the capitalists of this city are marginal capitalists. They have drawbacks which handicap them which other capitalists engaged elsewhere in similar enterprises do not encounter. Taking statistics on production prior to the war, the workers produced four hundred per cent. more than their wages represented in products. This figure has been increased alarmingly, how much we do not know; but it is so great that a crisis will occur in short order whenever the war ceases. All the worker will get is food, clothing and shelter so long as his labor power is a commodity. As a class, in ratio with the centralization of capital and the application of efficiency, the workers must suffer more and more from the evil effects of over-production.

The master class may be sincere in its efforts to bring harmony into the relations between capital and labor. They may be convinced that their plans are practical. But their hopes are doomed to failure ere their schemes have hardly been tested. The private ownership of the means of life, and the control of the produce by a few, is a contradiction to the socialized method of production. That is why friction is unavoidable between the owning class and the non-owners—the master and the slave.

As long as labor power is a commodity it is liable to the rise and fall of a fluctuating market. And so long as the worker allows it to be bought as a commodity, he is liable to experience want when the result of his having sold himself is expressed in the form of an overstocked market. Surplus values are created only at the point of production. The worker receives less than he produces. The master by reason of holding title deeds gets something for nothing. The worker is a slave, the owner a master. Friction is the only logical outcome from such a relation.—W. B.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN LANCASHIRE

Manchester Guardian, March 20th

Last week the number of persons in Lancashire, Chestershire and North Derbyshire who are receiving Government unemployment donation, increased by over 12,000. The total number in receipt of the allowance stood at 223,794 on Friday, as compared with 211,668 on March 7th. In the last three weeks the number has grown by more than 30,000. The Guardian says, "that there may be some grounds for the popular complaint that men are "work-shy" and reluctant to take up jobs immediately on return to civil life. But an occupational analysis of the unemployment returns coincides with the broader facts about trade conditions in Lancashire, and makes it quite clear that industry is at present unable to absorb the full number of men demobilized.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speakers—J. Vincent and A. McKenzie

SOVIET RUSSIA'S TRADE REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page Three)

eral confusion unavoidably coincident with the gigantic reorganization of the industrial life. In spite of these great handicaps, various branches of industry have been re-established, even with an increase of productive efficiency. Many branches of industry, however, have not so far been able to recuperate, because of lack or raw material and lack of machinery. The needs of such idustries offer a wide field for business transactions with Russia by other countries.

The state of railway communications at the outset of the Soviet regime was very unsatisfactory. The demands, first of the demobilization of the old army and later of military operations against counter-revolutionary attacks, taxed the capacity of our railways and left little opportunity for reconstruction work in this field. The Soviet Government during the past year nevertheless has managed to build and to complete the building of about 2,000 versts of new railways. It has also paid great attention to the construction of other means of communication, such as canals, roads, etc., and is at the present time planning work along these lines on a large scale, which will also offer great opportunities for foreign trade.

The people of Russia, kept for hundreds of years away from sources of popular education, have made it one of the main tasks of my government to reorganize the school system with a view to the greatest possible acrievements in the field of popular education. In this respect extensive work has been carried on throughout Russia during the past year. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities, and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural instruction, have been established and maintained at great expense on the part of the Soviet Government, and the field of the educational activities has been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible.

All these efforts, incomplete as they still are, however, have given the Russian people sufficient evidence of the earnestness of the desire and of the ability of the Soviet Government to fill the needs of the population, and they have largely contributed to the abatement of opposition. Inasmuch as opposition has ceased in the form of active resistance to the Soviet Government, it has become possible to assuage extraordinary measures such as censorship, martial law, etc.

Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet Government by the circulation of false reports about the nature of the institutions and the measures undertaken by Soviet Russia. One of the most frequent allegations has been that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder. In this connection I want to call your attention to the following passages in the note sent to the President of the United States on the 24th of December, 1918, by Maxim, Litvinoff, on behalf of the Soviet Government in Russia.

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

"I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of Allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamed of interfering with Russian affairs when Czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that regime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people themselves, after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices, succeeded in taking the power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations."

