THE RED FLAG

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Conciliation for Russia?

FROM "THE NEW REPUBLIC"

THE recent proposal by the British government of a more conciliatory policy towards Soviet Russia is an amazing fact. It is amazing because until recently all the official statements about Russia dished up both by the British Foreign Office and the American State Department accused the Soviet Republic of being essentially and exclusively a criminal conspiracy against human liberty and progress. A large part of British and American public opinion accepted this indictment as literally true. It was astonished and bewildered by the attempt to conciliate a government which had been alleged to be so utterly odious and depraved. Under the circumstances it surely had some excuse for being not only astonished and bewildered but irritated. Either the official propaganda about the condition in Russia had been a gross distortion of the truth or else the proposed policy of conciliation must be condemned as it was condemned by M. Pichon. Unless, consequently, the British government decides to reverse its policy once again, it will have to justify its conciliatory disposition by permitting the British and American public to learn what the condition in Russia actually is. That is the meaning of the proposed Anglo-American commission of investigation. It is a frank admission of the falsehood of what the Allies have said about revolutionary Russia and of the failure of their policy toward her. If the Soviet Republic had been, as the American State Department and the British Foreign Office has alleged, essentially a criminal conspiracy against civilization, there would be nothing to investigate except the degree of its guilt and the nature of the punishment.

The British government is not likely to reverse its new attitude towards Russia. Its leaders are beginning to learn too much about the existing standing and strength of the Soviet Republic. The military attack on the Soviets, to which the American government so reluctantly submitted last August, was defended at the time by an account of the condition of Russian public opinion which has since proved to be mistaken. Throughout the summer Russian emigres alleged that comparatively small Allied forces, introduced into several Russian ports, would have no difficulty in penetrating the country and rolling up a large volume of Russian popular opposition against the Soviets. The expeditions were undertaken, but the result has not followed. The Russian people, with the exception of a few Cossacks, land-owners and former officials, have either opposed the invasion or else remained indifferent. They have not either liked or trusted the Bolshevists, but they feared and distrusted still more the Russian emigres who returned under the protection of foreign bayonets; and no less did they fear and distrust the attitude which the Allied governments from the beginning displayed towards their resolution. The Allied military intervention has consequently made little or no headway. It cannot make headway unless the governments are willing and able to penetrate Russia with enormous armies of occupation. There have been indications recently of Bolshevist uprisings in many parts of the Siberian territory occupied by the Allied troops, and of an indisposition of the Czecho-Slovaks to pursue any further the politically disastrous and morally dubious adventure.

According to information recently published in the British press the Soviet government has since the signing of the armistice steadily increased in strength. Better order now prevails in revolutionary Russia than at any time since the fall of the Romanoffs. Food distribution is more thoroughly organized than at any time during the whole war. Factories, managed not by committees of employees but by the Soviet government in consultation with such committees, are starting to work wherever raw materials are obtainable. The terror, which always was grossly exaggerated in American press reports, has ceased. During the last two months there have been no executions in Moscow. At its worst many of its victims were venal Soviet officials, and by means of this drastic method the Soviet government has partially purged the administration of the deeply rooted evil of corruption. The Red Army, consisting of about 600,000 soldiers, is strong enough to be invincible against the largest possible opposing Russian army. Any body of invading troops would have to consist of over a million men because they would arouse a popular and national resistance. They would be welcomed and supported only by a few former officials and property-owners. The Russian people know only too well what a return of the emigres would mean. Wherever the "Whites" have temporarily occupied a district they have drawn upon the wealth of their own experience in order to teach the Reds how a terror should really be conducted.

During the autumn a large part of the professional and petty middle class have gone over to the Soviet government. The industrial wage-earners are united in its favor and the early hostility of the peasantry is at least very much ameliorated. According to the usually accurate New Statesman, if the election for a constituent assembly were held at the present time, more Bolshevist candidates would be seated than those of any other party. This is a long guess and it may be a bad guess, but a more moderate statement is sufficiently certain. The Soviet government, in spite of famine and pervading popular distress, cannot at present be overthrown by anything but foreign bayonets. If it is not majority rule, it is certainly the rule of much the most numerous, most vigorous and most determined minor faction in Russia. And if the Allied governments continue the policy of military intervention or of starving out the Russian revolution and of lending assistance to monarchist reactionaries, the large Bolshevist minority, if it is a minority, would soon become a clear majority. Such is the result up to date of French, English and American policy in Russia. By its persistent misunderstanding of the Soviets and its enmity to them, it has slowly but steadily enabled the extreme advocates of a class dictatorship to capture the Russian revolutionary government and to win the support either of a considerable minority or an actual majority of the Russian people.

It has become a choice, consequently, between conquering or conciliating revolutionary Russia. The French and the Italians still cling to the idea of forcible suppression, but they are powerless to carry it into effect. No government either in Europe or America dares to ship to Russia a sufficient number of soldiers to overcome the military resistance of the Soviets. An Allied army has more to fear from Bolshevism than Bolshevism has to fear from an Allied army. The alternative policy of drawing a cordon around revolutionary Russia and trying to starve the Soviets into submission looks more possible, but it is hideously inhuman, it is slow in becoming effective, and it calls for a life and death struggle between the Allied governments and the revolution. Those governments will not dare to engage in such a struggle with economic weapons any more than they will with military weapons. Their own position is too insecure. The attempted suppression of Bolshevism by guerrilla warfare and starvation would tend at least temporarily to increase the virulence of the disease and at the same time to weaken the resistance which the rest of Europe could oppose to it. The European body politic, after the moral and physical wear and tear of the last few years, is unfit for such a strain. If the Allied democracies undertake it, they will not only delay their own recuperation but they will increase the probability of communicating the contagion to western Europe. It is the dawning apprehension of the implacability and the gravity of these facts which accounts for the change in the official British policy.

It remains to be seen whether a policy of conciliation is still possible, and if possible, it will prove to be successful. The obstacles to reaching any agreement with Bolshevism look almost as insuperable as the obstacles to exterminating it, or starving it to death. Not that the Bolshevist leaders are unwilling to negotiate. They will, we believe, agree on certain terms both to pay the foreign creditors of Russia and to abandon aggressive propaganda. But Lenin will ask for a good deal in return. He will demand not merely the evacuation of Russian territory and a relaxation of the blockade, but what would amount to the recognition of the Soviet Socialist republic as a sufficiently representative government. He may obtain these demands in the end, but only after overcoming the bitter opposition of the Russian, French, English and American irreconcilables. Formal or informal recognition of the Soviet Republic would imply the admission into the Society of Nations of an experimental state which had used confiscation in order to do away with capitalism, which proposed to live by substituting labor for property as the source of individual independence and social cohesion. The rulers of France, Great Britain, Italy and probably of this country are not reconciled to the licensing of such a drastic experiment. If the proposed British policy of conciliation is found in practice to involve recognition of a thoroughly socialist state, the existing governments will adopt it only as a last resort. A prolonged delay will take place before the governments of the western nations will pay the prevailing price of peace with Soviet Russia.

In any event the success of the policy of conciliation will be compromised by the delay in its adoption. Since the spring of 1917 Russian revolutionary radicals have repeatedly besought the governments and the peoples of the western democracies for understanding, sympathy and assistance; but besought in vain. The Kerensky government implored them to call an inter-belligerent Socialist conference or even an inter-Allied conference in the hope of hastening the end of the war by diplomacy and so preventing the spread of Bolshevism. Later, when Russia could no longer resist and Lenin was the one man who dared to accept the "shameful peace" as an inevitable fact,

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The Background of the German Revolution

By LOUIS C. FRAINA

A FUNDAMENTAL issue of the Russian Revolution had been the issue of peace. On this issue class antagonisms developed implacably--the imperialistic bourgeoisie had to continue the imperialistic war, because its interests and its world-relations were bound up with it; the revolutionary proletariat and the impoverished peasantry had to struggle for the end of the war, as war was devouring the revolution and multiplying misery and oppression. The new proletarian Soviet government, organized on November 7, issued an offer to all belligerents for an armistice on all fronts as a preliminary to concluding peace qon the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. The Bolsheviki recognized that their program was not realizable through an appeal to the governments, but only through an appeal to the proletariat for pressure upon the governments and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and imperialism—the revolutionary struggle against all imperialism was the means of securing peace, immediate, real permanent.

