Welcome, Soldiers and Sailors

HOW IT STANDS IN THE U. S. A.

By EADMONN MacALPINE

[From an Exchange]

WHEN the United States entered the war the problem of withdrawing two million men from industry was one of the vital topics of the day. Many suggestions of more of less value were offered whereby this huge depletion of industry could be affected without throwing the whole industrial machinery out of gear. The army of unemployed, which is one of the concomitants of Capitalism, and the influx of women into industry, however, solved the problem without the aid of the experts. Nevertheless much ink was spilled and great anxiety for the welfare of the country was manifested.

But now we are faced with the much greater problem of turning two million men back into industry the experts, for the most part, are silent and the newspapers and magazines are apparently ignorant of the entire subject. The soldier, who during the war was a hero, the idol of the crowd, the darling of the nation, has now become a disagreeable problem. He is no longer mentioned in polite society. After he has been brought back, paraded through the streets and showered with the verbal laurels, he is expected to return to the obscurity from which he sprang and to take his place in the ranks of the jobless, not as a returned soldier wearing a uniform with service chevrons and with stripes on the sleeves,but as an ordinary member of the proletariat, who through hard luck is out of a job, to whom society owes nothing and who must expect nothing from society.

When he insists on looking for work in his uniform he is covertly reproached for his lack of taste, and when he very naturally replies that he is in uniform because he has no civilian clothes, society assumes an air of injured dignity and says "something must be done." The "something" usually takes the form of a charity bazaar or concert, and when it is found that the soldier cannot be comfortably disposed of in the same way as our industrial cripples—by relegation to an institution—society becomes very annoyed indeed and leaves him in his own resources.

It must not be assumed, however, that the returned soldier is not welcome. All the newspapers say so, electric signs blazon forth the fact to the world by night, while appropriately colored posters herald it by day. Every railroad in the country announces the fact; aldermanic resolutions inscribe it on city records; triumphal arches, monuments of the contractor's art, (and the bills for same, monuments to his imagination), establish it beyond dispute. There is no lack of the external symbols of welcome. And every succeeding troopship that reaches port is a signal for new parades. But after being welcomed the soldier is supposed to gracefully disappear.

When he sailed away to France, service flags were flung to the breeze. Every employer hung out a banner, the number of whose stars told the immensity of the sacrifice made by the firm in allowing its employes to march off to war, hired new employes and forgot about the matter until the casualty list caused the substitution of a gold star for one of the blue ones. Now the service flags have disappeared, and the suggestion that it should be replaced by a flag showing the number of returned soldiers reinstated in their old jobs is quietly ignored. The truth of the matter is that the employer being first and last a business man, does not want men who have developed the independence and self-reliance that comes to those who have stared death in the face.

The master dearly loves a willing slave, and the employee whose slave training is unbroken by adventure in foreign fields invariably proves the better servant. The man who has daily brushed shoulders with death is not likely to cower before a foreman's glance. And so the returned soldier's welcome ceases when he returns to civilian life and offers himself for sale in the labor market. He has been welcomed and feted and he must step down to make room for the next batch who will be welcomed and feted in its turn.

But the returned soldier must live, he must find employment, and what better occupation could he get than assisting in the welcome to his brothers in arms. A new industry is created by the spirit of welcome. Flag buttons, proclaiming the welcome are manufactured and offered for sale. And who can refuse to buy from a soldier, especially if he was wounded in the country's service? Here is the solution of the problem! Let the soldier sell the welcome button—the soldier is kept busy, the public is ashamed to refuse the salesman, and the manufacturer makes money.

Thus the streets of our cities are swarming with soldiers in uniform, offering gaudy buttons and buntings for sale. Fine up-standing fellows are reduced to street hawking, and street hawking is a hard job. The returns are small, the hours of work are long and the experience is humiliating. After a spell of this work the spirit is broken and the slave psychology again gains the ascendency. Any job, where the begging element is absent, is welcome and the foreman's glance regains its old power.

CEDAR AND EDEN PAUL RESIGN FROM THE I. L. P.—A Letter to the "Labor Leader"

Sir,—We ask for space in which to give a brief exposition of the reasons that are leading us, at this juncture, to resign membership of the I. L. P. and B. S. P. In so far as we have any personal feeling in the matter, it is one of profound regret at having to sever ourselves from organizations in which so many valued comrades remain at work. This said, let us confine ourselves to principles.