In another passage of the same note Mr. Litvinoff states as follows:

"The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia, and the cessation of direct or indirect assistance to such groups in Russia as still indulge in futile hopes of an armed revolt against the workers' Government, but who even themselves would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad."

The great work of social reconstruction inaugurated by the Soviet Government as the executors of the people's will has been hampered by the necessity of military defence against opponents of our republic, and by the economic isolation of Soviet Russia which has been one of the weapons of their attacks; together with deliberate disrupting of our means of communication with important food centres, as well as destruction of food stores; and all this has greatly increased the sufferings of our people. By tremendous efforts and by efficient consolidation of all economic means at its disposal, my government has been able to stave off the worst features of this situation. The fact that economic disruption together with starvation and lack of all the bare necessities of life prevails as poignantly, and more so, in such parts of the former Russian empire as have been for some time in the hands of the opponents of our republic and have had contact with the outside world, clearly testifies that the Soviet rule is much more capable of insuring means of existence to the people than any pretenders to the power in Russia.

In view of all the above-stated, I venture to say that the Soviet Government has given all such proofs of stability, permanence, popular support, and constructive ability as ever have been required from any government in the world as a basis for political recognition and commercial intercourse. I am confident that the people outside of Russia are becoming as convinced as the Russian people themselves of the futility of efforts to overthrow the Soviet government. Such efforts lead only to unnecessary bloodshed, and, if successful in any part of Russia, lead to temporary establishment of bloody, monarchial autocracy which cannot maintain itself, and even the temporary existence of which will lead to bloodshed and misery.

Fully realizing that economic prosperity of the world at large, including Soviet Russia, depends on uninterrupted interchange of products between various countries, the Soviet Government of Russia desires to establish commercial relations with other countries, and especially with the United States. The Soviet Government is prepared at once to buy from the United States vast amounts of finished products, on terms of payment fully satisfactory to parties concerned. My government also desires to reach an agreement in respect to exports from Russia of raw material needed by other countries and of which considerable surpluses exist in Russia. In order to re-establish the economic integrity of Russia and to insure uninterrupted commercial relations, the Russian workers and peasants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above-quoted note, "are prepared to go to any length of concessions as far as the real interests of other countries are concerned," of course with the understanding that no agreements entered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exist no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The Soviet Government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which I feel sure will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia and elsewhere, in so far as the prosperity of Russia affects other countries, may be attained by the cessation of the present policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse.

Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of the following commodities, commensurate with the needs of 150,000,000 people: railway supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

Russia is prepared to sell the following commodities: flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals, and minerals.

The Russian Government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and America gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

To insure a basis for credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, I suggest that detailed negotiations with my government will evolve propositions fully acceptable for this purpose.

I am empowered by my government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and America, and I shall be glad to discuss details at the earliest opportunity.

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN RUSSIA

(Editorial From the Manchester Guardian, March 20, 1919

It is time the situation in Russia was taken seriously in hand and some definite policy adopted. It looks as though the Bolsheviks may soon take Odessa. After the Turkish surrender the Allies sent a mixed force to South Russia, and it is this force, with its Russian allies, which is now falling back before the Bolshevik attack. It is worth while trying to get an idea of the military situation in Russia, though it can only be a vague idea, since nothing precise is published as to the armies engaged or as to the districts being fought over. Roughly, the Bolsheviks control the whole central mass of Russia, from the Arctic on the north to the Black Sea on the south, from the Lithuanian-Polish frontier on the east to the Urals in the west. On the periphery of this central mass are various enemies of the Bolsheviks, practically all of whom are fighting independently of one another and most of whom are territorially separated from one another. In the Arctic there is an Allied force at Archangel and on the Murmansk coast. Against this the Bolsheviks, during recent months have been taking the offensive, with some measure of success. On the east is the Siberian army of Koltchak, which is now wholly Russian. This has been advancing lately, perhaps because the Bolsheviks have been sending their troops else-

(Continued on Page Seven)

The State and Revolution

By NICOLAI LENIN

(Continued from Previous Issue)

3. The State Is the Instrument of the Exploitation of the Oppressed Class

For the maintenance of a special social power standing above society, there is necessary the imposition of taxes and obligations toward the state.