The German government accepted the armistice —for purposes of its own; the Allied governments rejected the armistice—for purposes of their own. And on this issue of the armistice, as on the issues of the war, majority Socialism again divided on nationalistic lines—German majority Socialism favored the armistice, majority Socialism in France, Belgium and Great Britain repudiated the armistice. The governments had become the arbiters of "Socialist" policy.

The Allies refused, equally, to enter into general peace negotiations; and Imperial Germany and Soviet Russia engaged in a peace conference at Brest-Litovsk in December, 1917. The Bolshevik delegates offered proposals for a general peace, all the while appealing to the Allied proletariat and Socialism to compel their governments to accept peace negotiations; but their appeal met no decisive response. The abstention of the Allies allowed Germany to force separate peace negotiations upon Russia. The Austro-German delegates accepted the formula of no annexations and no indemnities in words, but repudiated it in fact, insisting upon indemnities and the annexation of the Baltic provinces in veiled form. Trotzky and the other Bolshevik delegates exposed the sinister imperialistic aims of the Austro-German delegation, but to no avail; German and Austrian imperialism, with the tacit approval of majority Socialism, had determined to impose an imperialistic peace of violence upon the Soviet Republic.

The Bolshevik delegates used the forum of Brest-Litovsk to speak to the proletariat of Germany and Austria, and of the Allied nations. Their policy at Brest was supplemented by an intensive agitation among the Austrian and German soldiers for revolutionary action against the war. This propaganda assumed gigantic proportions; and when the German delegation insisted that this propaganda should cease, Trotzky answered that the armistice terms did not forbid freedom of press and propaganda; and when the Bolshevik delegation officially crumpled, the propaganda went on.

This revolutionary propaganda among the Austro-German troops had been going on for months previously. When, due to counter-revolutionary treachery, Riga was captured in September, the Army Committee of the Twelfth Russian Army, upon evacuating the city, issued a proclamation to the German soldiers: "The Russian soldiers of the Twelfth Army draw your attention to the fact that you are carrying on a war for autocracy against revolution, freedom and justice. The victory of Wilhelm will be death to democracy and freedom. We withdraw from Riga, but we know that the forces of the revolution will ultimately prove more powerful than the force of cannons. We know in the long run that your conscience will overcome everything, and that the German soldiers, with the Russian Revolutionary Army, will march to victory and freedom." In October, a formidable mutiny broke out in the German fleet at Kiel, and the sailors of the Russian Baltic fleet sent their greetings:

"The revolutionary sailors of the Baltic Fleet send their fraternal greetings to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

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

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

For months the soldiers had been fraternizing on the eastern front, the Russians spreading revolutionary ideas among the Germans and the Austrians—a fraternization objected to by the imperialists on all sides, since it was a revolutionary threat to all. At the All-Russian Soviet Congress on November 8, a peace decree was adopted, proposing an armistice and appealing to the proletariat of Germany, France and Great Britain to "decisive and energetic action," which "will help us bring to a successful conclusion the fight for peace, and at the same time the liberation of all the working classes from slavery and exploitation." Simultaneously, a proclamation was issued to the German soldiers, announcing that Socialism and the proletariat in Russia had conquered all government power:

"Our program, to the execution of which the government has immediately proceeded, consists in the proposal of an immediate democratic peace, which has already been communicated to the belligerent nations and their governments, in the transfer without compensation of all the land to the peasants for their use, and in the realization of Workers' Control of industry.

"Soldiers, Brothers! We ask you to stand by Socialism with all your might in the struggle for immediate peace, as that is the only means to secure a just and permanent peace for the working class of all countries, and to heal the wounds which the present most criminal of all wars has inflicted on humanity."

A bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda was established by the Soviet government, and 10,000,000 rubles appropriated to assist revolutionary Socialism in all belligerent nations. A series of daily papers for revolutionary propaganda, in German, Hungarian and other languages, which were circulated by the millions among the Austro-German soldiers—while the delegates were discussing at the peace conference. . . . One of the appeals to the German soldiers read as follows:

"Brothers, German soldiers! The great example of your comrade, Karl Liebknecht, the most eminent leader of International Socialism, the persevering and long-continued struggle which you have conducted by publishing newspapers and pamphlets, by numerous demonstrations and strikes, the struggle for which your government has thrown into prison hundreds and thousands of your comrades, and lastly, the heroic revolt of your sailors of the fleet serve as a guarantee to us that the mass of the working class of your nation is ready to enter the decisive struggle for peace.

"Hasten to our assistance! In the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Government we guarantee that our soldiers shall not move one step forward if you decide to take into your hands the flag of peace, and even if the struggle for peace inside your own country takes away part of your forces from the front."

The proletarian revolution in Russia, in its struggle for peace and for its own complete success, had to struggle for the international revolution. It issued, accordingly, the clear call to class action, to the proletarian revolutionary struggle; by this sign alone could it conquer.

The Brest negotiations proceeded. The aims of Austro-German Imperialism were clearly revealed, and were in turn revealed to the Austro-German soldiers by means of revolutionary proclamations, pamphlets and papers. The German revolt did not materialize; Austro-German Imperialism became even more brutal and insolent. The revolutionary Socialists in Germany, in spite of all disadvantages, supplemented the Bolshevik propaganda at the front by a revolutionary propaganda of their own. Many revolutionary appeals were issued, of which this is one issued by the Spartacus Group:

"The German government has demonstrated by means of the negotiations at Brest-Litvosk, that it wishes to throw dust in the eyes of the masses and to aggravate the death struggle of the warring peoples. Its pretended love for peace is merely a mask. Its statement that a partial peace would bring us nearer to a general peace, is a lie and imposture.

"A separate peace with Russia would increase the fury of the war and, consequently, increase the slaughter. The sufferings of the German people would not be abated.

"It becomes the duty of the German working class to battle unceasingly for a general peace.

"There is only one means of putting an end to the present butchery and misery of the workers —the overthrow of the government and the bourgeois class, in the way that this was done in Russia. It is solely by mass effort, by the revolt of the masses, by a mass strike paralyzing all economic activity and all war industries; it is solely by a revolution and the establishment of a people's republic in Germany by and for the working class, that an end may be put to the slaughter of the toilers of all lands, that a general peace can be achieved."

In January and February, 1918, all this agitation expressed itself in action. Great strikes and demonstrations against the war and for peace broke loose in Germany and Austria. This action verged on revolution. In Austria, in one district alone, 90,000 were on strike, and the total must have been over a million. It was the initial mass action of the proletariat, out of which might have emerged general revolutionary action against war, against capitalism and imperialism. The strikes and demonstrations in Austria broke loose against the orders of the union bureaucracy and the majority Socialism; when the news of these strikes reached Trotzky, he badgered the Austro-German diplomats into postponing the conference for a week, hoping that the movement would broaden and deepen. But in Austria, majority Socialism, in spite of not having acted to produce the movement, placed itself at the head and betrayed it into "legal" action. The movement spread to Germany, where hundreds of thousands of workers were involved; but again the union bureaucracy and majority Socialism acted against the movement. Majority Socialism ordered the strikers back to work, preached incessantly against a revolution, betrayed the German proletariat and the Russian proletariat, the cause of Socialism and peace. The movement was not broken by the government, but by counter-revolutionary Socialism; that is the great fact.*

Isolated, abandoned equally by the proletariat and Socialism in all belligerent nations, the Bolsheviki at Brest-Litovsk were overwhelmed. But again Trotzky refused to accept the imperialistic treaty imposed by German imperialism, and turned to the desperate expedient of a "declared peace"

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—that is, the Bolshevik delegation refused to sign the "robbers' peace," but declared the war at an end; a final appeal to the world, and particularly to German Socialism. But Austria and Germany insisted upon signing the peace, and sent their soldiers to invade helpless Russia. This was in February. Two currents developed in Russian Bolshevism—one favoring a revolutionary war however desperate, the other insisting upon ratifying the peace, and waiting for the proletarian revolution in Germany. Lenin represented this latter attitude, and said

"The Russian Revolution, reaching a culminating point in November, when the proletariat secured the reins of government, was bound to pass through a period of civil war and internal disorder, because the propertied classes could not be expected to give up their privileges without a struggle.

