# Soviets Appeal to British Workers

**RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC**

Comrades—

Why have you come to Mourmansk? You have been told in England that the demand for men on the western front is greater than ever. You know that in England men of forty-five and over are being called to the colors because of the urgent need of men in France. Yet your soldiers are brought here, right in the Arctic Sea, a thousand miles from the battle front.

For what purpose? Your government tells us that it has no hostile intentions towards us, that it does not desire to occupy our territory. That it will not interfere with out internal affairs. That they have been sent here only for the purpose of defending our Mourman railway against the Finns and the Germans. *Comrades, it is not true!*

When anybody offers to put himself to considerable trouble and expense on your behalf, unasked you get a little suspicious of his motives. We have not asked your government to help us to defend our country. We know that their intentions are quite other than those they express to us.

The Mourman railway is in no danger either from the Germans or Finns. If you look at a map you will see that the railways and roads from the west of Finland end hundreds of miles short of of the Mourman railway. If the Finns want to approach our border they must traverse hundreds of miles of marshy forest land, and you know how difficult it is for an army to do that.

Neither can the Germans threaten the railway. If the Germans want to attack the Mourman railway they must first take Petrograd, and march through our country hundreds of miles from Petrograd to Petrozavodsk. We are no longer at war with Germany. The Germans cannot advance on Petrograd without first declaring war on us again. There is no liklihood of this happening. Except this, that if your army comes south, the German may use this as a pretext to advance further into the country.

Therefore, you are not required to defend us.

[This is the text of the famous manifesto of the Soviet Government to which so many references have been made in the daily press. As an official statement of the Russian case, it deserves to be read in conjunction with Lord Milner's letter putting the arguments for intervention.]

On the contrary, your presence here increases our danger. Why then have your soldiers been brought here? We will tell you.

**They have been brought here to occupy our country in the interest of Allied capitalists.**

**They have been brought here to overthrow our revolution and bring back the reign of Tsarism!**

You cannot believe this. You say that the British government would never do such a thing. Let the facts speak for themselves.

The English capitalist newspapers, Times, Morning Post, Telegraph, are writing every day about erecting a "strong, resolute government" in Russia. Do these papers represent the views of democracy, or do they represent the views of the financiers, capitalists and profiteers of England? These papers also constantly refer to the wealth of timber contained in our northern territory, which they say would be sufficient to pay for the loans which the financiers, capitalists, and profiteers lent to a corrupt and tyrannical Tsarism. Capitalists and financiers are not the friends of English workers, nor Russian workers, nor the workers of any country. Who controls the government of England today? The workers or the financial oligarchy? The financial oligarchy. They are ordering and directing the landing in Mourmansk. You are being used in the interest of the profiteers, who are profiting out of the lives and labors of the working people.

Your government is interfering in our internal affairs. It has established its own control in the district you occupy. It has cut off our telegraphic communication with outside. It is attempting to seduce our citizens into fighting against us. At Kem your government shot four members of our local Soviet.

Your government denies that it did so, but we have positive proof that it did.

**The Tchecho-Slovaks!**

You know that on the Volga, right in the heart of our country, the Tchecho-Slovaks are openly striving to crush our revolution. They said that they wanted to fight the Germans, but they have remained here, and are fighting us. They say they are fighting for liberty, but they are fighting to bring back the Tsarist regime. They are extending into Siberia. Wherever they go they suppress our Soviet (Council of Worker Delegrates), hang its members, and put Tsarist officers in its place. These Tchecho-Slovaks are gathering round themselves the corrupt and reactionary officials of the Tsarist regime. It is the same crowd that betrayed Kitchener, that sold the guns and munitions made in British factories to the Germans, that disorganized our army, and who were just about to sell Russia to the Germans when we made our revolution.

The one object of the Tchecho-Slovaks and this crowd is to crush our revolution and to bring back Tsarism. They have officially declared that to be their object. And this has the unconcealed—nay, outspoken support of the Allied governments.

The Allied governments and the Allied press are applauding the deeds of the Tchecho-Slovaks. The French consul made a speech in which he congratulated them on the task they had undertaken. They are financed by the Allied Military Mission. Their operations are directed by French officers.

The landing in Mourmansk is part of the scheme to co-operate with the Tchecho-Slovaks.

For the first time in history the working people have got control of their country. The workers of all Russia are striving to achieve this object. We in Russia have succeeded. We have thrown off the rule of the Tsar, of landlords, and of capitalists. But we have still tremendous difficulties to overcome. We cannot build a new society in a day. We desire to be left alone.

You in your trade unions have been fighting capitalism; you know what it is.

**Comrades! Englishmen! You pride yourselves on your love of liberty!**

**Comrades! Descendants of the great Chartists! You who have always expressed sympathy with the Russian Revolution!**

**Remember this! If the Russian Revolution is crushed, then the power of the capitalists will be enormously strengthened in every country, and the fight for economic freedom will be put back for a hundred years.**

N. LENIN,
President, Council Peoples' Commissaries

C. TCHITCHERINE,
Peoples' Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

**"INTELLECTUALS" AND WORKERS IN THE PARIS COMMUNE**

[From Lissagaray's "History of the Commune of 1871."]

Five deputies only signed the address for the election (for the Communal Council). The rest of Louis Blanc's group had kept aloof from Paris for several days. These weaklings, having all their life sung the glories of the revolution, when it rose before them ran away appalled, like the Arab fisher at the apparition of the genie.

With these mandarins of the tribune of history and of journalism, mute and lifeless, contrast strangely the sons of the multitude—obscure, but rich in will, faith and eloquence. They could indeed "come down the steps of the Hotel-de-Ville head erect," these obscure men who had safely anchored the revolution of the 18th March. Named only to organize the National Guard; thrown at the head of a revolution without precedent and without guides, they had been able to resist the impatient, quell the riot, re-establish the public services, victual Paris, baffle intrigues, take advantage of all the blunders of Versailles and of the mayors, and, harassed on all sides, every moment in danger of civil war, known how to negotiate to act at the right time and in the right place. They had embodied the tendency of the movement, limited their program to communal revindications, and conducted the entire population to the ballot box. They had inaugurated a precise, vigorous, and fraternal language unknown to all bourgeois powers. And yet they were obscure men, all with an imperfect education, some of them fanatics.

But the people thought with them. Where illustrious bourgeoisie had only accumulated folly upon defeat, these new comers found victory, because they listened to Paris.


# NOW READY

A HANDY TEXT BOOK

on the economics of Capitalistic Production, being the first nine chapters of:

Vol. 1 Marx's Capital with the 32nd chapter on the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation included, also an extract from the preface to the same author's "Critique of Political Economy", which formulates the materialistic interpretation of history.

Prices are as per the following quotations:
Post paid in all cases

Single copies, paper covers, 50c.

25 copies or more, paper covers, copy, 40c.

Single copies, cloth bound, $1.00 per copy.

10 copies or more, cloth bound, copy, 75c.

We await your orders, and we hope you will keep us busy, as success in this venture means much to the publishers' future efforts.

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


A new political party, "the Independence Association," has recently been formed in Porto Rico to agitate for the complete separation of the island from the control of the United States. The official organ of the party is La Correspondencia. In connection with the growth of separatist agitation, a correspondent of the New York Evening Post reports that a letter has been received by the dean of the University of Porto Rico from Dr. Paul G. Miller, Commissioner of Education, "requesting a list of the names of the members of the graduating class of the Normal School who had signed the petition to the House of Representatives urging that a certain resolution to the President of the United States be changed so as to pray for the complete independence of Porto Rico." The Commissioner further stated that no appointments as teachers would be granted to any applicants whose loyalty to the United States might be questioned.

**WOMEN BOLSHEVIKS IN FINLAND**

WASHINGTON, March 4.—Discoverery of a nation-wide Bolshevik women's organization in Finland, through the arrest of an 18-year-old girl, is reported in despatches to the state department from Helsingfors. It is said that a complete list of Bolshevik agents has been obtained from the prisoner.—Vancouver "Province," Feb. 4.