"Ruling by social power and by the right of imposing obligations," writes Engels, "the office-holders, as organs of society, rise above society. The voluntary, unaffected respect which was felt toward the organs of family (clan) society, is no longer sufficient for them—as if they could attain even that." Special laws are created, providing for the sanctity and inviolability of the official class. "The pettiest policeman" has more "authority" than the representatives of the clan, yet even the head of the military power of the civilized state might envy the elders of the clan, who enjoy the respect of their society "without enforcing it with clubs."

The question of the privileged position as organs of state power of the official class is here clearly put. It is pointed out as fundamental. What puts them over society? We shall see later how this theoretical question was answered in practice by the Paris Commune of 1871, and quashed in a reactionary spirit by Kautsky in 1912.

"As the state arose from the necessity of holding in check the opposition of the classes, and as it arose at the same time from the very collisions between these classes, it will naturally become, as a general rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which with the aid of the state established itself as the politically dominant class and thus creates new modes for suppressing and exploiting the downtrodden classes" . . . Not only the ancient and feudal societies were organs for the suppression of the slaves and serfs, respectively, but "our present-day representative government" is an instrument for the exploitation of wage labor by capital. Exceptional periods may occur, in which the struggling classes attain a certain equilibrium of forces, so that the state power for a time has a certain independence with respect to both of them: it is then apparently a "mediator between them." Such was the absolute monarchy of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Bonapartism of the 1st and 3rd empires in France, and Bismarck in Germany.

And such, we may add for ourselves, was the Kerensky Government in republican Russia, after it began to persecute the revolutionary proletariat at the moment when the Soviets, owing to the fact that they were led by petit bourgeois democrats, were still powerless, while the bourgeoisie was **not** yet strong **enough** to disperse them.

"In a democratic republic," Engels continues, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more truly;" in the first place, simply as in America, by "the outright purchase of officials"; in the second place, by "a union between the government and the moneyed interests" (France and America).

In our day imperialism and the domination of the banks "has developed" both these means of defending and putting into force the universal power of wealth, in any democratic republic, to an unprecedented degree. If, for example, in the earlier months of the democratic republic in Russia, during the honeymoon, as it were, of the union of the S. R. and Menshevik "socialists" with the bourgeoisie in one coalition government—Mr. Palchinsky sabotaged all methods of checking the capitalists and their marauding agents, their seizures of public moneys for war supplies; and if, after Mr. Palchinsky leaves the ministry (to be succeeded, of course, by another man exactly like him), he is "recompensed," by the capitalists, with a little job and an annual salary of 120,000 rubles attached,—what would you call that? Is that a direct or an indirect purchase of officials? Is that an alliance of the government with the industrialists, or "merely" a friendly understanding? What is the role played by the Chernovs, Tseretellis, Avksentyeffs and Skobeleffs?—Are they direct aids of the millionaire-grafters, or only indirect aids?

The complete domination of "wealth" is more real in democratic republics for the reason that it is no longer dependent on the awkward political robe of capitalism. The democratic republic is the best possible garment for capitalism, and capital therefore, once having acquired this splendid cloak (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretellis, and associates), proceeds with all the greater hopefulness to lay the foudations of its power, since it is assured that no change whatever, in personnel, or institutions, or parties, can, in the bourgeois democratic republic, cause that power to tremble.

We must also observe that Engles, with great definiteness, calls the general suffrage right an instrument of bourgeois rule. This right, he says, evidently with the long experience of the German Social Democracy in mind, is:

"An indicator of the degree of maturity of the working class. It cannot give, and never will give more than this with the state organized as it is now"

Petit-bourgeois democrats of the stamp of our S. R.'s and mensheviks, as well as their true brothers, the social-chauvinists and opportunists of Western Europe, hope for "great things" from the general suffrage right. They thus disseminate and put into the minds of the people the false idea that the general right of suffrage is calculated, "**with the state as it now is,**" to secure an actual reflection of the will of the majority of the toilers as well as its enforcement.