(1) Apart altogether from the question of Sovietist versus Parliamentary tactics, we incline to the view that the purely political type of Socialist organization has outlived its usefulness. The political, social, and educative functions that have attached to such bodies in the past will (so we believe) in the future, be branches of the activity of the new type of industrial organization. Upon the workers' committees and shop stewards' movement, therefore, we wish to concentrate such time as we can spare for public work. We would suggest, further, that the new periodicals issued by the various workers' committees afford on interesting indication of the growth of the new movement, and that these sheets are likely to replace, as the means of effective revolutionary propaganda, the older and more sedate party and trade union official organs.

(2) We consider that the second International is not merely dead, but damned. We are convinced that the success of the working class movement (or, in other words, that the complete overthrow of capitalism) is inseparably connected with the success of the new Red or Moscow International. The I. L. P. supports the Berne International, and cannot get further than a "refusal to condemn Lenin." The B. S. P., better advised, goes so far as to refer to the branches the question of adhesion to the Communist International. (Were this the sole issue, we should await the result of the referenedum before withdrawing from the B. S. P.).

(3) The absolutely vital question, however, is that of affiliation to the Labor Party. There is a hopeless divergence betwen those who expect to realize Socialism through Parliamentary democracy and those who expect to realize Socialism through communist ergatocracy—the administration of the workers by the workers for the workers—with (as a preliminary stage) the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat exercised through workers' committees or Soviets. Here is the crux: and no pious resolutions of sympathy with our Russian comrades can veil the fact, that, after the Easter Conferences of 1919—four years after Zimmerwald and eighteen months after the Bolshevist revolution—the I. L. P. and the B. S. P. remain affiliated to the Labor Party, and therefore remain committed to Parliamentary methods.

To sum up. The conferences at Huddersfield and Sheffield have shown that neither the I. L. P. nor the B. S. P. has adequately realized that the world stands at the threshold of a new era. Not merely do they fail to grasp the necessity of new tacties for the social revolution, but they even fail to perceive that the revolution for which we have so long been working is actually in progress. The cry is "Show your colors!"

For the undersigned the only practicable "Socialist unity" is the unified activity of the revolutionary left wing.—Yours, etc.,

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL.

7 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C. 1.

We miss something, you and I, in not attending the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Midland Railway Company. Especially have we missed the eloquence of shareholder Miss F. E. Budge of London:

Ladies and gentlemen, I may say here that I have been for twenty-five years in business, and I am going to tell you that if I were on the Directorate, do you think I should have seen my shareholders, in the face of an increase in the cost of living of 120 per cent, have to take the same dividend as before, if there was any chance of increasing that dividend? We have earned it, ladies and gentlemen; if we have not, of course, do not let us have it. Do you mean to say that if we were paid for all the work which has been done on the British Railways in connection with the war that we should stand where we are today? Of course not.

In other words, she would not budge. With all "due respect" to the directors, she continued,

"we must have an increased dividend because we have earned it."

Miss Budge was followed by the Rev. W. S. Carter D.D., of Fulham, who declared:—

"I wish it had been possible to have more details as to the future of our beloved railway."

The Rev. G. F. Marson of the Church Army says (Daily Telegraph, 18-3-19) that

"Mesopotamia was the biggest pride of the war. Its fertility was so wonderful that, with a proper irrigation scheme, it was estimated that in five years its produce would pay for the war. It could be made the greatest cotton-growing country in the world.

But who is to get the prize?

The lads with the wooden legs? The relatives of the dead who lie in the marshes at Kut or by the roadsides of Flanders?

For them the blanks. They are to have memorial tablets in the Parish Church; they are to get a "nation's warmest thanks;" they will be requited with the knowledge that they have made the world safe for Democracy and a fit place for heroes to live in, where the rights of man as man shall not perish, and where Righteousness shall aheathe its sword until the eternal truths have been made manifest, and where Treitsche lies buried in the weltpolitik of the Saar Valley, ... etc.

And it is written, their bellies shall be filled with the east wind.