# The Labor Situation in United States

[From The New Republic, Feb. 22]

THE growing volume of unemployment is clear evidence that a serious labor situation is developing in the country. The latest published reports of the United States Employment Service show an increasing surplus of labor both skilled and unskilled in almost every important manufacturing centre. The relatively high standard of living, to which the skilled workers attained during the war and toward which the unskilled were rapidly advancing, is threatened. To avert what to them seems an intolerable and unwarranted catastrophe, a number of the more highly organized trades have struck or are about to strike for a reduction in hours and an increase in the hourly wage rate. The war period gave the workers a taste of economic comfort; it gave them a new sense of power; it convinced them that the resources of the country are adequate when intelligently administered to provide every man with a job at more than a bare subsistence wage. They are not going to be thrown back into the old slough of no work, irregular work and low pay without a struggle. This determination was the principal cause of the recent general strike in Seattle, which was not as the papers alleged, a Bolshevist uprising, but a mass protest on the part of all the organized trades of the city against a threatened interference with their rising standard of living. It explains the recent successful strike of the men's clothing workers for the forty-four hour week, the conversion of the railways brotherhoods to the policy of government ownership, the current strike in the building trades.

In the face of such simple and obvious facts, Congress seems to be trying to mystify the public by working up a hair-raising Bolshevist melodrama to cover its own negligence, sloth and ineptitude. Months before the end of the war, groups of men in the industrial and labor boards which had been created during the emergency, forewarned Congress and the administration of the dangers that must attend planless military and industrial demobilization. They knew that the rate of production in the country's basic industries, such as steel, copper and lumber had been keyed up to an abnormal pitch and that any sudden interruption of war contracts would upset the market, depress prices and throw great numbers of men out of work; they knew that the evils of unemployment among the men who had been gathered into the war industries would be greatly aggravated by the planless release of the millions in the army; they knew that the end of the war would give rise to problems requiring as careful preparation and as devoted patriotism for their solution as the problems of military mobilization. They urged the extension and strengthening of the public employment service, a national programme of public works to take up the slack and steady the situation while the business world was readjusting itself to the conditions of peace, the gradual cancellation of war contracts instead of a precipitate curtailment of government expenditure, a reasonable attempt to co-ordinate military demobilization with the ascertained demand for workers. But all these suggestions were classified under the head of reconstruction, and reconstruction was taboo. To discuss post-war conditions while the war was on would dampen the military spirit and jeopardize victory. So Congress did nothing. Directly the armistice was signed most of the important industrial and labor boards which had done so much to steady the country during the war were dished. The harness was tossed off. The country was thrown back into the chaos of laissez faire. As a result unemployment is rapidly increasing, industrial unrest is growing steadily more acute, strikes are multiplying, and all these inevitable consequences of its own short-sighted neglect, Congress is attempting to lay at the door of a mysterious and vaguely pervasive Bolshevist propaganda. In these troubled times, melodrama is very poor ballast for the ship of state.

Whatever the truth about conditions in Russia may be, whether or not the Bolsheviki have fulfilled their large promises to the Russian workers and peasants, it should be obvious that the piling up of indictments against Lenine and Trotsky will not alter the fact that our own steel industry is facing an extremely difficult situation, that our copper industry is at a loss to dispose of the billion pound surplus that it heaped up during the war, that western lumber manufacturers, in their patriotic attempt to live up to the agreement into which they entered with their employees months ago under the inspiration of General Disque, are piling up stacks of lumber for which they are unable to find a market. Condemnation of the inefficiencies of the Soviet regime will not help us to straighten out our tangled railroad problem, or to decide upon a permanent policy with respect to telegraphs and telephones, or to make a wise disposition of our shipyards and our new merchant fleet. Certainly it will not solve our own menacing problem of unemployment or feed the hundreds of thousands of discharged soldiers who are being sent out of the camps at random to drift back into communities where there are already more men than jobs. By its failure to face the facts of our own threatening labor situation, Congress is doing more to prepare the ground for the varieties of radical propaganda which it loosely lumps under the melodramatic title of Bolshevism than an army of agitators could accomplish even if they possessed the fabulous sums of money which the Bolshevists are alleged to be scattering broadcast out of the late Tsar's hidden treasure chests.

During recent weeks, a committee of the senate over which Senators Kenyon and Hollis have presided has been holding public hearings with a view to the preparation of bills for the amelioration of our industrial disorders. These hearings and the tentative proposals of the committee have not been of a character to attract much attention either in Congress or in the press. They have not reached the ears of the unemployed workers, neither have they been effective in convincing the organized men who are keeping a precarious hold on their jobs that Congress is deeply in earnest in seeking remedial legislation. Their scepticism has not been helped by the shelving of Senator Kenyon's bill, calling for a commission on emergency employment with an appropriation of $100,000,000. The apparent willingness of Congress to let matters drift from bad to worse is breeding a sullen and rebellious temper among the wage-earners. The general strike in Seattle may be partially set down to the peculiarly American and self-assertive temperament of the skilled workmen of the Pacific Coast; the labor of the coast towns from Seattle to Los Angeles has always been radical, not in the European, but in the old American revolutionary sense. But this does not account for the tone of the resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor last Sunday, which call for a general strike of union labor on April first, the date of the next municipal election, for the purpose of aiding the new Labor Party ticket by giving the workers "a day off on making profits for the bosses." That phrase sounds a new note in the slogans of the conservative unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The leaders of the Chicago unions are not of the Pacific Coast type. For years, they have kept the safe balance between the extremes of conservatism and radicalism in the conventions of the A. F. of L. They have not been accustomed to argue their case in terms of the "class war." They have been advocates of collective bargaining, of co-operation between employers and workers; not opponents of the wage system. When they begin to talk about taking "a day off on making profits for the bosses" it is reasonable to infer that discontent with existing industrial conditions is crystalizing into a militant class consciousness even among conservative American workmen.

In the face of the mounting volume of unemployment and the critical situation confronting our basic industries, Congress can hardly be said to be giving the country its best service by attempting to divert public attention from real evils at home to alleged evils in Russia which at worst have remote interest to jobless and hungry men and women and children. It would seem to be time for Congress to take its responsibilities for the welfare of American industry and American labor seriously.

## BRITAIN AND AMERICA

[From a review of Norman Angels' book, "The British Revolution and the American Democracy," in the New Republic, February 22.]

"Revolution can't touch the United States. If it raises its head in this country, it will be—deported!" This is the firm persuasion of thousands of Americans. But an equally firm persuasion on the part of the British has not deprived Britain of its revolutionary legacy from the war—and, whatever America's failure to prepare itself, the example of Britain is there.

Mr. Angell's argument does not depend on his will to believe. It goes straight to the lesson of collectivism that was taught to Britain and America by the war. "The war has accomplished the necessary preliminary to any form of Socialism: it has demonstrated in material terms the economic feasibility of the method of common ownership or control of the means of production and distribution." This is a fact which it is futile to deny. Why must it lead to revolution or reconstruction? Because the collectivism exists and is necessary, and the transition from it is under surveillance. A "war for democracy" has been fought and won. Can the people of Britain or America be cheated? Only in one way. "The danger that the power gained by the state in war may be used to the ends of enslavement is a very real one; and the fight between those who hope to use collectivism as an instrument of real liberation, and those who hope to make of it a means whereby the nation-state may assume still greater powers of coercion and repression, will be a bitter one."

Is not the political democracy of Britain a sufficient pledge of justice to labor? British labor, with a thousand years of struggle behind it, has no illusions about the vote. "Mere political democracy has so failed to give to the millions who worked in our factories, mines, and fields, any real control over their own daily lives as to make the parade of political freedom often a cruel irony." Programmes of economic freedom go far deeper. They are now the daily meat of British labor, and they amount to revolution in the realm of private property. The universal enforcement of a national minimum, the democratic control of industry, the revolution of national finance, the conscription of surplus wealth for the common good—these are clear principles that the ordinary British trade unionist has now taken hold of, and to elude them is beyond the most slippery of statesmen.

But why must America follow suit? Mr. Angell replies by indicating that here too we have had the experience of collectivism. Americans may have had no opinion as to guild socialism, no opinion as to syndicalism. Mr. Gompers may still be unready to see anything in the problem of labor but a problem of wages and hours. But if the wage system comes to be transvalued in England, if the status of labor ceases to be servile there, how will labor in the United States respond? Unless it has already achieved political power (hard to achieve under the revered but somewhat senile constitution), Mr. Angell foresees a gain for the impossibilists. And if the impossibilists are thus indirectly encouraged by laggards like Mr. Gompers, the result will be a greater upheaval in the end.