"Therefore the war with reactionary organizations (the fight against the sabotage by which the intelligentsia tried to overthrow the Soviet government by breaking the state machinery), must continue until the bourgeoisie sees the hopelessness of further resistance and surrenders unconditionally.

"This means the necessity for the Soviet government to concentrate all its forces on the internal struggle."

The policy of the Russian revolution must be based on the general international situation—namely, the probability or improbability of the outbreak of social revolution in the rest of Europe; but the chances of this in the immediate future are slight. Therefore it is a mistake for the Russian revolution to base its policy on uncertain eventualities:

"In Germany the reaction has temporarily triumphed, setting before the Russian revolution the alternative of further war or an annexationist peace.

"To sign a peace with German Imperialism is not objectively speaking, treason to international Socialism.

"When workmen are beaten in a strike, and have to accept bad terms from employers, they do not betray their class because they cannot get all their demands at once. They only accept bad conditions in order better to prepare for another struggle later on.

"If the Russian revolution continued the war in alliance with Anglo-French imperialism against Austro-German imperialism on the basis of the old secret treaties recently published and not openly repudiated by the Allies, then it would be prostituting itself to foreign imperialists.

"As long as there is no social revolution in England and Germany, the Russian revolution must seek the most profitable conditions in existence, relying as little as possible on the English or German governments negotiating one against the other.

"It is not true that the Russian revolution is deserting Socialist comrades in England and Germany by signing a separate peace. It takes them longer to do what Russia has done because their imperial governments are stronger than the old Russian imperial government. Nevertheless, the material weakness of Russia forces her to recuperate for internal reconstruction."

It would be a rash adventure to enter upon a holy war against German imperialism, even if Russia were able to do so, on the chance of revolution in Germany breaking out in the next few months, for meanwhile defeat would mean more onerous conditions for the future developments of the Russian revolution:

"Russia, if she has peace, can become the envy of all lands, and the centre of gravity of the Socialist world. By concluding a separate peace Russia can utilize the fact that the Anglo-German imperialists are too much engaged in a bloody struggle to attend seriously to her. She can therefore concentrate on the internal development of the revolution.

"If Russia, under present conditions, attempts both enterprises—internally to reap the full fruits of the revolution and externally to carry on the conflict against foreign imperialism—she will lose both her objects; but if she concentrates on internal development now, she will secure her second victory later.

"The war will last long and imperialism will finally be unmasked completely, on both sides. The example of the Russian revolution will continue to inspire the peoples of the world, and its influence will be enormous. On the one side will be the bourgeois system and war for conquest waged by two imperialistic groups, on the other peace and the Socialist Republic.

"The reorganization of Russia, based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nationalization of banks and of big industry, the exchange of products of the cities with the co-operatives of small peasants, is economically quite feasible, provided we have a few months to devote to the job. Such an organization will make Socialism unconquerable in Russia, and will provide a permanent basis for the formation of a powerful red army of peasants and workers."

The Lenin conception conquered; and the All-Russian Soviet Congress in March, 1918, ratified the Brest-Litovsk peace.

Brest-Litovsk marked the first break in the imperialistic war, and was a great contributing factor to the coming of peace. If Soviet Russia had continued the war, it would have meant the triumph of the counter-revolution and capitalism; and the German proletariat, surrounded on all sides by capitalist nations prepared to cut the throat of their revolution, would have hesitated. But, with a Socialist Russia prepared to assist, a tremendous idealogic impulse was given to the coming of the German revolution. Moreover, while the Bolsheviki ceased the military war against Germany, they continued the class war of revolutionary propaganda, smuggling agents and literature into Germany urging a proletarian revolution. The Bolshevik ambassador to Berlin, Joffe, was the centre of the revolutionary propaganda, using his "diplomatic couriers" to bring into Germany money and literature for the use of the revolutionary Socialists. The class war was waged by Soviet Russia, in Germany and all Europe, the struggle for international proletarian revolution.

[*After the strike movement had been killed, Dr. Drews, Prussian Minister of the Interior, said the strikes had served Germany's enemies, and accused the Social Democratic Party of encouraging the strikes. To this the Berlin Vorwaerts, organ of majority Socialism, answered by quoting Prime Minister von Dandle of Bavaria as having thanked the Social Democratic leaders in a speech in the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies for "assuring control of the strike movement, as thereby the strike was forced into normal channels." Could turpitude and treason to Socialism reach lower depths than this?]

Whoso Shall Offend

[New York "Nation," Jan. 25]

There has been placed in our hands a copy of Current Events, a publication styling itself "a condensed newspaper, weekly, for use in public and private schools," claiming, we believe truthfully, a larger circulation than any other school paper in the world. It goes, at all events, by hundreds of thousands into the hands of school children, and has a quasi-official sanction from innumerable schools. The copy which we possess is of the issue dated Friday, November 15, 1918. After the manner of most school and family papers, Current Events carries a question box in which questions of sufficiently general interest receive attention. There we read:

11. What is the meaning of the terms Bolshevik and Soviets?

Ans—Bolshevik is the adjective from the Russian noun Bolsheviki. It refers to the party of extremists now in power in Russia, and may be freely translated as "Those Who Want Everything They Can Lay Their Hands On." Selfishness and greed are of course at the roots of it. The Latinized form is "Maximalists," a word sometimes used as a substitute for Bolsheviki. The party, if such it can be called, is made up of many discordant elements—Socialists, Anarchists, Nihilists, Communists, social visionaries, thieves, pickpockets, robbers, terrorists, grafters, and a great mass of ignorant, unthinking people, all united for the present in a blind desire to destroy all whom they fancy to be in a position superior to their own. As Count Ilya Tolstoy says, the Russian peasant is what centuries of oppression have made him. Where there has been for a long time extreme oppression the people become brutalized; a too large and sudden dose of liberty seems to make them crazy and criminal. The only cure for the evils of despotism is more liberty, but just as food is fatal to a starving person unless administered in small quantities at first, so the seizing of liberty too sudden and unrestrained may be suicidal for an oppressed nation. America was fortunate in having liberty from the earliest colonial days; it escaped such horrors as Russia has now and France had after 1789. The typical true American is so accustomed to liberty that he is almost unconscious of it. He uses it with moderation, having constant regard for the equal rights of others. The Russian Soviets are local governing committees more or less under the orders of the central Bolshevik government."

Current Events, in such writing as the above, is writing to suit its market, no doubt, but our wonderment is how any one can be found to do such work. The activities of Mr. Creel, Mr. Sisson and the hundreds of other propagandists whose services have been placed at the disposal of governments the world over, apparently for whatever purposes those governments may desire, are incomprehensible to us. Yet, after all, they have been writing, primarily at least, for mature minds. How much more difficult is it to imagine the frame of mind of a person capable of spreading such scandalous misrepresentations among classes of trusting and impressionable children.

Conciliation for Russia

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the Allied and American governments falsified the issue by attributing the action to pro-Germanism. They scorned Lenin's offer of assistance and treated the Soviet Republic as the ally instead of the enemy of the German autocracy. Their subsequent policy of repudiating the very real diplomatic assistance which the Russian revolution was able to render the democratic cause and of fighting the Russians because Russia was too exhausted to fight the Germans has proved a flagrant failure and a wholly uncompensated loss. It did nothing to hasten or to assure a military victory over Germany, while at the same time it drove Russian radicalism to the adoption of the desperate reprisal of a Red Terror and increased the volume of its popular Russian following. The net result of Allied statesmanship in Russia has been to create for the extreme of revolutionary socialism a popular support and a self-confidence which it could not have obtained on its merits. Certain allied statesmen are now considering the alternative policy of treating Bolshevism as a condition rather than a crime. Such a policy is the only one which still has a chance of preventing the spread of revolutionary socialism, but if it fails or if its adoption proves over costly these Allied statesmen have themselves to thank for the failure and the expense. They committed the worst possible mistake of democratic statesmen—that of disregarding the impulses and misinterpreting the meaning of a great revolutionary popular movement.