LONDON, May 27.—Thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors out of employment, armed with stones and other missiles, marched towards the House of Commons yesterday. They came into conflict with the police barring the approaches and were scattered.

Later the procession was re-formed and marched toward Buckingham Palace, but the demonstration broke up before it reached the palace. There were no further disorders.

The demonstration followed a mass meeting in Hyde Park, where the discharged soldiers and sailors demanded work and a minimum wage scale.

Education Under the Bolsheviks

A Translation of the Annual Report of A. V. Lunacharsky, Commisar of Education in the Soviet Government, for the Year Ending November 7, 1918

FROM THE MAY "LIBERATOR"

(Continued from Last Week)

Libraries

White awaiting the growth of onew communist enlightened workers, which the schools will give us, we must simultaneously meet the growing desire for knowledge on the part of the adults. For that reason it is essential to organize a long line of universities in provinces, cities and villages, and also spreading of a great number of libraries, stable and circulating, for the advantage of the masses, and finally the organization of educational expeditions into the country and the sale of literature through various channels of communication and primarily through the Post-Telegraphic Department.

In order that there should be unity in the activities of the large, central libraries, they have been co-ordinated under the supervision of the Central Library Commission, which is occupied with the elaboration of schemes of how effectively to distribute books and reach the members of libraries. The public library of Petrograd has been granted a new and fruitful democratic constitution and considerable means for its development. We wish to remark here also, that all governmental archives have been converted and centralized and made accessible to the public. The victorious nation has inherited wonderful Czarist, feudal and churchly property. In addition to the official museums, the Commissariat of Public Education has created new museums, using the historical and artistic and most precious palaces and castles of the czars and lords for that purpose, protecting them in the year of tragic fermentation, when the highly-precious property of the despised classes was in danger of being destroyed. Finally the Commissariat of Public Education has created a new special organ: The Commission of the Protection of Artistic Monuments of Antiquity, which not only saved many of them from ruin, but also nationalized all the culture and art of the conquered for the democratic and universal benefit of the people at large.

Theatres

In the same way, all former imperial theatres have been protected and granted full autonomy for the actors, and despite the critical revolutionary period, the theatres are functioning in full force, the plays becoming more and more of a proletarian character, and the theatres becoming gradually the property of the working masses.

The Government theatres of Petrograd, resorting at first to sabotage politics, have finally sent in to the People's Commissariat a touching address of thanks.

Moreover, the Commissriat supports Soviet theatres, such as the remarkable Moscow Soviet Operatic Theatre, and a number of communistic theatres of Petrograd.

The Theatrical Department is energetically working out the problems and methods of scenery to be introduced, children's theatres, the history and theory of the theatre, publishing journals illuminating and discussing those subjects.

Music

In the same manner, all the choruses and orchestras of all former religious and imperial institutions have been taken over and reorganized democratically by the Commissariat. The imperial orchestra gives at the present time one concert a week of a musical and academic character, so to speak, two popular concerts in the beautiful halls of the Winter Palace, which has been converted into a National Palace of Art, and concerts in different neighborhods periodically.

The two best choruses in the world, in all probability, the one of the chapel and the synodic one, have been converted into publicly accessible Academies of Music and Song. A true public character has been given to various musical schools under the supervisorship of military and naval departments. The conservatories have been also taken over by the Commisariat of Public Education, and in the near future a conference will be called to consider systematic and radical reforms to be introduced in those advanced musical establishments. The Musical Department is elaborating plans for courses in singing and musical education, and a plan for one Central School for earnest and aspiring students.

Art

The Department of Plastic Arts, in order to enliven the completely decrepit Academy of Arts, has radically democratized its present advanced educational establishment. It has been made accessible to the public. The professors have been chosen by the students themselves, and in this way have been reorganized the Free Governmental Artistic Workshops.

The following schools also have been instilled with a new spirit: Stroganowskaja, Schtiglica, etc.

Along with the Department of Plastic Arts there is another department, the Artistic-Industrial Department, which is occupied with the problem of elevating the artistic aspect of industry. For that purpose it operates at the present time a porcelain and grinding factory and is organizing colossal workshops. It is worth noting that the porcelain factory manufactures thousands of wares and dishes for peasants (ornamented by the new emblem of the Soviet Republic and with revolutionary slogans), the orders for which are given by the Commisariat of Supply of Provisions.