For the present we may only call attention to this false idea and point out that the perfectly clear, precise, concrete declaration of Engels is distorted at every step in the propaganda and agitation of the "official" (i.e. opportunistic) socialist parties. A complete exposition of the falsity of this teaching, which Engels merely touches upon, will be found in our further presentation of the views of Marx and Engels on "the state **as it is now is.**"

The final summing up of his views is given by Engels in his most popular work, as follows:

"Thus the state has not existed forever. There were societies which got along without it, which had not the slightest conception of the meaning of the state or of state power. At a certain stage in the economic development, which coincided with the spliting up of society into classes, the state became a necessity by virtue of this split. We are now rapidly approaching that stage in the development of production, when the existence of these classes will not only cease to be a necessoty, but will become an outright hindrance to production. The classes will disappear as inevitably as, in the past, they have appeared. And with the passing away of the classes will inevitably be associated the passing away on the state. The society which reorganizes production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will send all its state machinery to the place where it really belongs, namely, the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze hatchet."

We do not often come upon this quotation in the propagandist and agitational literature of our present-day Social-Democracy. But even where this extract is found, it is most usually quoted, as it were, as an act of ceremonial piety, as a genuflexion before an ikon, an official expression of respect for Engels, without for a moment considering what a broad and deep revolutionary thought is contained in this "sending the whole state machinery to the museum of antiquities." Nor do we meet, for the most part, with any understanding of what Engels calls the state machinery.

(To Be Continued)

Next Issue: **4. They "Dying Out" of the State and Revolution by Force.**

Military Situation in Russia

(Continued from Page Six)

where. To the southwest of Koltchak there is another anti-Bolshevik army, whose communications with Koltchak have been cut off by the Bolsheviks. Next come the Don Cossacks and Gen. Dennikin's army in the country north of the Caucasus. These two groups are sundered by hundreds of miles of Bolshevik territory from their Siberian friends. The Don Cossacks under Gen. Krasnoff have, during the last few weeks, been severely defeated, so that Krasnoff has retired and the Bolsheviks have been able to recruit Don Cossacks for their campaign. General Denniken has gained some successes, which are not, however, sufficient to balance the Don Cossacks' defeat. By means of the Ukraine and other client states the Germans kept the Bolsheviks off the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, and this policy the Allies took over. It has begun to break down. The Ukrainian government of Petliuria has been driven out of most of the Ukraine, and the Bolsheviks now hold most of Russia's coast on the Black Sea. On the western front there has been little fighting of significance.

Such is a rough, a very rough, outline of the military situation. It reveals, on the whole, important Bolshevik progress—important in area and in character. The Ukraine and the Don country can feed Russia if they have been cultivated. The blockade in that event, though it would continue to cause misery, would hardly starve the Bolsheviks into surrender. Among the causes of the Bolshevik military success are the weaknesses of their opponents and the assistance of the local populations. The strength of the Koltchak-Denniken-Krasnoff armies has been greatly exaggerated. On the other hand, in the Ukraine large numbers of Petiluira's own troops went over to the Bolsheviks, and something of the kind happened in the Don country. The anti-Bolsheviks are reactionaries and the Bolsheviks hold out to the poor peasants the promise of the land. If it be asked how any people would welcome the Red army, the answer that, great as has been its crimes, there has been no lack of atrocities on either side of this terrible war, which is mainly a war for the ownership of the land and other property. The Bolsheviks, again, recognize the nationalities as constituent states of a Federal Soviet Russian republic. If the weakness of the opponents of the Bolsheviks has a military significance for the Allies, the attraction of the Bolsheviks' program has a political significance. Rumania and Poland, countries of great feudal landlords, are also favorable, especially as they are very hungry lands just now also. In Paris the Allies are studying military measures to meet the danger, measures like the sending of General Hallers' Polish army from France to Warsaw. But the military problem and the military menace are less serious than the social. If Bolshevism were simply a military question it could be disposed of easily.

"Six Red Months in Russia"

(By Louise Bryant, New York, 1918)

To the Editor The Red Flag:

Dear Comrade: You ask a brief review of Miss Bryant's book. You set a rather difficult task.