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Editor ..... C. Stephenson

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Rumors were flying in Vancouver last week-end that the returned soldiers were, on Sunday evening, going to break up all working class meetings, Socialist or Labor. However, the rumors failed to materialize and the meetings were held in peace, though not in the usual theatres, the management of which, becoming intimidated, refused to open them. Though nothing happened there is no doubt that fomentors of trouble had been at work. The mayor himself having had representations that the meetings were to be broken up, so he informed a deputation of the Socialist Party of Canada, which he had sent for, though he refused to divulge the source of his information.

On Monday a conference of representatives of all interested parties, business interests, various returned soldiers, and trades union organizations, also those directly interested in the preservation of the threatened meetings, the Socialist Party of Canada and the Federated Labor Party, was called by the mayor.

The representatives of the returned soldiers denied all responsibility for the rumors or that their organizations ever had any intentions of suppressing the meetings in an unlawful manner. This admission was about the only result of the conference, the mayor still persisting in his refusal to name the party or parties who had informed him that the meetings would be broken up. Finally the representatives of the working class organization left the conference satisfied with the assurance of the returned soldiers that their meetings would be left undisturbed.

Nevertheless the next morning's Vancouver "Sun" appears with a most bitter and vitriolic editorial in which, under the veiled verbiage of designating certain people as seditious ranters, it called, in violent and inflammatory language, for their deportation.

We regret having to mention the paper referred to in our columns, but there are malignant interests in Vancouver that are working might and main to foment trouble and to create sectional antagonisms amongst the working class. None of the capitalist sheets are above suspicion in this matter, but the "Sun" is an old and especially notorious offender in this respect. We call on the workers to take note of this fact.

The contemptious regard in which the working class is held by the bourgeoisie and its press is well illustrated by a press report of some gentleman's speech back east, which was to the effect that good Canadian citizens were being infected by Bolshevism and that they must be protected.

Will our pastors and masters and pedagogie mentors of the press never realize that the working class, in the political sense, has reached maturity and that its members are as well able as those of any other class to judge and to discriminate amongst the true and false of political and economic theories? Nay, more—laboring and existing amongst the basic realities of our society they are, because of that, better able to discriminate and pass judgment than another class to whom life's necessaries and luxuries come by the indirect and dubious method of exploitation.

We proclaim, as those seditionists of a thousand years have proclaimed whose names and the record of their labors and sacrifies are our most honored and cherished historical treasures, that society can not afford to stifle enquiry or suppress open discussion of its ever unfolding problems.

Twenty millions of the pride of the human race killed in four short years and more unnumbered millions as an indirect result of the catastrophe is but a part of the price we pay for the policy of suppression. Let us not countenance it any longer. Those who are interested in social problems are usually men and women of matured growth, having power of judgment. Let us have the open forum, the crucible of reasoned discussion, wherein the dross of falsehood may be sifted away from the true.

Oppositions and antagonisms fostered in the dark obscurities, will inevitably in these critical days, lead to the futile hell of social chaos. Let us beware and follow the constructive path which is to bring our problems into the light of publicity. Then, we Socialists, at any rate, are sure that the returned soldiers' problem will be found to merge and disappear into that of the working class as a whole. For it is from us, the wage-workers, that they went and to us they return.

In many other cities and towns of this dominion dark and sinister interests, as ever of yore, masquerading under various guises of patriotism, have arrogated to themselves the functions properly reposing in the appointed administrators of the law.

Intimidation, brute violence, mob rule, carefully nurtured and protected by high influences, has for the time being been all too successful. Meeting halls have been closed down to Socialists. In Winnipeg a combined anti-Socialist and alien program has been carried out, reminding one of the dark days of Jew baiting in Russia and our own medieval period in England. Is it true we are in the 20th century of boasted progress and scientific light and learning and democracy and also a power in producing the necessaries of life that even our fathers of a few short years ago never dreamt of? If so, why have we the sordid spectacle of men in hordes on the city streets of the last great west scrambling and mauling each other for jobs? Men with the strong instinctive desire to live and who, in order to live, must have jobs.

Have we then no solution except the miserable one of dog-eat-dog on the low plane resorted to? Perish the thought! Let us be men, thinking, reasoning men, worthy of a new age dawning.

Bolshevik Storm Hovers Over Austria

[Special Cable to the N. Y. Times and Montreal Gazette (Copyright)—Jan. 17, 1919.]

GENEVA, Jan. 17.—Although political developments in the states which formerly composed the empire of the Hapsburgs seem peaceful enough in comparison with the outbreaks of Bolshevik frenzy in Germany, there are certain signs that a storm is also breaking in German-Austria, Hungary and even Bohemia.

It is a very significant symptom that attempts are at present being made by the extreme Socialist elements in Budapest, Vienna and Prague to effect an agreement between Hungarian, German-Austrian, and Bohemian Socialist parties, with a view to joint political action.

The Hungarian Communists, among whom Bolshevism is most prevalent, and who are in close touch with the Russian Soviets, are the chief promoters of this scheme. At a recent meeting of the Budapest workmen's council, eighty delegates voted in favor of a proposal to conclude an alliance between the Hungarian Communist party and the German-Austrian, and Bohemian Socialists would pledge themselves to afford one another support in their attempts to prevent the formation of a bourgeois government and to establish proletarian domination, is certainly gaining ground.

This plan, the realization of which would incidentally reunite the dismembered Hapsburg empire under the red flag, is regarded with favor by the Viennese Socialists, who for the same reason are the only powerful party left in German-Austria today which still obstinately advocates union with Socialistic Germany and is the sworn enemy of the Entente.

Heartless Intrigues

It is no secret in Vienna that Bauer, the Austrian Socialist leader, has been secretly intriguing to prevent German-Austria from being supplied with food b ythe Entente. He has raised difficulties of all kinds in order to prevent food from reaching Vienna, for the Austrian Socialists fear that the Allies' generous action toward their fallen enemy may influence the population and forestall not only union with Germany, but also the establishment of Socialist rule, and any humanitarian intervention calculated to alleviate the misery and discontent of the working classes fills them with selfish dismay.

Bauers unscrupulous and heartless intrigues show to what lengths the Socialist leaders in Eastern Europe are prepared to go to realize their ambitions.

Moreover, the entire Hungarian Empire is flooded with Bolshevik agents, most of whom are liberated Austrian and Hungarian war prisoners, dispatched from Russia owing to the general state of disorganization. These agents find no difficulty in passing from Hungary into Austria and Bohemia without passports. Their propaganda is beginning to bear fruit even in Bohemia. The attempt to assassinate Kramarcz is not, as was at first supposed, the isolated act of a youthful fanatic, but the consequence of a Bolshevik plot, in which numerous accomplices are involved.

Czechs Face About

A marked change is noticeable in the tone of the Czech press, whose chief organ, the Pravo Lidu, of Prague, attacks Professor Masaryk's government, in which, it says, the "millionaires Kramarcz, Rashlin, Praczec and Svehla dominated and which is devoted to the bourgeois interests and remains deaf to the wishes of the working classes, who demand the nationalization of mines and industries, and the confiscation of war profits," adding: "If the government persists in its capitalistic policy much longer it will be overthrown."

During the last two days numerous meetings of a frankly revolutionary character have been held at Prague, and serious riots have occurred in the towns of Ziskow, Klapno and Duax, where large warehouses were plundered by the mob. In Hungary, which is a hotbed of Bolshevism, the agitation is, of course, most critical of all. Count Karolyi's government, even in the opinion of its supporters, seems doomed presently to succumb in its hopeless struggle against the continual Bolshevik and counter-revolutionary conspiracies. The triumph of extreme Socialism in Budapest would naturally exert an immediate influence on Vienna and Prague, and further the Socialist plan of united action against the bourgeois classes and in conjunction with Bolshevik Russia and Socialistic Germany against the Entente.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, FEB. 9

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

J. KAVANAGH

Speaker

Bolshevism in France

The leading article in the current number of The Survey is by Lewis S. Gannett, who writes from Paris on "French Labor on Peace and Reconstruction."