Public Statuary

On the Department of Plastic Arts fell also the duty of removing unesthetic and immoral monuments, and building new monuments of great thinkers, workers and poets of the revolution.

In most cases the monuments have merely a temporary character and serve as a monumental basis for the propagation of revolutionary ideas among the masses. The best of them will be made permanent. Up to date two monuments, those of Ferdinand Lassalle and Radishew, have been unveiled in Petrograd, and in Moscow the monuments of Dostoyevsky, and a very original one dedicated to Stephan Rasin, are ready among others for unveiling.

Besides monuments there are in preparation tablets of stone and metal with various revolutionary inscriptions, which, too, will serve the purpose of revolutionary and communistic propaganda.

The World's Best Literature

In the literary field, the Commissariat has taken over the right of publishing literature, thus taking away the right of profit from private publishers. It publishes literature of the best sort in artistic editions and at nominal prices.

The Commissariat is determined to publish the best Russian classics in the near future. It has thrown upon the market thousands of sets at cheap prices, of Tolstoy, Uspenski, Nikitin, Krylov, Kolchov, Turgeniev, Chechov, etc. I enumerate here only those authors whose works have been published either in full, or of which the first volumes have appeared.

Shortly also the Department of Foreign Literature, under the supervision of Maxim Gorky, will begin to function. This department has a remarkable field before it, and under the directorship of a great man like Maxim Gorky it is bound to accomplish unprecedented results.

The Education Department is occupied with the problem of mobilizing all the educational forces of Russia for the purpose of solving complicated problems brought into prominence by the conditions under the Soviet regime. The Academy of Sciences, the Association of Knowledge and a number of other education societies work in cooperation with the Educational Department.

Science

Through this department as well as through the endeavors of the department of advanced educational establishments, have been opened a great array of learned and educational institutions. These are: The Physical Institute of Moscow, the Institute of Petrograd, the Institution of Photography and Phototechnique in Petrograd, universities in the cities of Woronez, Tambov, Nizni Novgorod, the Polytechnical School of Vosnesensk. The last-named institution has cost $7,000,000, the total of which was collected by the local population. The city of Kostroma also has collected $2,000,000 for the purpose of establishing a university there. In the near future will begin to function an institution extremely important to Russia, a Smelting Institute in Moscow, devoted specifically to the aim of extracting and mining local coal.

—and Moving Pictures

In close contact with the educational department of the Commissariat of Public Education there works the newly organized scientific-technical department of the advanced Soviet of National Economy. In a near contact with the last-named department we find also the Kino-Committee, associated with the Commissariat of Public Education, in Petrograd as well as in Moscow, spreading in all provinces its activities from producing pictures to surveying and buying materials for new moving picture theatres.

Finally, there are the high establishments of socialist education in Russia, the Socialist Academies of General Sciences, forming a link in the great organization and body of the Commissariat of Public Education, and also forming one of the most learned and educational and the most effective instruments in disseminating socialist class-consciousness, and strengthening the communist ideals in our country.

* * * *

From the summary above given the reader can well conjecture how colossal is the task of the Commissariat of Public Education. It has a noble program and ideal as its guiding spirit, and in spirit, and in spite of unfavorable circumstances, it has already succeeded in gaining successes in many an undertaking.

In addition to the present essay and the short account presented to the Soviet of People's Commissars one and a half months ago, the National Educational Bureau is preparing a detailed account of some specific angles of its activities, furnishing concrete figures, and presenting the full accomplishments of the central government for the end of the year 1918.

Insurmountable obstacles have obscured the work of the Commissariat. But, priding itself upon its important role in the family of friendly commissaries of Soviets, it goes on firmly with its idealistic aim, and will never falter even though some of its programs may not materialize as soon as could be desired.

A. LUNACHARSKY.

SOUTH AFRICA

According to reuters dispatch in the Daily Herald of April 5. Mr. Bain, who it will be remembered was deported some years ago along with eight other labor leaders from South Africa on the occasion of a big strike, said, speaking at Johannesburg. "I know intuitively that South Africa is on the brink of a wholesale upheaval of the working classes."