### THE ENGLISH STRIKES

It is the purpose of the working classes to secure a share in the control of their own production, in the management of industry. The bulk of them are not as yet clearly conscious of it, but the tendency is unmistakable and the advanced men, the shop stewards who are organizing the movement among the engineers and on the railways, have perfectly clear ideas of what they want. Early in the war, when Mr. Lloyd George went to Glasgow and the Socialist Forward was suppressed for giving an account of the conversation between him and the workmen, he was bluntly told that they demanded a share in the management of the "shops" and he answered that it was impossible. Impossible is a word which is not at present to be found in the dictionary of the shop stewards and the men they represent.

It is reasonable that employers should everywhere complain of the methods now being used against them. How, they say, can any settlement be made when the demands of the men grow and change from week to week and almost from day to day, when agreements are not respected, when the men repudiate their own leaders, when demands travel from trade to trade by the same "sympathy" which accounts for so much of the rise in prices? It is reasonable, and yet such a complaint is superficial. These confused and distracted methods of labor are the symptoms of a moral restlessness which seeks satisfaction without knowing clearly how to get it. Labor lacks unity, though it is acquiring it. It is sick of the old organs to which it had looked for leadership and it has not yet acquired new ones. Its aims, conscious or unconscious, are such as has been suggested; the right to maintain a fuller and more decent life, not merely to produce but to have a greater share in the fruits and control of production. The state and capital, if they were wise, would concentrate their attention on these essential causes of discontent rather than on their secondary symptoms.

But the prospects are not hopeful. Capital some say, is spoiling for a fight. Since it must come, say others, it may as well come soon. Before the aims of labor are satisfied, privilege and profit will certainly be curtailed and the experience of recent years does not suggest that those who hold these things will give them up without a long and bitter struggle. Peace reigns and war begins. —W. P. Crozier, in the New Republic, Feb. 22.

### "THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE SOVIETS"

By Rhys Williams

The Vancouver Trades and Labor Council is continuing in its policy of furnishing material on the situation in Russia, so that the workers in this country having the facts may pass intelligent judgment on the merits of the Soviet form of administering the affairs of a country. Following up the publication of the "Soviets at Work," by N. Lenin, they are now publishing the "Bolsheviks and the Soviets," by Albert Rhys Williams.

Mr. Williams was a war correspondent in Belgium and author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle." He went to Russia and for fifteen months lived in the villages with the peasants, in the Red Army with the soldiers, and in the industries with the workers. He knew the people as well as Lenin, Trotsky and others.

Some of his experiences Mr. Williams has written for the "New Republic," the New York "Nation," and other journals. After his addresses in the Church of Ascension, in New York, and at the Ford Hall, in Boston, many questions were raised. In this pamphlet, the "Bolsheviks and the Soviets," Mr. Williams answers these questions briefly. When we say that this pamphlet is equally valuable in its way as the "Soviets at Work," those who have read the latter will realize that no higher recommendation could be given to it.

The price of the pamphlet is $6.50 per 100, or 10 cents each.

Order them from Secretary, Trades and Labor Council, Room 210, Labor Temple, Dunsmuir street, Vancouver, B. C.

# Stop Press News

The secretary of the Alberta Provincial Executive Committee, of the Socialist Party of Canada, J. F. Maguire, reports heavy drain on their treasury for the defence of comrades charged with sedition or being in possession of banned literature, has exhausted their finances and so his committee appeals for help.

The defence of Comrade Macpherson of Trochu, Alberta, who was charged with having copies of the "Western Clarion" on his premises, has cost over three hundred dollars, although he was acquitted. Comrade George Paton, an S. P. of C. speaker and organizer, of Delbourne, Alberta, is now awaiting trial. He was arrested on February 13. He was charged with having written the following words in a letter he sent to the D. E. C. of the party in Vancouver: "What in hell kind of scapegoats are at Ottawa. In place of warding bloodshed they are simply creating the possibilities of such." This letter was intercepted in the mails. When his case was first brought into court, only a copy of the letter was submitted as evidence and to this his lawyer successfully objected. His case is now remanded awaiting the arrival of the original. Comrade Paton was also charged with having on his premises a copy of a banned Socialist magazine, called the "Class Struggle," a magazine which circulates freely in the United States, but which the autocrats in Ottawa have decided is unfit for consumption by the slaves of capital in Canada.

Comrades and friends, please help those boys in Alberta to carry on the fight for their comrades in the clutches of "Order-in-council" jurisprudence.

Forward remittances to J. F. Maguire, Box 785, Edmonton, Alberta.

### PAPER BULLETS

[Part of an article in the New York Dial of February 8, by Robert Herrick.]

Much of all this shooting of paper bullets has had merely negative results. Russia is an excellent example of how much can be spent on propaganda with no result. Not to dwell on the fruitless efforts of the official United States propagandists to get their wares into Russia—and what effect could there be in telling the Russians how benevolently we felt towards them while we were sending troops to Vladivostok and Archangel?—the general Entente propaganda on Russia has been especially bewildered. The object of this campaign in the United States was to create a state of public opinion that would compel immediate armed intervention on a large scale in Russia, which was desired especially by England and France. To that end our newspapers were regularly fed with reports from Stockholm, Paris, and London, of Soviet atrocities. The same stories were frequently repeated as fresh news after short intervals. Finally came the ludicrous yarn of a St. Bartholomew massacre in Moscow—which proved to be pure hoax. The German end was worked by inducing our official Bureau of Public Information to father the discredited Sisson documents in order that the unwary citizen might be led to believe that armed intervention in Russia meant fighting Germany's allies, and hence Germany. Meanwhile alternate currents of fear and hope were sent over the propaganda wires by two general reports: one that the rule of the Russian Soviets would collapse "in a few weeks"; the other, that the "Red Army" was making dangerous progress. (I have seen the two reports side by side in the columns of a New York newspaper, where evidently the propaganda time schedule had become confused!) The net results of the whole immense, wasteful, and misleading propaganda on Russia would seem, at the present moment, to be zero.

Propaganda meeting, Empress Theatre, every Sunday evening, 8 p.m.

### A FRENCH TRIBUTE

The following resolution addressed to the "Editors of the Red Flag, Berlin," was published in the Populaire (Paris) of January 26.

The committee for the Defence of International Socialism desires with most sorrowful emotion to honor the heroic death of Karl Liebnecht and Rosa Luxemburg, martyrs of the cause of labor and Socialism.

The proletariat of the world mourns the loss of these two great champions of the liberation of the exploited masses for whom they lived and for whom they died. The workers will forever venerate the memory of these fighters in the German revolution, as they do the memory of the fighters of the Russian revolutions, the Paris Commune, and all proletarian movements. Their sacrifice will stimulate the energy of the international working class which will carry on with more zeal than ever its efforts for the social revolution.

Signed: Jean Longuet, Mistral, Mayeras, Frossard, Paul Faure, Verefeuil, Maurin, Souvarine, Marthe, Bigot, Amedee Dunois, Daniel Renoult, Mouret, Grandvallet, Reberset, Dupont, Lavigne, Servantier, Gourdeaux, Razine, Millerat.

The editors of the Populaire join in this resolution.

[From an article by Wm. Gallacher entitled "The Spirits of War," in "The Worker," January 18th, Organ of the Scottish Workers Committee.]

Millions for the bosses! It sounds well, doesn't it?? Millions for the bosses. Twelve and six a week for a soldier's wife!

Because they were afraid of trouble they raised unemployment benefit to 29 shillings for men and 25 shillings for women. It isn't too much, not by any means, for according to the balance sheet of the Paisley Co-operative Society, it costs 29|4 per horse for food alone.

29|4 to feed a horse for a week!

29|- for the worker and his wife.

25|- for an unemployed girl, and 12|6 for a soldier's wife. Its a beautiful system of society, isn't it? Shake yourself, my friend, or if you are incapable of doing it, ask your neighbor to do it for you, and see that it is done thoroughly. You have never stood by the boys who were doing the fighting, you allowed them to be slaughtered by the thousand without protest, your only concern being to keep secure yourself. You allowed their women folk and children to be starved and exploited and cheered the men who piled up profits out of their agony.

Bound to the machine or bench with the chains of prejudice and fear, you were unable to strike a blow for your own or their deliverance. Weak and helpless you were, because the enemy was organized and powerful. Your forces were broken and divided over the whole field of industry.