One chapter in his article is on Bolshevism in France and is very illuminating:

"A delegation called on the French minister of the interior early in December," he writes, "to ask him whether, in view of the armistice, it would not be possible to raise the 'state of siege' which has existed in France since August, 1914, and restore the civil administration to full control.

"No," said Monsieur Pams, "there is too much Bolshevist agitation in France.

Another delegation is about to request a relaxation of the censorship. The press almost unanimously condemns the censorship; even Le Temps (December 5, 1918) asks what's the use of continuing it if England and America are allowed free discussion of the differences of opinions between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs, the Poles and the Czecho-Slovaks and the Ukrainians may be relaxed. But there is one point on which it is adamant—the censor will continue to use his shears on all matters appertaining to the spread of Bolshevism in Europe.

All news of the general stirke in Switzerland was expressly forbidden until the strike had been suppressed; news of the revolutionary movements in Holland which appeared in the English and American press was blanked in France; two hundred and fifty lines were censored in the two small pages which Le Populaire consecrated to the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia; the program of the Spartacus group in Germany was censored; the words "Council of Workmen and Soldiers" were censored out of every dispatch from Germany for two weeks after the German revolution was complete; the mere word "Bolshevik" in dispatches from Germany has several times been cut out.

It is a stupid censorship. Blank columns in the papers set men thinking. But the fact that it is stupid does not alter the fact that it exists, and that it is a symptom of a fear of Bolshevism in France. The chances of Bolshevism are the universal topic of dinner table conversations in bourgeois France today; the certainty that it cannot prevail is the theme of a suspiciously large number of editorials. "The revolutionary contagion will break against the solid wall of health which characterizes victorious nations," writes Andre Lichtenberger, comparing Bolshevism to the Spanish "flu."

The group that has won control of the French Socialist party is in frank sympathy with Lenin and Trotzky.

Every revolution must have its banner. Banners for political revolutions are easy to find; but France has had her political revolutions; and the land is in the peasants' hands. I asked Marcel Cachin what would be the banner of the next French revolution. He answered:

"It will be a social revolution and it will have no single catch-phrase. But it will mean that the control of the nation by the chemical, foundry and coal industries will end. You know, your trusts have never had such power as our 'committees.' And it will be the work of the men of the industrial agglomerations of Paris, Lyons, St. Etienne, Marseilles."

It was not a satisfactory answer; I have not been able to get a satisfactory answer. "What does Bolshevism in France mean?" I asked Merrheim. "Does it exist, Bolshevism?" he countered. "Isn't it just the phrase used by the reactionaries for any revolutionary movement?" "Who will be the leaders in the revolutionary movement?" "I cannot see them," Merrhheim answered honestly. "Cachin is too much the universitaire; Longuet is splendid but too much in the clouds; the workers have already gone far past Jouhaux. Perhaps an unknown man will rise out of the people; perhaps it will be chaos."

The munition works are still in full blast in France. The men's work has been cut from ten hours to eight, the women's from ten to five—and the pay lowered proportionately. The government seems powerless to resume peace-time production; so does private industry. The government is really afraid to demobilize the army. "There are movements among the masses," said Merrheim.

"The real result depends upon the soldiers. Nobody knows what they think. But France has the heritage of past revolutions. It is ever present in the minds of the crowds of Paris and of other cities. One has in France the sentiment of the economic revolution that must be made. The tradition of political revolution has passed into the economic sphere."

If the Allies demand such an indemnity of Germany that Allied occupation is necessary to secure it; if the intervention in Russia—"an attempt to kill a revolution by famine—the most brutal and hypocritical intervention in history," Merrheim called it—is expanded, there will certainly be "movements" among the masses, strikes and protests.

"But munitions are no longer necessary," I protested to both Merrehim and Jouhaux. "The men will not have the same importance nor their strikes the same power as in war time." "The men will still be there," they answered grimly.

I have attended a dozen labor meetings in and about Paris. At every one the crowd has been more revolutionary than its leaders. These leaders hope for an evolutionary way out, but seem to have a fatalistic premonition of hopelessness.

Meanwhile the peace conference draws close, and the atmosphere is that of the diplomatic conferences before the war—almost naively negligent of the explosions that seems so imminent. The moderate labor leaders are making one last throw; they are supporting Wilson, hoping that he may revolutionize the atmosphere of the conference and avert a catastrophe.

A Letter of Captain Sadoul From Russia

[Translated From a French Periodical]

PARIS, November—Captain Sadoul, whose splendid letter to Romain Rolland the readers will recall, is a French officer sent to Russia by the order of Minister Thomas, charged with informing the government of the political happenings in Russia. "I had," so he wrote to a friend, "from Minister Thomas and Loucheur the formal assurance of being empowered to express my opinion freely to my superiors in Russia and to my friends in France, and any wish to do so, was reinforced when I encountered the incapacity to understand the hatred against the revolution, the preconcept of pleasing Paris rather than informing it, the desire to follow a career rather than the interests of the country, and that the news sent to the country by the most of our diplomats was greatly distorted. I decided then, to send information, and I informed without sparing persons or things, fulfilling the sole object of writing that which I believed was equivalent to the truth." For a year, then, Captain Sadoul has followed the daily Russian events reporting them faithfully to his superiors. But, because these reports were faithful and honest—whose importance were so much appreciated by the minister of foreign affairs that he recalled their telegraphic transmission—they have aroused powerful and fearful enemies against the captain. The captain confided to his friends in France that he had a private diary, which is a true account of what he has seen and heard, and what was done during his four years in Russia. This diary he gave to a friend for transmission to his family in case of death. "Since I have been prevented—thanks to those worthy and indignant gentlemen who are responsible for the many crimes committed in Russia—from leaving here (Russia)—it seems that certain farseeing Anglo-Frenchmen wish to suppress me. It appears that my return to France may disturb some people. They are well aware that my secret notes, and also my mind contain certain impressions concerning the nefarious acts of Allied representatives in Russian affairs, whose revelation would produce a painful scandal at the expense of those gentlemen. They have assisted too many foul manouvers for some months to suppose that they would shrink from such a little wrong as the suppression of my personality, if they were sure of not being discovered. Without being too uneasy, I am taking some precautions, so that if anything happens me, the guilty parties may be traced."

Only because he would not lend himself to the evil tricksters against the Maximalist regime, and solely because he wished to tell the truth, Captain Sadoul is in danger of death. Without speaking of minor perils of which this is not the time to say anything yet, he does not want to shirk from his duty of defending the Maximalist revolution. On the date of the first of September—writing from Moscow, he sent a long letter to a friend of which we take the second part, dedicated to the attempt against Lenine.

"I can assure you that it will reinforce rather than weaken it. . . ." "the Soviets were never as strong as they are now. I have always admired the splendid revolutionary power of the Maximalists, and thought that their movement, even if it perished, would constitute an example without precedent, a fertile experience, from which international Socialism would gather large profit.

"If for nothing else but this, Lenine and Trotzky have a right to our gratitude, and their period should be considered by history as the great event of the revolution. But you know with what reserve I exposed their tactics, with what skepticism I judged the results of the grand overturning of things undertaken by them for the purpose, not only of overthrowing, but destroying the old state machine, beaurocratic and military—by organizing a dominant proletariat, and fighting a parliament purely oratorical and sterile, and substituting for it popular and representative working class institutions—to take from capitalism and to give back to collectivity all the means of production; to suppress in short, the dispossession of persons and substitute for it the administration of things. I have come now, to think thatLenine and Trotzky have seen more clearly than we conciliating and opportunist socialists, that they are more realistic than we are, more apt disciples, and truer exponents of applied Marxism.