The Irish Socialist

SELMA SIGERSON, in the Glasgow "Socialist"

Since 1916 organized Irish labor has been in the hands of the Moderates. They have accomplished the full measure of a moderate programme. They have built up an expansive Trade Unionism; they have maintained a Labor Party and established a trade union paper. They have held fast to the policy of not alienating the timid. No one will deny them credit for the routine work of their limitations. Their obvious function was to conserve the energies of the proletariat of an Ireland hemmed in by the European war and her internal demands for separation from England.

In the recent years which have beseiged the national spirit they have made the Irish Labor movement a business concern. But the Irish are not a nation of shopkeepers; they are a nation of insurgent "felons"—the gaol-mark is upon them like a birth-mark, and their feet turn upon the wayward path of revolt like a racial destiny.

It is one of the most bitter truths which we must all learn, no matter what cause we fight for, in the very hour perhaps of our triumph we must yield our victories to the generation at our heels. Their needs transcend our gains. Their fight supersedes our own. The life of a people is always greater than its individual expressions, so that the utmost which any of us can do is to "carry on" during our best fighting years, and keep the spears brandished for the younger hands.

The Irish Labor movement has reached a change of hands period. It must either turn with the dignity of maturity to a revolutionary rank and file and acknowledge their younger purpose, or it must turn away from them with the bigotry of possessors and deny their rights. It will in this manner keep the timid and alienate the courageous.

The revolutionary Socialists who represent the younger purpose know very definitely what they are out to attain. They have bent their backs, with full consciousness of the burden, for the making and winning of the Irish revolution. They do not agree with the Moderates that they must wait for the tides of Bolshevism to seethe through Western Europe and lap them up into the organic processes of the new economic order of the world. They remember England, and they believe that Bolshevism is much more likely to take a duck in the Caspian or the Baltic and rise on the home shores of St. George's Channel. In any case, they intend to start the system from the Western extremity as a response to Russia. They believe in deeds beyond words. It is their tenacity of faith which accounts for their patience with the Moderates. They have given them ample time to fill this hour of 1919 with a constructive programme. So far the Moderates have failed to produce that programme. The trade union movement is so well preserved that it is becoming decadent; it is so well preserved that its parts are decentralized for safety, and have become almost futile. What would redeem it is a good healthy strike. It would emerge from a strike quivering with new-born vitality.

There are more trade union organizations in Ireland than have ever been, and, apart from Belfast, "nothin' doin'!"

It is time that the Irish working class organizations should be forged into a National Industrial Unit with a definite economic policy. Its political expression depends upon that policy. So far, it is organized politically as a Labor Party. England has had a Labor Party for years, but England has a long road to travel before she is ready for direct action. Ireland is ready. A Labor Party can only function in a capitalist form of parliament for the specile purpose of destroying that form and revolutionizing it into a Socialist Executive, or for the purpose of a gradual process of reconstruction. The Irish Labor Party must tell the masses which of these ways it means to pursue.

Its reply will decide to what extent its propaganda will meet the needs of the people in the immediate future. It is a question which they can not evade forever, and if they evade it beyond the patience of the revolutionaries they may lose even the trust of their own supporters, who will begin with the "Why, oh! why?" of the impotent to ask why things remain the same and changeless in a world obviously ruled by change?

It is childish to reply that the time is unripe, and that an economic revolution would be inexpedient. The time is never ripe for reactionaries. Those who are ready for the revolution are prepared for its consequences. Irishmen have never been afraid to die for a cause they believed in. The adhesion of the young men of today to the lesson of the Easter rising, the strenuous belief in armed force, the demand to revolutionize the army—to propagate them beyond the murder of their own class show that the right material is there to support Russia with an Irish rampart.

A MESSAGE FROM SOUTH AFRICA

To the Editor the, Socialist, Glasgow:

Dear Comrade,—At the annual delegate meeting of the International Socialist League, South Africa, held in Johannesburg, January 6, 1919, the following resolution was passed: "That this delegate meeting sends fraternal greetings to the Russian Soviet Government, the Spartacus Group in Germany, and to all International Socialist bodies. Further, that this League acclaims the glorious advance of the Socialist Revolution in Europe; pledges itself to support it in every possible way against the attacks or intrigues of the capitalist powers in Russia, Germany and elsewhere, and resolves to redouble its efforts to spread the working class movement in South Africa so as to assist in hastening the triumph of the Revolution and establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, throughout the world."