But now the trumpet call has sounded. The call for unity. The miners lead the way and look with confidence to you to follow. Stretch your limbs and burst the bonds that have held you too long in thrall, sweep away the mists of capitalism that obscure your sight, hiding from you the beauty and glory of the world that lies around you, and clear-eyed and courageous step boldly forward to your place in the ranks of the fighting army of labor.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—The Russian Bolshevik government agreed in February, 1918, to denounce the Brest-Litovsk treaty and resume the war against Germany, if the United States and Great Britain would assure co-operation, Raymond Robbins, former head of the American Red Cross mission in Russia, testified before the Senate committee investigating lawless propaganda.

Mr. Robbins said that despite his efforts and those of R. A. B. Lockhart, high commissioner, to induce their government to agree to this proposal, no word was received by March 14, when Lenine said he was convinced no help could be expected and induced the all-Russian Soviet to ratify the treaty with Germany.

## THE WORLD MADE SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

IT TOOK four years to reach the stage of things accomplished; of glorious pages added to the tomes of history; blood spilt has amounted to more than a little; misery, suffering and starvation reigned in places during these weary years, luxury and gluttony in others; the slaves toiled unceasingly and the masters of life orated incessantly and now Demos gathers his skirts around him and gazes on a smiling world?

At least so we are informed by the seers of Fleet Street and Herald Square. The Hun has been blasted in his lair; and being the repository of all that was evil, in contradistinction to our modest selves in whom are embodied the good, the true and the beautiful, it naturally follows that we are now living in a world of justice, honor, love and several other things the names of which the writer has for the moment forgotten.

Unfortunately for the success of the capitalist story-tellers, little breaks appear in the beautiful scenarios, designed in the press rooms where our friends of the fifth estate perform their arduous but profitable duties. Headlines force themselves into the picture in spite of all efforts to eliminate them.

In France the collection of Stone Age fossils known as the Peace Conference fritters its time away in a vain effort to get somewhere; the participants have so many petty quarrels of their own to settle that the object of the gathering has almost been forgotten. Outside the walls of the Versailles Palace, democracy reaches out its bony fingers, through the octogenarian Clemenceau, to strangle the efforts of the French railway-workers to secure a settlement of claims pending since last autumn.

The German prototype of Demos sits enthroned in Weimar, keeping in touch with the outside world through the agency of its aeroplane service, ordinary means of communication being denied it. Murder, rapine and slaughter still holds the boards and the members of the Democratic Ebert-Scheidemann government have proved their ability to hold up their end with their fellow democrats in other lands. Liebnecht and Luxemburg are names that bear lasting and indisputable testimony to this fact.

In all the other countries of Europe the conditions of democratic peace consequent upon the cessation of hostilities give the lie to our mentors. Italy is being held off, by the more powerful armies and navies of her democratic allies, from launching her forces once more into the throes of another war, against the Jugo-Slavs this time. Republicans and Monarchists face each other in grim and mortal combat in the Iberian Peninsula with the Bolsheviki appearing at intervals; in fact the press reports indicate that the Bolsheviki had control in Lisbon two weeks ago.

Of America we need say nothing further than that, "He kept us out of the war." No not Hanson. Wilson!

None of these peoples however, have the least license to lay any claim whatever to the blessings of democracy when compared to that little island where the bulldog and the beefsteak unite to make a happy allegory in the fleeting moments intervening between one trade dispute and another.

Since the signing of the armistice, labor troubles in the Old Country have monopolized the front pages of our daily papers to the detriment of other events, epochmaking in their own way but fundamentally of secondary consideration. London, Belfast and Glasgow provided us with our morning sensation for several weeks and now that the smoke of battle has cleared away, with the facts before us we are again compelled to give voice to our admiration for the profession that labels itself "journalist."

Like all the rest of the "news" peddled by our great "free press" the skeleton was supplied by the events and the fabrication of the complete story was the work of the imaginative processes in the mind of some prostitute penny-a-liner; some animal of like calibre to those who fill in the blanks in our morning papers in the west.

## BRITISH MINERS HAVE BIG STICK

LONDON, March 6.—Failure to grant miners' demands will result in a general strike of the "triple alliance" which will paralyze British industries and probably force a change in the government of the Transport Federation, declared today.

"The Triple Alliance" is the common term for the transport workers, railwaymen and miners. Williams' organization alone numbers close to 300,000.

---

Speaking of Glasgow; they have a chief magistrate in that city of slums, who as a headliner can give points to Mr. Ole Hanski of Seattle or even Vancouver's Mr. Fivecent Gale. A strike involving 30,000 men was in progres in Glasgow, the forty-hour week being the point at issue. This Provost, Stewart by name, took upon himself the job of settling the whole matter. He communicated with the government and invited the strikers to come to the city chambers at a specified time where he would acquaint them with the result of his endeavors.

At the time stated, between 30,000 and 40,000 men, women and children gathered to hear the decision of the Higherups. While a delegation waited on him inside the building, the police, who had been kept handy were turned loose on the crowd. The strikers were unprepared for anything of this sort, notwithstanding the assertions of the press agencies, that they came armed with a carload of broken bottles. This carload of bottles was a gift from the Gods. During the course of the scrap, a mineral-water wagon appeared on the scene. The police up to this point carried everything before them but now met with some resistance and the result was that nineteen or twenty of them were shipped to the hospital in a more or less broken up condition. The working class know too well the power of the state to imagine that it can be offset by broken bottles, but the circumstances demanded that they defend themselves and they had to make the most of the weapons they found to hand.

When the deputation heard the noise of the fighting in the streets, they rushed downstairs only to be met at the doorway by a well organized body of stalwarts, apparently selected for the purpose of manhandling them. Of course they were beat up. One of these men, by the way, is an old friend of Lloyd George. Most of us remember the historic meeting in Glasgow three years ago when David Kirkwood introduced Lloyd George in the following words: "This is Mr. Lloyd George," "he has come to speak to us on the dilution of labor, but I want to tell him that every word he utters will be treated with suspicion for every act with which his name has been connected carries with it the taint of slavery." This same David Kirkwood was one of the men arrested after being nearly killed. He now lies in jail waiting trial for inciting to riot and the greatest premier of all time is suitably avenged.

Investigation afterwards showed that the authorities were excellently prepared. There is no doubt that the affair was prearranged. The city chambers, an ordinary business block for the transaction of the city's financial and other clerical activities, was crowded with doctors and nurses, with all the impedimenta of their trade; mounted and foot police were placed at every vantage point, inside and outside the building, all ready for the word go.

Before the day was over the troops came rolling in to take control of the city; naked bayonet and steel helmet, machine gun and tank paraded the streets on the following day and Glasgow might have been mistaken for Cologne. Civic receptions are part of the routine work of the provost and this one will be remembered. It reminds us of an occasion when the workers of Russia waited on their Little Father, who received them after the same fashion. Where is the Little Father today? And it is only fifteen years ago!

In furtherance of our claim that in Britain the benefits of democracy are more widespread than elsewhere, more tangible, more real, more in line with what we fought for in the war, we will quote the following passage from the Glasgow Socialist:

"As an example of what capitalism is prepared to do in the event of a riot see "Air Ministry Weekly Orders," 1386-1387 just issued.

### An Astounding Order

This precious publication of 34 pages, For Official Use Only, and "promulgated for information, guidance and necessary action," is about as diabolical a piece of British militarist frightfulness as one could possibly read.

In par. 1386, headed Riots and Civil Commotion," the attention of all Air Force officers and men is directed to the Amendments to King's Regulations contained on pages 23-4—"These are to be carefully studied."

Turning to said pages, we find that Order 961 of King's Regulations is amended to read as follows:

> In the event of a disturbance amounting to a riot, the magistrate present with the troops will, if circumstances permit, read the Proclamation under the Riot Act and call on everyone present to assist in suppressing the riot. Whether the Proclamation has been read or not, he will as soon as he comes to the conclusion that the police cannot cope with the riot and that military action is necessary, call upon the officer in command of the troops to take action. No order to charge or fire should be given until the magistrate has called upon the officer to take action. An order to fire, if given, is to ge given by the officer in command.

Fellow workers, note! the King's Regulations are being amended now to meet the growing unrest, proving that capitalism is preparing to meet the revolution in this country and to fight it to the death. From the above amendment it will be observed that it is now no longer necessary or compulsory to read the Riot Act before firing on a crowd. When you know how easily a "riot" can be engineered by the agents of capitalism, you will understand the value of this sinister "amendment."