"The great facts seem to be with them. Under the frightful ruins of ten months of systematic destruction of bourgeois social forms, the germs of a new and powerful organization really begins to appear, which in a few years will bear its full fruit. But to date, in all fields, administrative military and economic, the construction work done is immense. It would be folly to deny it. If the power of the Soviets were not so implacably beseiged on all sides by the forces of imperialism—German, French, British, Japanese, American—on the north, east and west, if its graneries, mines, oil wells, etc., were not isolated from outside markets, if it had not been ruined, starved, and covered with blood by the stranger; if it had only the Russian bourgeoisie to fight, and the political and economic sabotage of the counter-revolutionists to overcome, they would ere this, have been well on their way toward a communistic organization. The splendid victories of our 'poilus' reported from the western front have undoubtedly

(Continued on Page Seven)

Spaniards Honor Soviet Movement

[By The Christian Science Monitor Special Correspondent in Spain.—Jan. 28.]

MADRID, Spain,—In view of the rapidly increasing threatening tendencies of the advanced sections of the Left, and the revolutionary atmosphere created, it is well to draw attention to two particular meetings among several others that have taken place in the capital of late. The first of these was held at the Casa del Pueblo in celebration of the Bolshevist revolution in Russia, and was a frankly Bolshevist character. Some remarkable speeches were made. Emeterio Chicharro said at the beginning that the social republic in its integrity was the only guarantee for the well-being and the liberty of the working classes, and they must go forward to its establishment. From that place and on that occasion they would salute the Soviets.

Then Candido Val, a prominent member of the Juventud Socialista said that what they desired was that in Spain a revolution should be brought about which would be essentially socialistic, exclusively of the people and for the people. They would set themselves against all bourgeoisie of whatever complexion and against capitalism in all its forms and with all its privileges. A bourgeois republic would not satisfy their ideas of justice. The communal administration ought to be in the hands of the workers, who are the life of the nation and create all its wealth. They must not permit themselves to be deceived by men who, although attached to the Left, feared the consequences of a revolution. The fundamental problem was the struggle between the classes, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the workers. Revolution must not serve for the exaltation of a personality, but for the definite salvation of the people.

Evaristo Gil of the bakers' Socialist group then made a speech in which he said that the Bolshevist revolution which they were celebrating stood for a new era in the political history of the world. They were leaving behind them a civilization which was collapsing in tears and slaughter. From the beginning of the war he had been a pro-Allies man because he had believed that the triumph of the Allies would facilitate a social renovation, while if Germany had won the result would have been an aggravation of all the old tyrannies. But now that the triumph of the Allies was settled, he ceased to be pro-Ally in order to be exclusively Socialist and it was necessary to keep the closest watch on the peace proposals and negotiations to insure that it should be a peace of the people and of justice.

Bolshevist ideas, the speaker continued, were conquering everywhere; empires were being overthrown, tyrannies were being suppressed, kings were abdicating and Socialist governments were coming into power. The Russian revolution was the dawn of new ideas in the world. They lived in moments of revolutionary tension. The peoples did not wish to share their sovereignty with anyone; kings who had ruled over them were now under the control of peoples. The Russian revolution had inspired the abolition of private property. War would end with the establishment of the communist regime. The bourgeoisie had tried to stifle the French revolution, and now it was trying to do the same thing with the Russian revolution, but the Socialists would everywhere be at their posts. In Spain they had again a government of transition, and there were people of the Left who, by bolstering up the monarchy, were acting as traitors toward the people. At this stage of the speech there were many interruptions and cries of dissent and there was another demonstration at the first mention of the name of Senor Leroux, the Republican leader, who, said Evaristo Gil, made no distinction between the monarchy and Bolshevism. Having read a number of extracts from recent speeches by Senor Lerroux, the speaker exclaimed: "Senor Lerroux has spoken for the bourgeoisie. Let us accordingly be on our guard."

The next speaker was Garcia Cortes, who said that Socialists practiced international solidarity. Therefore they would there celebrate the triumph of the Russian revolutionaries as if it had been their own. Bolshevism did not signify anything more than extreme socialism, although the word, being new, excited some suspicions. After giving, amidst applause, an account of the development of Socialist ideas in Russia and of the fundamentals of Maximalism, he said that no movement, in spite of its nobility, had been so calumniated as had this. However, the movement continued and was supported, and now they were celebrating together the anniversary of the Russian Social Republic and the establishment of the German Social Republic. They must hold on to the name of Bolshevism, because the mere mention of the name always excited alarm in the minds of the bourgeoisie. French, English and Germans had fought against each other without feeling any hatred, and had been serving only the interests and cupidity of capitalism. They must all be prepared to resist resolutely the reaction of all the bourgeoisie. Their only arm was extremism. The existing regime would fall as in accordance with a physical law of gravity, but it was necessary to accelerate its collapse, and the best way of doing that was to intensify Bolshevist propaganda in town and country, for it would serve as an engine for the growing liberal progress of their country and for the final triumph of their cause.

Virginia Gonzalez said that the Russian revolution was the ultimate fruit of long and costly sacrifices and asked when they were going to bear like sacrifices in Spain. Care must be taken, she said, that in the countries of the Allies who had overthrown militarism another power was not set up which would be quite as hateful and unjust. The Right ought not to be frightened of their propaganda, for their desire was not to possess themselves of their property, but only to distribute the enjoyment of it among all peoples.

At the close of this meeting the chairman, Senor Del Rio, observed that once peace was established and the essentials of political civilization saved, the international struggle among the classes had to begin again. On his proposition it was agreed to send a telegram to President Wilson asking him to continue to exert his utmost endeavor to bring about a just peace, and it was also agreed to send messages of congratulation and fraternity to the Russian government and the democratic German organizations.

INTERNATIONALISM

[By Gabriel Delville]

Capitalist internationalism, moreover, pursues its ends with stern remorselessness. In order to lower national wages and gain greater profits, the capitalist does not hesitate to deprive his fellow-countrymen of work, and to import, to compete with them on the labor market, foreigners wonted by greater poverty to a lower standard of living, and therefore able and willing to work for lower wages. . . . On the other hand, provided he sees a goodly profit in the transaction, the capitalist never hesitates to loan money or sell military supplies to a foreign country, though he thus increases its power to wage war against his own.

This international character, assumed by capital in all its forms, is, in its effects, co-extensive with the domain of human affairs. And so, as M. Aulard declared in a lecture about which there has been much talk: "There are no national boundaries for reason and science. . . . They are neither French, nor English, nor German, but international and human." How, therefore, can the workingmen be justly reproached for taking the road on which everything and everybody has started, and along which the capitalists have preceded them? Face to face with the international domination of capital, they have come to understand, in all civilized nations, the common character, the oneness, of their own interests. They are everywhere the victims of the same kind of exploitation, due everywhere to the same cause. The same facts have suggested to them the same demands, the same means and tactics to attain the same goal. International exploitation has thus given birth to an ever growing international solidarity among the workers who resist its encroachments. And the international concurrence of the workers is publicly declared by the world-wide celebration of the First day of May.

Notwithstanding the most sincere sentiment of international solidarity on both sides, the workingmen of two countries may still have to fight against each other. This is one of the numerous contradictions—and one of the most horrible—inherent in the capitalist regime, which is condemned to aspire to peace and to unchain the horrid dogs of war. While for example, commerce on the world market requires peace, the bitterness of the competition on that market begets conflicts. . . .

ANTI-BOLSHEVIKI LEAGUE CHARTERED

[Special to The Christian Science Monitor]

CONCORD, New Hampshire—A charter has been issued by the State of New Hampshire to the Anti-Bolsheviki League, with headquarters at Manchester. Its purpose is "to combat the spread of Bolshevism and attacks upon personal liberty, by systematic and organized efforts to promote the education of the masses with the controlling principle in view, that a free people must be an orderly people, and that an orderly people are entitled to the largest measure of personal liberty consistent with the protection of all the citizens in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property."

It is understood that this Anti-Bolsheviki League contemplates the enrollment of as many citizens as are willing in what will be known as the "New Hampshire Assembly," and that plans are entertained for the establishment of other "assemblies" in other states, making it ultimately a national organization.