W. H. ANDREWS, Organizer.

January 15, 1919.

FROM THE NEW YORK "NATION," MAY 24

Where our metropolitian dailies really bent upon recording significant facts in the labor movement, they would have given columns last week to the meeting of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor in Harrisburg. That body unanimously re-elected as its president James H. Maurer, who is already serving his seventh term as head of the organization. During his incumbency, he has opposed preparedness and our entrance into the war, and he figured on the ridiculous Stevenson suspect list. Next the convention voted "amid tremendous cheering" that organized labor, having no longer anything to hope for from the Republican and Democratic parties, must turn to independent political action. The Federation's executive committee is therefore to report principles and a line of action to a special convention. Even more striking was the passage of a resolution denouncing the Allied and American policy in Russia and demanding the withdrawal of American troops and the immediate lifting of the blockade. This was coupled with a demand for the release of all political and war-time prisoners and the recognition of the Irish Republic. Finally, there was a vigorous attack upon the Civic Federation, which was charged with seeking "to administer chloroform to the trade-union movement." No wonder it is reported that the old-line leaders of the American Federation of Labor are becoming nervous as to what may happen at the Atlantic City convention next month.

WHAT IS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM?

The Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada; Price—$6.00 per 100. Single Copies 10 Cents.

MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND GREATER THAN "KEPT" PRESS REPORTED

According to the London "Labor Leader" of May 8, May Day celebrations in Great Britain and Ireland were held on an unprecedented scale. Glasgow, true to its reputation, had 250 organizations in procession, and the Red Flags flamed over all. Over a hundred speeches were delivered from 22 platforms in the course of 90 minutes, and at 4 p.m. the following resolution was acclaimed by the massed audiences:

"That this meeting declares for the overthrow of the capitalist system of production for profit, and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth based on production for use; and further sends their greetings to the European Soviet Republics in Europe and to the workers of the world. Also we protest against the arrest and deportation of foreign subjects without trial; further, we urge the withdrawal of all armies of occupation, and declare in favor of the 1st of May being observed as International Labor Day."

In Edinburg six bands played the procession to the meeting ground where similar resolutions were enthusiastically passed as at the Glasgow meeting. In many other places similar proceedings were the order of the day.

London also had its processions and its meetings. From the report we quote a description of one significant feature in the procession:

"Here is a strange looking, plain white banner, bearing no device but four large letters, S. S. A. U.

"To the unitiated the letters mean nothing at all. To those with inside knowledge they form the most portentious element of the whole parade, an element not hitherto present in this or any other country.

"For the mystic letters on the banner are the initials of the recently formed Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Union, formed of ex-service men and some still in the ranks, of which the guiding spirit is a Scotch ex-rifleman, and whose fundamental article of faith is that under no circumstances will they consent to be used against fellow trades unionists in industrial disputes. The men are wearing their discharge badges alongside red ribbons and Socialist emblems.

"Bronzed and determined looking are these young men, who have fought on the blood-stained fields of France and Flanders, and are now quite ready, as they themselves put it, to 'fight the Huns at home,' which, being interpreted, means they will stand no nonsense at all from the profiteer and the sweating employer."

In Ireland the celebration of May 1 as a general holiday was almost complete, though the military in many places prevented meetings and processions. Comment on this, however, was mild besides that on the action of J. H. Thomas, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen in circulating the Irish branches that they must not cease work without the sanction of their executive. This failing, he issued a second "order" to which, of course, the press gave lavish publicity:

"I would warn them that if they are determined, as stated, to stop without authority from their executive, it may be that the Irish Railway Executive will follow a like course and refuse to put into operation the settlement agreed to with this union."

Yet this Mr. Thomas was a delegate to the so-called Socialist International Conference at Berne. The same Mr. Thomas who, some months ago, told the English railwaymen that if they did not be good he would retire and would not do anything more for them. He is now in this country (Canada), we believe. What's the game?

Propaganda meetings every Sunday night, at 8 p.m., Empress Theatre, corner of Gore avenue and Hastings street.