Were you to allow me to be as brief as best suited me, I would simply say to whoever reads, "Read it!"

If it is ever possible to have the book on the market in Canada I can conceive of no better agency for throwing light on the Russian situation than the widest possible circulation of this simple and naturally-told narrative of the November Revolution and of the events immediately preceding and following.

To use her own description, the book is a "bundle of narratives gathered together on the edge of Asia," and the bundle forms a vivid and most interesting account of what will probably turn out to be the most momentous happening of our times.

Scenting copy for the various magazines and newspapers, for which she had previously been acting as war correspondent on the French front, the author left New York in the summer of 1917 and went straight to Petrograd through Sweden and Finland. It seems strange to us to hear that the only time she came into anything like close contact with what might be termed a massacre by revolutionists was at Wiborg on the journey to Petrograd and happened during the Kerensky regime. It appears that Korniloff was at the time heading a counter revolution and that Kerensky had sent orders to the troops at Wiborg to move up to the defence of Petrograd. The orders had been received by the officers who had ignored them, and when the troops heard this they raided their headquarters and found the orders. About fifty of the officers did not survive to ever again ignore the orders of the revolutionary government. (We must bear in mind that at this time Kerensky was at the head of the revolutionary movement, which had not yet developed into the class revolution of the Russian proletariat.)

The chapter dealing with the Bolshevik headquarters at the Smolny Institute at Petrograd describes a stupendous and almost unimaginable scene. If any conception is possible of the work involved in bringing industrial and political order into the chaos prevailing in this tremendous country with its many nationalities and its hundred and eighty million people, then one can get a glimpse of the scene.

They came there from the first-line trenches, from the factories, from the steppes of Siberia and apparently represented every calling under the sun, except that of the capitalist. They slept in chairs and on the floors when they could work no longer; no business agents disturbed their twenty-four-hour shifts; machine guns and typewriters, dead-weary sentries, military revolutionary committee ,Soviet delegates, wooden spoons, cabbage soup, black bread and a perfect tornado of problems!

Constituent Assembly came and evaporated. Their decrees and resolutions were radical, as far as they went. But the day of resolutions had passed for Russia. The people were hungry, and hungry people—if history can be believed—grow impatient. Seven million had been killed in the war; anarchy in every branch of the country's administration was glaringly apparent; faced by the alternatives of practical extermination or taking hold themselves, the useful producers of Russia chose the latter and we find the much-talked-of proletarian dictatorship at the helm of the Russian State.

The Czar, the Kerensky regime and the Constituent Assembly all melted away before the material conditions, and went home, as the Cronstad sailors put it, "to get some sleep"—their sleep appears to be the sleep of all phenomena whose natural times have passed away.

The account of the Women's Death Battalion gives the lie direct to our "news" paper reports, and the account of the defence of the Winter Palace by the bourgeoisie is very humorous. The dramatic request that they be allowed to die in the defence of the Sacred Edifice, and the Red Guards' reply that they should "go home and take poison," sound like an afternoon picnic after the blood-curdling reports we are told to believe.

How such a revolution could have been carried out with such a comparatively small amount of bloodshed is one of the marvels of these times. It can only be explained by that natural dislike of the Russian to kill unnecessarily which our author often mentions.

Apparently there was no hesitation upon the part of the Bolsheviki in giving passports to anyone that they thought would give a fair account of the situation and Louise Bryant was given permission to "get into any battles that she could find," in which she appears to have had very little success.

Even if we admit that the author is a Social-Democrat and possibly inclined to be sympathetic with the revolutionists; even if we suppose that she was kept away from some of the happenings (of which we have no hint); allowing that she may have been biased (I can find no trace of it); presuming that she has tried to present the case for the Proletarian Dictatorship in a favorable light (as a representative of capitalist newspaper and magazine syndicates, that would be highly improbable), the book stands as a most extraordinary indictment of the newspaper despatches that the writer has yet come across.

I think, Comrade Editor, that I will conclude by repeating that all who wish to help throw light on the Russian situation should get the book if possible and keep it circulating until such time as we can hold up our heads with our Russian comrades.