POOR MR. DOOLEY

To The Editor of The Nation: Sir: What is happening to the American sense of humor? One of the alleged offences of the I. W. W. is their quoting from Mr. Dooley! Among the many amazing things that found a place in the ponderous indictment against the men just tried at Sacramento, the following quotation was solemnly included:

"Don't ask f'r rights. Take thim. An' don't let anny wan give thim to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter with it."—Mr. Dooley. M. B.

Sacramento, Cal., January 18.

THE "SPREAD" IN MAGISTERIAL CONCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE IN TORONTO

For being in possession of prohibited literature:

Charlie Watson, first trial, three years and $500 fine; second trial, thirty days.

Harry Cheesman, first trial, six months; second trial, fifteen days.

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

United States Not Aware of Secret Pacts

[By Amos Pinchot. Written for the United Press. From The Seattle Union Record, Feb. 1]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—The United States government apparently entered the war in ignorance of the secret treaties arranged by the Allies, which now constitute an obstacle to a permanent democratic peace.

There is every reason to believe that neither President Wilson nor the state department learned of the secret treaties until months after war was declared, in April, 1917. It is also practically certain that when Foreign Secretary Balfour and former Premier Viviani came here early in the summer of 1917, as heads of the British and French missions, they failed to apprise this government of the existence of the treaties—for the reason there was an understanding between the British, French Italian and Russian governments that they should be kept under cover.

The text of the secret treaties was smuggled into the United States by a Russian sailor in January, 1918. Russian residents of New York placed them in the hands of the writer. Every effort was made to give the treaties publicity. They were, in fact, published in one newspaper of limited circulation, but beyond that a general press taboo seemed to have been placed on them. Many attempts were made to convince senators and congressmen that it was their duty to put the secret treaties into the Congressional Record, but they contended either that it was "impossible" or "unpatriotic." It is not believed that even today a score of senators and congressmen have read the secret treaties in their entirety.

Informal Memoranda

Representatives of Allied countries have been quoted as saying there are no binding secret treaties, but only informal memoranda. The British-French-Italian-Russian "informal memoranda." On the contrary, it is a binding contract sealed and delivered in London, April 26, 1915, and generally referred to as the "London Pact." It was signed by Grey for Great Britain, Cannon for France, Imperiali for Italy and Benckendorf for Russia. It is the contract setting forth the price to be paid for Italy entering the war "with all the forces at her command." The treaty has 16 articles, which provide for vast territorial concessions to be made to Italy "under the imminent treaty of peace." The word "imminent" was no doubt used because, at that time, it was generally assumed that Italy's intervention would bring a quick and favorable decision.

This treaty is the source of at least two seemingly irreconciliable conflicts as to the peace settlement, which have sprung up since Wilson arrived in Europe. First, as to the question whether the settlement shall provide for a league of nations, or for continuance of the old "balance of power" plan, which has proven so fertile a war-breeder. And, second, as to whether Italy or the new Jugo-Slav nation shall control Dalmatia and the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

Cows Rest of World

History seemingly proves that whenever a group of nations gets together with the purpose of massing such a preponderance of force that the rest of the world will be crowed into peace, the result has been the exact opposite. For instance, in 1882, under Bismarck's leadership, Germany, Austria and Italy formed the Triple Alliance, which created a combination of power dominating Central Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In 1891, France and Russia formed a dual alliance as a counter-balance. Later, by the addition of Great Britain, this grew into the Triple Entente. These alliances were futile and resulted in war.

Notwithstanding this, if the attitude of Clemenceau and Orlando and even Lloyd George at times seems to call for another alliance to establish another "balance of power," the fact is not altogether surprising for Article 9 of the treaty of April 26, 1915, pledges the Allies to preserve "the balance of power in the Mediterranean sea, with its Gibraltar, its openings into the Adriatic and the Black sea and the Balkans, its Suez canal leading to East Africa, Persia, India and China is the keynote not only of European military strategy but of the trade routes to the whole of the east. Thus, the premiers of the Allied nations cannot fail to take issue with Mr. Wilson's league of nations plan when by a signed and sealed contract, they are pledged to maintain a balance of power in the great strategic district of the Mediterranean.

Must Be Abrogated

In other words, the secret treaty of 1915 must be abrogated before a real league of nations is possible.

The controversy between Italy and the Jugo-Slavs growing out of the secret treaties of the Allies, in which the United States had no part, is one of the most serious menaces to harmonious agreement on a peace settlement.

There seems to be no way for President Wilson to clear the peace table of this embarrassing complication without first forcing destruction of the secret treaties. This can be done only if the peoples of the United States and the Allied countries understand his position and are willing to back him in this difficult but seemingly necessary undertaking.

The trouble between the Italians and their new eastern neighbors arises from the London pact of 1915. Article IV says that Italy shall have Istria and Article V gives her Dalmatia and adjacent islands. The Jugo-Slavs contend that Italy has neither political nor ethnological claims to these territories ,and a crisis of extreme delicacy had been precipitated that already has warranted some measures of intervention by the other Allies. According to the census of 1910, the population of Dalmatia was 645,666. Of these it is estimated that 60,000 are Italians. The Slav inhabitants number approximately 430,000 and only about 30,000 of these speak Italian.

Reason for Ambition

The principal reason why Italy wants Dalmatia is found in the formation of the littoral. On the Italian side, the Adriatic is shallow and sandy; this is a nice place for children to bathe, but is no place for shipping. The Dalmatian coast, on the other hand, is broken by bays and gulfs, and fringed with islands, and almost every mile has a commodious harbor for merchant vessels or a well-sheltered base for warships.

France and Great Britain are obligated to back up Italy's Dalmatian claims, in spite of the new Jugo-Slav nation, which [illegible], until recently has also been kept in [illegible] of the secret treaties. They pledged [illegible] so in the treaty of 1915, and if [illegible] Italy can seek revenge by opposing [illegible] claims in other districts. For instance, another secret memorandum provides for the partitioning of Arabia between France and Great Britain. If, at Versailles, France and Great Britain should balk at the treaty of 1915, Italy's representatives may will be expected to protest against the fulfilment of the arrangement regarding Arabia and other secret understandings which are equally important to them.

One of the claims which Great Britain is expected to make under the shadow of the secret agreements is the exclusion of Germany from trade with China. Another will be an extended sphere of influence in Mesopotamia, including the world's richest oil regions. France and Italy are expected to demand an equal participation with Great Britain in the division of European Turkey. All of these agreements are mutual. They stand or fall on the common determination of the powers that made them to abide by them.

U. S. READY TO LEAVE RUSSIA

[From The Seattle Union Record, Saturday, February 1, 1919]

PARIS, Feb. 1.—The United States, supported by Great Britain, has submitted to France a proposal for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Russia, it was learned from authoritative sources today.

This move was made in conformity with unofficial information obtained by American agents that Premier Lenin and Foreign Minister Tchicherin will accept the proposal for a joint conference at Phinkipos, providing that the Allied forces are first withdrawn

The United States has a little more than 5,000 men in the Archangel region and between 7,000 and 10,000 in Siberia.

Negotiations concerning Russia are being conducted entirely at Paris.

War department officials have been increasingly in favor of American withdrawal from Archangel.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1.—Millions of dollars loaned by the United States to Russia to aid her starving people are held by the Russian ambassador and used to pay interest on war bonds, for which J. P. Morgan & Co. was the first fiscal agent, Representative Mason of Illinois today declared on the floor of the house.

Mason bitterly attacked the war department for keeping American troops in Russia.

Declaring these troops were 500 miles away from any American supplies, Mason demanded that they be withdrawn as speedily as possible. He said that England has already withdrawn her troops and that Lloyd George has promised that not a British soldier would be sent to Russia.

[From The Glasgow Forward, Saturday, November 23, 1919.]

Our opponents are overjoyed at a story in their press quoting from the Moscow "Izvestia," the "official Soviet organ," of a free love decree for Bolshies.

"There ye are!" "What did we tell ye," etc.

But the Call (14|11|18) has got the facts. The decree was no decree at all. It was not published in the "Izvestia," the official organ of the Moscow Soviet. All that had happened was that in the early part of this year a writer in a small paper in the Ural Mountains had an article advocating some kind of sexual communism. Maxim Gorki drew attention to it—he was opposing the Bolsheviks at that time—and doubtless thought it was a good stick with which to beat Lenin's back. Nothing farther was heard of the article until it blossomed out the other day in our capitalist press as a Bolshevik "decree."