Regulation 962 now reads:

> Full and distinct warning must be given to the rioters that the troops are about to fire and that the fire will be effectual! The officer in command will, if time permits, consult with the magistrate present as to the best means of giving such warning.

Of course, in such events, time never will permit, but even an army officer's gorge might rise if the slime were missed out. That the fire will undoubtedly be "effectual" is evidenced by the amendment to number 965. Reader! think of the war to safeguard democracy from the callous Hun, then try to picture a fiend, a malignant British military dastard, sitting in his cosy office, and in the coldest of cold blood, penning amendment No. 965:

> "It is undesirable that firing should take place over the heads of the rioters, or that blank cartridges should be used."

Undesirable! Good God! This is British. Remember Nurse Cavell! Remember Captain Fryatt! Remember all the greasy, cant-reeking, piety-stinking parrot cries of the slimy patriots, and admire the clean, straightforward, and honest methods of the said patriots who can "amend" a regulation into an order for treacherous murder, and keep the public in the dark over it! "For official use only—not to be communicated to anyone outside of H.M. Forces."

This is democracy, "of the people for the people." The best thing about the word is that it rhymes with "hypocrisy" with which it seems to be closely allied. With all the cant and humbug dinned in our ears, by professor presidents and Welsh wizards, it is refreshing to turn our gaze to the New West where the Russian workers have torn the mantle secrecy and the sceptre of oppression from a decadent society and proclaimed the Proletarian Dictatorship.

# THE RED FLAG

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

Published When Circumstances and Finances Permit By The Socialist Party of Canada,

401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.

Editor ..... C. Stephenson

SATURDAY..... March 8, 1919


## AN APPEAL TO THE WORKERS

Under the excuse of the necessity of imposing unanimity upon the people of Canada, so that all the forces of the country might be concentrated effectually for the winning of the war, a tyranny has established itself, which, even though the war has been over for some months, still refuses to relinquish its strangle-hold on the community. This of course, need cause us no surprise, for it is in the nature of tyrannies to fight to perpetrate themselves. The whole history of class society does not record one instance of a renunciation of power except under pressure.

During the war, a drastic censorship of the press was established, more particularly on the press of the working class, both labor and Socialist. Scientific works, especially those on political economy and sociology were forbidden publication, or, as in the case of publications of Chas. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, prohibited from entering the country, though allowed free circulation both in the British Isles and the United States. Advantage was taken of government ownership of the mail service to open and confiscate mail and moneys remitted, in ignorance of the censorship, for banned publications. Freedom of speech has been suppressed, and to accomplish this, placards were posted up all over the land, asking all the sundry, to turn themselves into spies and informers, with the result that thousands of people were arrested and sentenced to heavy fines and long and cruel terms of imprisonment.

Our soul deadening prisons are full of these men and women convicted for their political opinions and religious faiths and condemned to rot physically and intellectually in segregation from their families and friends and the amenities and cultural influences of social life.

The war is over, the victory of loud heralded democracy is won, yet still the power-greedy octupus stretches out its tentacles, the police and the spy, still hunting for the unorthodox on the lonely prairie, in village, town and city.

Workers! It is the men of your class who are in jail for speaking on your behalf or for convictions sake. It is the organizations of men of your class that are suppressed. It is the press devoted to your interests that has been strangled. It is the literature that analyses and explains your problems that is banned from the country. What are you going to do about it?

Again, again and again appeals have been sent to the authorities at Ottawa, for relief from these oppressions, but all in vain.

These men in jail for faith and ideals can only be freed by you. Only you can bring them back to families and friends and social life. Only you can bring back to the community the progressive influence of freedom of speech and written word. This is your mission, because it is your historical privilege to be the repository and instrument of all future social progress. Assume the responsibilities history has placed upon you. Get these fellow workers of yours out of the bastiles of capitalism! Give us back freedom of speech and press!

---

LONDON, March 6.—The Batoum-Baku railway in the Caucasus is in operation under British control and the British government is taking steps to prevent penetration of Bolshevism to Afghanistan and India.

## NEWSPAPER CONTROL

Reading an article in the New York "Dial" of February 8th, entitled "Newspaper Control," the present writer was much struck with how well the charges, frequently hurled at the press of being "kept" and "controlled," were borne out and substantiated in it.

The author of the article, A. Vernon Thomas, who at one time did work for the Manchester Guardian and for ten years, since 1907, was on the staff of the Manitoba Free Press, has a journalistic experience which entitles him to speak, as one who knows. He deals specifically with the great "flop over" of the Liberal press in Canada at the time of the conscription election of December, 1917, and goes into a mass of detail into which we will not follow him as it is all old, old history now. A decade of former existance fills but a week these latter days, so mightily do the gods of change hammer out events on the anvil of time. Nevertheless, a quotation or two, in order to get under way with our subject.

. . . "Efforts put forth to split the Liberal party met with a large measure of success. Two methods were in the main relied on, one the gaining of control of the Laurier newspapers, and the other, the raising of a racial and religious issues. Nevertheless, first attempts to stampede the Liberals into the Union government fold were ill-starred."

. . . "It was after these failures that strong influences were felt to be abroad for the control of the Liberal newspapers." Mr. Thomas tells of the desperate attempts made to induce prominent Liberals to enter the proposed coalition and of the various unsatisfactory conventions, from the point of view of the conscriptionists, held in various parts of the country. All this time "Liberal papers, which afterwards fell into line were having their daily jest at Liberal leaders reported to be considering the offer of a cabinet position."

But the silencing of the press supporting Sir Wilfrid Laurier was nevertheless accomplished. Although tragic enough to the Liberals remaining true to Laurier, the situation had much in it that was comic. Observe how quickly the coldblooded, calculating harpies of the press could change their coats. "The transition from ridiculing Union government to supporting it had in some cases to be made in uncermonious haste and under the rude gaze of astonished onlookers. Editorials supporting Laurier halted on the printing presses. Ottawa correspondence favoring him stopped on the wires. When it was all over, Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada through four successive administrations, was without a newspaper press in the English provinces." And also be it noted without a pulpit. Our journalist goes on to relate in detail the vicious nature of the propaganda, from that time on to the election, perpetrated by the renegade press. Civil war was threatened. "Quebec has got to be licked and it might as well be now as later." "Intimidation of Laurier voters was a general condition. His right-hand men were read out of public life forever by former Laurier organs. A vote for Laurier was held up in the press not merely as the acme of disloyalty, but as a piece of downright iniquity. The terrors of the living and the dead were threatened against those who were willing to risk conscription on a referendum. No chances were taken." . . .

He puts the question, "What induced the Liberal papers of Canada to forsake Sir Wilfrid Laurier? Was it simply an honest change of opinion? Had the reasons which prompted them strongly to condemn conscription in 1916 disappeared in 1917?"

"Personally," he says, "I do not believe that an affirmative answer can honestly be given to these questions." . . . "The quick and uncermonious switching from Laurier to the Union government which I have described does not suggest a genuine change of heart, and many other things do not suggest it either. What was it then? Frankly I do not know, but I do know that ever since the election there has been a profound conviction in the minds of a large number of Canadians that something happened a year ago which has never been explained. This belief persists in Canada and was never more alive than at the present moment." . . . The author quotes the Winnipeg "Voice" as pointing out the visit of Northcliffe, the biggest autocrat of the press in the world, to Ottawa, coinciding with the beginning of the frenzied election campaign. He also considers Lord Beaverbrook of unsavary "cement merger" fame as strongly suspect. "Shortly after the Canadian general election, Prime Minister Lloyd George, in the British House of Commons, spoke of the marvelous success which had attended the propaganda work of Lord Beaverbrook," though not specifying to what "success" he had reference. Since then several journals have been earnestly protesting their journalistic honor and that they at least were not "subsidized."

"Canadian newspapermen of standing with whom I have conversed recently, assured me that the editors and editorial writers on the newspapers which deserted Laurier were spiritually coerced and yielded to influences which they found irresistible. I pressed these Canadian journalists for a careful estimate of the proportion of editors and editorial writers who were, in their opinion, thus coerced and left Laurier reluctantly. They assured me that it amounted to ninety per cent., and they proceeded to name me editors and editorial writers who, in their opinion, would beyond question have supported Laurier had they felt free to do so.