Yours as usual,

W. W. LEFEAUX.

Clippings From the Press

THE FRENCH AND THE SAAR MINERS

"In the Saar mining district negotiations between the miners' organizations and the French military commander in regard to the introduction of an eight hour day have been going on. The French commander has given a flat refusal to the demands of the miners. He justifies his refusal by a statement as the the coal famine that prevails in France just as in Germany; and also by an assertion that the French miners have to work ten hours. In reply to the plea that the eight hour system is in force in the Palitinate, he replied that it would be abolished as soon as the French troops entered the district.

Quoted by "Common Sense" from "Soziale Praxis."

EDITOR OF THE LONDON "TIMES" APOLOGIZES FOR SLANDERS ON BOLSHIVIK REGIME

The following letter written by Joseph King, member of the British House of Parliament, to the editor of "Common Sense," London, Eng., speaks for itself. The Canadian press is asked to copy. Of course it will not, because it is the kept press of the capitalist class. It will keep on repeating the slanders.

To the Editor of "Common Sense"—

Dear Sir—

Lenine and Trotsky must be congratulated! Here is the "New Europe" apologising for starting and spreading the stories which have been spread ad nauseam by the Government and the Press that women have been "nationalized," meaning that all women are made prostitutes by law. This picquant idea was first stated by the "New Europe" several months ago. Now the "New Europe" is a weekly magazine, very ably run by a committee on which sit men like Mr. Wickham Stead, (Editor of the Times), Colonel Buchan, and Dr. Seton Watson, gentlemen in high official authority. So, when the "New Europe" stated that the Bolsheviks had made a monstrous decree of this kind, many believed it. The "New Europe," after the abominable lie had done its work, is now brought to book by the People's Russian Information Bureau, and Dr. Harold Williams, of the Daily Chronicle, a strong anti-Bolshevik writer, and recants its error; it "withdraws unreservedly the imputation and expresses regret for the mistake." We ought to congratulate Lenine and Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks on geting an apology from the Editor of the "Times" and his Foreign Office colleagues. Yours truly,

JOSEPH KING

Reform Club, March 17, 1919.

AUSTRALIAN BOLSHEVISM

The "Social Democrat League" of New South Wales has declared its aims to be identified with those of the Bolshevik and Sparticist movements. —The "Times", London, Eng.

SPAIN

From Spain disquieting tiding have reached me concerning unmistakeable tokens of a Bolshevist wave sweeping over the southern provinces of Cordova, Seville, Cadiz and especially the districts of San Lucas, Arcaes and Puerto to Lebrija where the agricultural laborers summarily set fire to the various farms and stocks of hay and grain as a protest against low wages. My informant, who is a land owner in Andalusta, adds that propagandists are numerous among the ill-paid laborers in all parts of these provinces, and that sooner or later Spain will be counted among the countries tainted with Bolshevism.—Dr. Dillon.

GERMANY

BERLIN, April 10—The Brunswick correspondent of the Lokal Anzeiger reports a general strike and a strong movement in favor of proclaiming Brunswick a soviet republic.

At a mass meeting this morning, the correspondent says, former President Merges urged a union with soviet Russia as the only salvation for Germany "which is on the verge of a precipice."

Amid the plaudits of the crowd, Merges demanded the immediate proclamation of a soviet republic and a union with Russia and Hungary.

The newly-elected workers' council is to meet this afternoon to proclaim itself the sole sovereign power in Brunswick.

FORCE ALLIES TO EVACUATE

PARIS, April 11.—The advance of the Bolsheviki is likely to force the Allies to evacuate Sebastopol, on the Black Sea, near the southern extremity of the Crimea, according to Intransigient.

POLITICAL STRIKE IN GERMANY

COPENHAGEN, April 11.—A despatch to the Acht Uhrblatt, of Berlin, from Danzig, says that the railway men on strike there declared a political strike on Thursday with the object of removing the Ebert-Scheidemann government, establishing a soviet republic and entering into relations with the soviet governments of Russia and Hungary. Twenty thousand dock and factory workers in the Danzig district went on strike yesterday afternoon.