A LETTER OF CAPTAIN SADOUL FROM RUSSIA

(Continued from Page Five)

facilitated the execution of the Bolsheviki program having diminished the German pressure the greatest obstacle to the realization of this program.

"The socialization of Russia will become more profound, after which the revolt of the masses of bourgeois countries will become more threatening, and the European nations will turn their eyes to democracy, purer and more fraternal. And so the lesson will have been a help to all."

Thus humanity will end the bloody and tortorous incubus of four long years. The chimera of yesterday will become the reality of tomorrow. I begin to hope for it. That it may be so!

JACQUES SADOUL

Moscow, September 1, 1918.

Documents

[From New York "Nation" Jan. 25]

THE RUSSIAN LAND LAW

THE following "Fundamental Law of Socialization of the Land" in Russia went into effect in September, 1918, replacing the earlier and briefer Land Decree of November 7, 1917.

DIVISION I.

General Provisions

Article 1. All property rights [illegible] ures of the earth, waters, for[illegible] natural resources within th[illegible] Russian Federated Soviet [illegible]

Article 2. The land pass[illegible] entire laboring po[illegible] tion, open or s[illegible]

Article 3. [illegible] those who[illegible] exception [illegible]

Article [illegible]

[illegible] and inventoried [illegible] homesteads pass over [illegible] disposition (in ac- [illegible] character) of the land depart- [illegible] provincial, regional, and Fed- [illegible]

[illegible] stead constructions mentioned in [illegible] well as all agricultural appurtenances, [illegible] to the disposition (in accordance with their character) of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviets without indemnification.

Article 8. All persons who are unable to work and who will be deprived of all means of subsistence by force of the decree socializing all lands, forests, inventoried property, etc., may receive a pension (for a lifetime or until the person becomes of age), upon the certification of the local courts and the land departments of the Soviet power, such as the soldier receives, until such time as the decree for the insurance of the incapacitated is issued.

Article 9. The appointment of lands of agricultural value among the laboring people is under the jurisdiction of the Volostnoi (several villages), county, provincial, main, and Federal land departments of the Soviets in accordance with their character.

Article 10. The surplus lands are under the supervision, in every republic, of the land departments of the main and Federal Soviets.

Article 11. The land departments of the local and central Soviets are thus entrusted with the equitable apportionment of the land among the working agricultural population, and with the productive utilization of the natural resources. They also have the following duties:

(a) Creating favorable conditions for the development of the productive forces of the country by increasing the fertility of the land, improving agricultural technique, and, finally, raising the standard of agricultural knowledge among the laboring population.

(b) Creating a surplus of lands of agricultural value.

(c) Developing various branches of agricultural industry, such as gardening, cattle-breeding, dairying, etc.

(d) Accelerating the transition from the old unproductive system of field cultivation to the new productive one (under various climates), by a proper distribution of the laboring population in various parts of the country.

(e) Developing collective homesteads in agriculture (in preference to individual homesteads) as the most profitable system of saving labor and material, with a view to passing on to Socialism.

Article 12. The appointment of land among the laboring population is to be carried on on the basis of each one's ability to till it and in accordance with local conditions, so that the production and consumption standard may not compel some peasants to work beyond their strength; and at the same time it should give them sufficient means of subsistence.

Article 13. Personal labor is the general and fundamental source of the right to use the land for agricultural purposes. In addition, the organs of the Soviet power, with a view to raising the agricultural standard (by organizing model farms and experimental fields) are permitted to borrow from the surplus land fund (formerly belonging to the Crown, monasteries, ministers, or landowners) certain plots and to work them by labor paid by the state. Such labor is subject to the general rules of workmen's control.

Article 14. All citizens engaged in agricultural work are to be insured at the expense of the state against old age, sickness, or injuries which incapacitate them.

Article 15. All incapacitated agriculturists and the members of their families who are unable to work are to be cared for by the organs of the Soviet power.

Article 16. Every agricultural homestead is to be insured against fire, epidemics among cattle, poor crops, dry weather, hail, etc., by means of mutual Soviet insurance.

Article 17. Surplus profits, obtained on account of the natural fertility of the land or on account of its location near markets, are to be turned over for the benefit of social needs to the organs of the Soviet power.

Article 18. The trade in agricultural machinery and in seeds is monopolized by the organs of the Soviet power.

Article 19. The grain trade, internal as well as export, is to be a state monopoly.

DIVISION II.

Who Has the Right to Use the Land

Article 20. Plots of land may be used in the Russian Federal Soviet Republic for the following social and private needs:

A. Cultural and educational:

1. The state, in the form of the organs of the Soviet power (Federal, regional, provincial, county, and rural).

2. Social organizations (under the control and by permission of the local Soviets).

B. For agricultural purposes:

3. Agricultural communities.

4. Agricultural associations.

5. Village organizations.

6. Individuals and families.

C. For construction purposes:

7. By the organs of the Soviet power.

8. By social organizations, individuals, and families (if the construction is not a means of obtaining profits).

9. By industrial, commercial, and transportation enterprises (by special permission and under the control of the Soviet power).

D. For constructing ways of communication.

10. By organs of the Soviet power (Federal, regional, provincial, county, and rural, according to the importance of the ways of communication).

Red Flag Editorial Comment

[The above are two of thirteen divisions contained in this document, the provisions of which were put into effect by the "Soviet" administration in Russia. We regret being unable, through lack of space, to publish the remainder, because the document is in itself a sufficient reply to the lying charges of anarchy hurled at the Bolsheviki regime.

Division 3 lays down the order in which land is appointed. Number 4, the standard of agricultural production and consumption standard for the use of land of agricultural value. The rest cover all other phases of this department of productive life.

From division 4 we extract sections 13 to 16 and offer them as a denial of the deliberate press slander that the Bolsheviki are a people debased, greedy, cruel and without kindly human instincts. We challenge the capitalist press and the capitalist apologists generally, of this or any country under the bourgeois regime, no matter how high they rate its civilization or democracy, to show us in operation or even show us where it is the intention to put in operation a measure equal to the following as a manifestation of lively humanitarian instincts and quick sense of social responsibility to those who through age or weakness are considered unfit to labor either in part or in whole in the productive processes.]

"13. The census of the inhabitants engaged in agricultural work is to be taken by sex, age and family for each homestead separately, and later the information obtained is to be classified by villages, counties, and provinces of the given section.

14. When taking the census of the population it is necessary to determine the number of workingmen and members dependent on them, and for that purpose the entire population is divided into the following classes according to ages:

Those Unable to Work

Girls.....to 12 years of age
Boys.....to 12 years of age
Men.....from 60 years of age
Women.....from 50 years of age

Those incapacitated by physical or mental illness are recorded separately.

Those Able to Work

Men from 18 to 60—1.0 unit of working strength.

Women from 18 to 50—0.8 unit of working strength.

Boys from 12 to 16—0.5 unit of working strength.

Girls from 12 to 16—0.5 unit of working strength.

Boys from 16 to 18—0.75 unit of working strength.

Girls from 16 to 18—0.6 unit of working strength.

Note: These figures may be changed in accordance with climatic and customary conditions by decision of the appropriate organs of the Soviet power.

15. By dividing the number of acres by the number of working units, the number of acres to each unit may be obtained.

16. The number of incapacitated members to each working unit may be obtained by dividing the entire incapacitated element by the total of working units."

Will the deliberate defamers and calculating slanderers of the Russian proletariat show us that it is the voluntary intention of the bourgeois governing class to instal a measure even approaching the above, in their own capitalistic profit-ridden countries, as a pledge of their moral superiority?

Soldiers Favor Free Speech in Vancouver

That the Great War Veterans also stood solid for free speech and other constitutional rights was clearly stated by Capt. Whittaker, who also denied that the War Veterans had planned any action in connection with the Sunday night meetings. He, too, strongly scored the work of the "rumourmonger."