"I believe," he continues, "that in the foregoing I have revealed a condition of journalism which is thoroughly unhealthy and under which neither the press of Canada nor that of any other country can truly serve the people. Just what the solution is I do not pretend to know." . . . According to the Vancouver "Province," in a news item, a few days ago, an editor in Soviet Russia, on information being laid against him that he has published a lie, is cast into jail until he proves his innocence. How would that do as a palliative until the proletariat solve the problem by overthrowing the profit system, capitalism?

Mr. Thomas closes his article as follows: "Since I began this article a statement recently made in the Westminster Gazette by Mr. J. A. Spencer, a prominent British journalist, has come under my notice. I am disposed to think it throws some light upon the Canadian situation. I will close by quoting it. It reads as follows:

"The public would be astonished if it knew how few writers are regularly engaged in political journalism in these times and how little opportunity there is for the exercise of a free judgment. . . . During the thirty-three years during which I have been connected with journalism I have seen the power of the editor constantly diminishing and the power of the proprietor constantly increasing."

The truth is that our bourgeois news sheets and journals have become nothing less than mediums of the vilest kind of propaganda, worthy props of a rotten and dying form of society. The cowardice of the Liberal press marks the decadence of Liberalism, a once great historical movement. The Socialist movement is now the modern expression of forces seeking freedom. Freedom's torch had dropped from palsied hands. But, out of the mud and the mire, it has been rescued and is bourne aleft, high, burning bright and clear before the victorious hosts of proletarian Socialism.

---

PARIS, Feb. 28.—Thoughts of peace were dissipated by fears of war yesterday in Paris, when the peace conference learned of the strained relations between Italy and the Jugo-Slavian kingdom. Threats of hostilities were so serious as to require the immediate attention of the peace delegates, who were prepared to use economic measures to bring the recalcitrants to reason.

---

Propaganda meeting Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, at the Empress Theatre, corner Hastings and Gore.

(Continued from Page Two)

occasion he describes his hunt for a few postage stamps to mail a manuscript to a publisher. And then, the eternal quarrels with the tradesmen, whom he could not pay for the most necessary foodstuffs, not to mention the landlord, who was threatening at any moment to send the sheriff into his quarters, and his constant recourse to the pawnshops, whose usurious interest rates would destroy the last remnants of cash that might have banished the phantom of care from his threshold.

Dame Care not only sat on his threshold, but had even come in to share his board. His high-minded wife, who had been accustomed from early childhood to a life that was free from care, could not but waver under the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, and wish that she and her children might be in their graves. In his letters there is no lack of traces of domestic scenes, and occasionally he says that there is no greater folly possible for people of social tendencies than to get married and thus land themselves over to the petty cares of private life. But whenever her complaints would make him impatient, he had words of excuse and justification for her; her sufferings from the indescribable humiliations, tortures, and terrors, which were connected with their position, must be greater than his, especially since she has not the possibility of seeking refuge in the realm of science, which often serves him as an asylum. It was very hard for both parents to see their children deprived of the innocent joys of youth.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

## AN APPEAL OF THE "SPARTACUS" GROUP

(Continued from Page One)

'understanding,' it knows only one right—capital's profits; it knows only one language—the sword; it knows only one method—violence. And if it is now talking in all countries, in yours as well as ours, about the 'League of Nations,' 'disarmament,' 'rights of small nations,' 'self-determination of the peoples,' it is merely using the customary lying phrases of the rulers for the purpose of lulling to sleep the watchfulness of the proletariat.

"Proletarians of all countries! This must be the last war! We owe that to the twelve million murdered victims, we owe that to our children, we owe that to humanity.

"Europe has been ruined by this damnable slaughter. Twelve million bodies cover the grewsome scenes of this imperialistic crime. The flower of youth and the best man power of the peoples have been mowed down. Uncounted productive forces have been annihilated. Humanity is almost ready to bleed to death from the unexampled blood-letting of history. Victors and vanquished stand at the edge of the abyss. Humanity is threatened with famine, a stoppage of the entire mechanism of production, plagues and degeneration.

"The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this unchained chaos—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is incapable of banishing it, of restoring real order, or insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

"What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

"Socialism alone is in a position to complete the great work of permanent peace, to heal the thousand wounds from which humanity is bleeding, to transform the plains of Europe, trampled down by the passage of the apocryphal horseman of war, into blossoming gardens, to conjure up ten productive forces for every one destroyed, to awaken all the physical and moral energies of humanity ,and to replace hatred and dissension and fraternal solidarity, harmony, and respect for every human being.

"If representatives of the proletarians of all countries could but clasp hands under the banner of Socialism for the purpose of making peace, then peace would be concluded in a few hours. Then there will be no disputed questions about the left bank of the Rhine, Mesopotamia, Egypt or colonies. Then there will be only one people: the toiling human beings of all races and tongues. Then there will be only one right: the equality of all men. Then there will be only one aim: prosperity and progress for everybody.

"Humanity is facing the alternative: Dissolution and downfall in capitalist anarchy, or regeneration through the social revolution. The hour of fate has struck. If you believe in Socialism, it is now time to show it by deeds. If you are Socialists, now is the time to act.

"Proletarians of all countries, if we summon you for a common struggle it is not done for the sake of the German capitalists who, under the label of 'German nation,' are trying to escape the consequences of their own crimes; it is being done for our sake as well as for yours. Remember that your victorious capitalists stand ready to suppress in blood our revolution, which they fear as they do their own. You yourselves have not become any freer through the 'victory,' you have only become still more enslaved. If your ruling classes succeed in throttling the proletarian revolution in Germany, and in Russia, then they will turn against you with redoubled violence. Your capitalists hope that victory over us and over revolutionary Russia will give them the power to scourge you with a whip of scorpions and to erect the thousand-year empire of exploitation upon the grave of Socialism.

"Therefore the proletariat of Germany looks toward you in this hour. Germany is pregnant with the social revolution, but Socialism can only be realized by the proletariat of the world.

"And, therefore, we call to you: 'Arise for the struggle. Arise for action. The time for empty manifestos, platonic resolutions, and high-sounding words is gone! The hour of action has struck for the International!' We ask you to elect Workers' and Soldiers' Councils everywhere that will seize political power, and, together with us, will restore peace.

"Not Lloyd George and Poincare, not Sonnino, Wilson and Erzberger or Scheidemann, must be allowed to make peace. Peace must be concluded under the waving banner of the Socialist world revolution.

"Proletarians of all countries! We call upon you to complete the work of Socialist liberation, to give a human aspect to the disfigured world and to make true those words with which we often greeted each other in the old days and which we sang as we parted: "And the Internationale shall be the human race!"

"KLARA ZETKIN,
"ROSA LUXEMBURG,
"KARL LIEBNECHT,
"FRANZ MEHRING."

Three of these great fighters for the social revolution have now passed away. Red Rosa Luxemburg, beaten to death by a bourgeois mob, Karl Liebnecht also by violence, while the aged scholar, Franz Mehring has died from the effects of imprisonment. And now word comes to us that Klara Zetkin is also dying from the same cause. Thus four of the most prominent of the original group of Spartacans are out of the fight.

And yet, as though to confound the great man (bourgeois) theory of the preponderating influence of great individualities on social movements and on the course of history, the movement of the revolutionary proletariat gains strength day by day, instead of collapsing. Another proof that that method of interpreting history is a bourgeois fallacy.

The "Materialistic Interpretation" applied to history shows that social movements are historical products and have their source in the material conditions of life and great men are only those who are more responsive to and capable of expressing the needs of their time than their fellows. Be assured that in this respect as in all other respects the resources of proletarian Socialism are inexhaustible and that the main course of the proletarian advance to power cannot be deflected by the fall of prominent personalities at any time.

## UNITE AGAINST FOREIGN BAYONETS

How the Allied intervention is creating in Russia a "United Socialist Front," is best seen from the following manifesto recently issued by the Social Revolutionary Party: "The struggle of the Social Revolutionaries against Bolshevism was directed against a power which was in direct contact with the German oppressors of Russian democracy, but at present, after the defeat of Germany and in view of the fact that the intervention in Russia by the victorious powers is assuming more and more the character of assistance given by the bourgeoisne, it has become necessary for us to abandon the struggle against the Bolsheviki." The Social Revolutionaries were the strongest party in the constituent assembly and before the Bolshevist revolution had the largest following among the peasants.—New York "Nation," Feb. 22.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

(Continued from Page One)

low that history always affords it the opportunity for attaining this happy consummation. There is nothing in the Marxian theory to warrant the deduction that history always creates such conditions as are most "favorable" to the proletariat.

It is difficult to tell now how the course of the revolution would have run if the constituent assembly had been convoked in its second or third month. It is quite probable that the then dominant Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties would have compromised themselves, together with the constituent assembly, in the eyes of not only the more active elements supporting the Soviets, but also of the more backward democratic masses, who might have been attached, through their expectations not to the side of the Soviets, but to that of the constituent assembly. Under such circumstances the dissolution of the constituent assembly might have led to new elections, in which the party of the Left could have secured a majority. But the course of events has occurred in the ninth month of the revolution. By that time the class struggle had assumed such intensity that it broke the formal frames of democracy by sheer internal force.

The proletariat drew the army and the peasantry after it. These classes were in a state of direct and bitter war with the Right Social Revolutionists. This party, owing to the clumsy electoral democratic machinery, received a majority in the constituent assembly, reflecting the pre-October epoch of the revolution. The result was a contradiction which was absolutely irreducible within the limits of formal democracy. And only political pedants who do not take into account the revolutionary logic of class relations, can, in the face of the post-October situation, deliver futile lectures to the proletariat on the benefits and advantages of democracy for the cause of the class struggle.

The question was put by history far more concretely and sharply. The constituent assembly, owing to the character of its majority, was bound to turn over the government to the Chenov, Kerensky and Tseretelli group. Could this group have guided the destinies of the revolution? Could it have found support in that class which constitutes the backbone of the revolution? The real kernel of the class revolution has come into irreconcilable conflict with its democratic shell. By this situation the fate of the constituent assembly had been sealed. Its dissolution became the only possible surgical remedy for the contradiction, which had been created, not by us, but by all the preceding course of events.

# Karl Marx

By FRANZ MEHRING

### Translator's Note

The following two chapters are from a new book by Franz Mehring entitled "Karl Marx, Geschichte seines Lebens," intended as a contribution to the hundredth anniversary of Marx's birthday, (May 5, 1918).

The book is written with both admiration and criticism for the great subject, and both qualities are needed in a good biography, as Mehring points out in his foreword. Comrade Rosa Luxemburg has contributed a masterly bit from her pen: the portion dealing with the second and third volumes of "Capital," which forms the third section of Chapter XII. Another brave woman who has fought in the front ranks of the proletariat, Comrade Clara Zetkin, "the heiress of the Marxian spirit," is she to whom the book is dedicated.

---

### 1. GENIUS AND SOCIETY

Tlthough it may be said that Marx found a second home in England, the term "home" must not here be understood with too wide a connotation. He was never in any way molested in England because of his revolutionary activity, and yet England was often the object of his attacks. The government of the "greedy and envious nation of shopkeepers" was inspired by a greater degree of self-respect and self-consciousness than those continental governments, which, terrified by their evil consciences, send the darts and javelins of the police after their opponents even when the latter are active only in the fields of discussion and propaganda.

In another, profounder sense, however, Marx found it impossible to regard any country as his home, once he had learnt to read in the very soul of bourgeois society, with his divining eyes. The lot of genius in that social system is a long story, and it has given rise to the most varied opinions; from the innocent faith in God, which is the Philistine's and which promises final victory to all true genius, to Faust's melancholy reflection:

Those few who ever had a trace of it,
And in their folly hid it not;
Revealed their souls, their visions to the rabble;
the cross, the stake, have been their certain lot.

The historical method that owes its development to Marx permits us to see more deeply in this field too. The Philistine promises every genius a final victory, simply because he is a Philistine; but whenever a real genius has not been crucified or burnt at the stake, it has simply been because the genius finally consented to become a Philistine. Had they not been attached by their bourgeois wigs to the social system of their time, Goethe and Hegel would never have become recognized "great men" of bourgeois society.

Whatever may be the merits of bourgeois society, which, in this connection, must be regarded only as the most developed form of class system, and however numerous these merits may be, it certainly cannot be said that this society ever afforded a safe refuge for genius. And it would be impossible for bourgeois society to play this part, for the very nature of genius implies the opposition of the creative impulse of an unfettered human spirit, to established tradition, and colliding with the barriers that are necessary to the existence of class society. There is a little lonely churchyard on the island of Sylt, in the North Sea, and it harbors the unknown dead washed ashore by the waves, and the cross standing in the churchyard bears the inscription: "The cross of Golgatha is a home of the homeless." To be sure it was not intended in this inscription to indicate the lot of genius in a class-ruled society, yet the fact has been well stated in these words: Genius is homeless in the class system; in such a system its home is only on the cross of Golgatha.

Of course, the case is altered if genius can come to some agreement with class society. Whenever it has placed its services at the disposal of the bourgeois, in order to overthrow feudal society, genius has acquired an immense power, which has always disappeared, however, as soon as genius has undertaken to act on its own authority; the rock of St. Helena has then been its asylum. Or, if genius consents to don the frock coat of the Philistine, it may rise to the position of a Grand-Ducal Saxon Minister of State at Weimar, or a Professor at the Royal Prussian University at Berlin. But unhappy is the lot of the genius who, in proud independence and inaccessibility, opposes bourgeois society, prophesying its downfall on the basis of its own inner structure, forging the weapons which are to inflict a death-blow on this society. For such a genius, bourgeois society has only racks and tortures, which may, to be sure, seem less savage to the external eye than the crucifixion of the ancient world and the "auto da fe" of medieval society, but are in reality much more cruel.

Of all the geniuses of the 19th century, none suffered so cruelly under the tortures of this lot than Karl Marx, the most inspired of them all. He was obliged to struggle with the sordid cares of daily life even in the very first decade of his public activity, and when he settled in London he entered upon the life of an exile with its worst burdens, but his truly Promethean lot cannot be said to have begun until, after a painful ascent to his prime, in the full flourish of his manly energy, he was daily assailed by the petty troubles of life, by the depressing worries as to his daily bread; and this lasted for years and for decades! Up to the day of his death he did not succeed in establishing himself in the domain of bourgeois society, even in the most rudimentary sense.

And yet, his mode of life was far removed from what a Philistine may be inclined to term, in the generally accepted disreputable sense of the word, "the life of a genius." His diligence was as tremendous as his strength; early in life his iron constitution began to be undermined by the excessive labors of his days and nights. Incapacity for labor he considered to be the death sentence of any man that was more than an animal, and he meant these words in dead earnest; once, having been seriously ill for several weeks, he wrote to Engels: "These days, being completely unfit for work, I have read the following: Carpenter's Physiology, Lord's ditto, Kolliker's Theory of Tissues, Spurzheim's Anatomy of the Brain and Nervous System, and Schwann and Schleiden's Zellenschmiere." And in spite of all his eagerness for study, Marx remained ever mindful of his own statement, made when he was still a young man, that a writer must never work in order to make money, but that he must make money in order to be able to work; Marx never underestimated the "imperative necessity of earning one's living."

But all his exertions were of no avail against the suspicions, the hatred, or, in the most favorable case, the fears, of a hostile world. Even those German publishers who wished to emphasize their independence were afraid of the name of this disreputable demagogue. All German parties alike slandered him, and whenever the clear outlines of his position forced their way through the mists of deception, it was killed by the malicious treachery of systematic silence. Never has a nation been so completely and for so long a period deprived of a knowledge of its greatest thinker.

The only connection that might have enabled Marx to secure a comparatively firm footing in London was his work as a contributor to the New York Tribune, which covered a full decade, beginning in 1851. The Tribune, with its 200,000 readers, was then the wealthiest and most widely circulated newspaper of the United States, and, through its agitation in favor of American Fourierism, it had at least raised itself above the level of mere capitalistic money-making. And the conditions under which Marx was to work for the Tribune were not exactly unfavorable; he was to write two articles a week and to get ten dollars for each article. This would have meant an annual income of $1,000, which would just about have enabled Marx to keep his head above water in London. Freiligrath, who went so far as to boast that he was eating the "beefsteak of exile" in London, was not at first paid for his business activity.

And of course, no difficulty was raised as to the question whether the fee received by Marx from the American paper corresponded to the literary and scientific value of his contributions. A capitalist newspaper calculates on market prices, and in bourgeois society it has every right to do so. Marx never required more than this, but he might reasonably have asked, even in bourgeois society, a fulfilment of the terms of the contract once made and perhaps also some degree of deference for his work. But the Tribune and its publisher showed not a trace of these qualities. Theoretically, to be sure, Dana was a Fourierist, but practically he was a hardheaded Yankee; his Socialism, according to an angry declaration of Engels, amounted simply to the lousiest petty bourgeois cheating. Although Dana knew very well how valuable a contributor Marx was and made liberal use of Marx's name to his subscribers, whenever he did not print Marx's letters as the products of his own editorial activity — and this occurred rather often and never failed to arouse Marx's righteous indignation—he made use of every manner of brutality to which a capitalist can resort in his relations with a source of labor-power that he is exploiting.

He not only reduced Marx to half pay whenever business was low, but actually only paid for those articles which he really printed, and had the effrontery to throw into his waste-paper basket everything that did not suit his momentary purpose. For three weeks, for six weeks, in succession, Marx's compositions would take this course. To be sure, the few German newspapers in whose columns Marx's contributions found temporary asylum, such as the Wiener Presse, did not treat him better. He was therefore absolutely correct in his statement that in newspaper work he fared worse than any space-writer.

Already in 1858 he longed for a few months of solitude, to devote to learned investigation. "It seems as if I cannot have it. All this newspaper scribbling bores me. It takes away much of my time, distracts me, and what does it amount to, after all? Be as independent as you like; you are bound to your paper and to its readers, especially if you are paid in cash, as I am. Purely scientific studies are quite a different matter." And how much more savage were Marx's exclamations after he had worked for several additional years under Dana's gentle sway: "It is in truth disgusting to be condemned to regard it as a piece of good fortune to be printed in such a rotten sheet. Breaking bones, grinding them, and making soup of them, like the paupers in the workhouse, that is all that your political work, of which you get more than you want in such a business, amounts to." Not only in his scanty sustenance, but particularly in the absolute insecurity of his entire existence, Marx fully shared the lot of the modern proletariat.

Things of which we formerly had only the most general notions are shown with the most heart-rending clearness in his letters to Engels; he once had to remain indoors because he had neither shoes nor a coat suitable for street wear; another time, he lacked the few pence necessary to buy writing paper or a newspaper to read; on a third

(Continued on Page Three)

---

MADRID, Feb. 28.—The cabinet resolved today to suspend constitutional guarantees throughout Spain, as the result of syndicalism (belief in sympathetic strikes). The syndicalists are alleged to have captured practically the entire industrial organization of the country.

THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP — AN APPEAL OF THE SPARTACUS GROUP

# THE RED FLAG

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

VOL. 1 NO. 7 — VANCOUVER, SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1919 — FIVE CENTS

## The Principles of Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship

By LEON TROTZKY

AS MARXISTS, we have never been idol-worshippers of formal democracy. In a society of classes, democratic institutions not only do not eliminate class struggle, but also give to class interests an utterly imperfect expression. The propertied classes always have at their disposal tens and hundreds of means of falsifying, subverting and violating the will of the toilers. And democratic institutions become a still less perfect medium for the expression of the class struggle under revolutionary circumstances. Marx called revolutions "the locomotives of history." Owing to the open and direct struggle for power the working people acquire much political experience in a short time and pass rapidly from one stage to the next in their development. The ponderous machinery of democratic institutions lags behind this evolution all the more, the bigger the country and the less perfect its technical apparatus.

The majority in the constituent assembly proved to be social revolutionists, and, according to parliamentary rules of precedure, the control of the government belonged to them. But the party of Right Social Revolutionists had a chance to acquire control during the entire pre-October period of the revolution. Yet, they avoided the responsibilities of government, leaving the lion's share of it to the liberal bourgeoisie. By this very course the Right Social Revolutionists lost the last vestiges of their influence with the revolutionary elements by the time the numerical composition of the constituent assembly formally obliged them to form a government. The working class, as well as the Red Guards, were very hostile to the party of Right Social Revolutionists. The vast majority of soldiers supported the Bolsheviki. The revolutionary element in the provinces divided their sympathies between the Left Social Revolutionists and the Bolsheviki. The sailors, who had played such an important role in revolutionary events, were almost unanimously on our side. The Right Social Revolutionists, moreover, had to leave the Soviets, which in October—that is, before the convocation of the constituent assembly—had taken the government into their own hands. On whom, then, could a ministry formed by the constituent assembly's majority depend for support? It would be backed by the upper classes in the provinces, the intellectuals, the government officials, and temporarily by the bourgeoisie on the Right. But such a government would lack all the material means of administration. At such a political center as Petrograd, it would encounter irrestible opposition from the very start. If under these circumstances the Soviets, submitting to the formal logic of democratic conventions, had turned the government over to the party of Kerensky and Chernov, such a government, compromised and debilitated as it was, would only introduce temporary confusion into the political life of the country, and would be overthrown by a new uprising in a few weeks. The Soviets decided to reduce this belated historical experiment to its lowest terms, and dissolved the constituent assembly the very first day it met.

For this, our party has been most severely censured. The dispersal of the constituent assembly has also created a decidedly unfavorable impression among the leading circles of the European Socialist parties. Kautsky has explained, in a series of articles written with his characteristic pedantry, the interrelation existing between the Social Revolutionary problems of the proletariat and the regime of political democracy. He tries to prove that for the working class it is always expedient, in the long run, to preserve the essential elements of the democratic order. This is, of course, true as a general rule. But Kautsky has reduced this historical truth to professorial banality. If, in the final analysis, it is to the advantage of the proletariat to introduce its class struggle and even its dictatorship, through the channels of democratic institutions, it does not at all fol-

(Continued on Page Three)

## An Appeal of the Spartacus Group

To the Workers of All Countries!

"Christmas, 1918

"Proletarians! Men and Women of Labor!

"Comrades!

"The revolution in Germany has come! The masses of the soldiers who for four years were driven to slaughter for the sake of capitalistic profits; the masses of workers, who for four years were exploited, crushed, and starved, have revolted. Prussian militarism, that fearful tool of oppression, that scourge of humanity—lies broken on the ground. Its most noticeable representatives, and therewith the most noticeable of those guilty of this war, the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, have fled from the country. Workers, and Sailors' Councils have been formed everywhere.

"Workers of all countries, we do not say that in Germany all power actually lies in the hands of the working people, that the complete triumph of the proletarian revolution has already been attained. There still sit in the government all those Socialists who in August 1914, abandoned our most precious possession, the International, who for four years betrayed the German working class and the International.

"But, workers of all countries, now the German proletarian himself speaks to you. We believe we have the right to appear before your forum in his name. From the first day of this war we endeavored to do our international duty by fighting that criminal government with all our power and branding it as the one really guilty of the war.

"Now at this moment we are justified before history, before the International and before the German proletariat. The masses agree with us enthusiastically, constantly widening circles of the proletariat share the conviction that the hour has struck for a settlement with capitalistic class rule.

"But this great task cannot be accomplished by the German proletariat alone; it can only fight and triumph by appealing to the solidarity of the proletarians of the whole world.

"Comrades of the belligerent countries, we are aware of your situation. We know full well that your governments, now that they have won the victory, are dazzling the eyes of many strata of the people with the external brilliancy of their triumph. We know that they thus succeed through the success of the murdering in making its causes and aims forgotten.

"But we also know that in your countries the proletariat made the most fearful sacrifices of flesh and blood, that it is weary of the dreadful butchery, that the proletarian is now returning to his home, and is finding want and misery there, while fortunes amounting to billions are heaped up in the hands of a few capitalists. He has recognized, and will continue to recognize, that your governments, too, have carried on the war for the sake of the big money stakes. And he will further perceive that your governments, when they spoke of 'justice and civilization' and of the 'protection of small nations,' meant capitalist profits as surely as did ours when it talked about the 'defence of home'; and that the peace of 'justice' and of the 'League of Nations' are but a part of the same base brigandage that produced the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Here as well as there the same shameless lust for booty, the same desire for oppression, the same determination to exploit to the limit the brutal preponderance of murderous steel.

"The imperialism of all countries knows no

(Continued on Page Three)

**SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA**

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, MARCH 9

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speaker _____ Lefeaux