Organized Labor's Strike Demands

The B. C. Federationist reports that the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council has submitted the following seven demands as the minimum conditions on which the strike shall be settled.

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Aims of Labor in General Strike

Realizing that while there are many problems that face the workers that cannot be solved under capitalism, and that the end of that system is not yet; also realizing that the present situation is a political one, due to the action of the Dominion Government in the Winnipeg strike, and that as the taking care of the soldiers who were disabled, and the dependents of the men who have died on the battlefields of France and Flanders are working class problems, the majority of the soldiers being members of the working class, therefore be it resolved that the following be the policy of the workers in Canana now on strike, or about to come on strike in support of the Winnipeg workers.

1. The re-instatement of the postal workers who struck in Winnipeg.

2. The immediate settlement of the postal workers' grievances.

3. The right of collective bargaining through any organization that the workers deem most suited to their needs.

4. Pensions for soldiers and their dependents on the basis laid down by the soldiers' organizations.

5. The minimum recompense for service overseas by the granting of the sum of $2,000 gratuity.

6. The nationalization of all cold storage plants abbattoirs and elevators, with a view to removing the evil of hoarding of foodstuffs.

7. The enactment of legislation to provide for the six-hour day in all industries where unemployment is prevalent.

Failing the granting of these demands by the Dominion Government, the workers continue the strike until the present government resigns and places these matters before the electorate.

The Policemen and Prison Warders of the British Isles Demonstrate

[Common Sense].

By some chance I attended a huge meeting held by the Police and Prison Officers' Union in Trafalgar Square last Sunday. As the newspapers failed to give an adequate idea either of the magnitude of the demonstration or of the opinions expressed there my impressions perhaps will not be unwelcome to your readers. Some thousands of people had already assembled in the Square before a long procession of policemen and warders in plain clothes was seen coming up Whitehall. They were led at regular intervals by brass bands, four in all; banners told off each section. Here, for example, was the City of London branch of the Metropolitan Police and there the Canterbury branch of officers; other banners proclaimed to the public "Tyranny is not discipline," "We are out to kill Prussianism," "Macready make ready to go." Before the speakers mounted the plinth the Square was a dense mass of people, extending from the steps of the National Gallery to the upper end of Whitehall, and the traffic was temporarily suspended or deviated from its route.

I was at the previous demonstration which the police held at Tower Hill last August, and one could not fail, on this occasion, to notice a marked changed in their attitude. In August their protest was nervously made, and their claims for more wages were mixed up with demands for clearing all enemy aliens out of the country. Last Sunday they apparently dispensed with an irrelevant and no longer popular issue. They boldly defined—whether rightly or wrongly I do not attempt to say—their aims and their status "vis a vis" the laboring classes. Their organization, comprising police and prison officers in England, Scotland, and Wales, plus an increasing number of the Royal Irish Constabulary, claims to be recognized as a union on much the same footing as any other trade union. Only thus could they determine, within reasonable limits, of course, their own conditions of work. If all other means failed they were prepared to strike in order to achieve their end. First and foremost they demanded that all arbitrary punishments should cease; and in this connection the immediate reinstatement of Constable Spackman, who, it was said, had been summarily dismissed for not taking part, as ordered, in an election to a representation board which the Government had set up as a substitute to their union. Again, as a union, they were pledged to prevent the use of firearms in the police force, the introduction of which they seemed to fear. "We know what would very likely happen," said one speaker. "Would we not be called upon to shoot down the workers?" But this was not the only grievance against militarism, and I listened eagerly as the police spokesmen objected to Sir Neville Macready, their high commissioner, on the ground that he was a general transferred directly from the war office to take charge of a trade he had never learnt, but probably wished to transform, with the assistance of "a few majors in high police offices." The speakers demanded that these high posts should be filled by men promoted from the ranks.

I was astonished to hear these constables addressing such plain language to their high commissioner, who was, we were told, rubbing shoulders with the crowd. I was still more astonished to hear guardians of law and order declaiming against the inhabitants of Mayfair and the members of the Lords and Commons, whom they accused of possessing the bulk of the property of the country and of making laws to protect their own interests. The propertied classes and the Government may be to blame for these sentiments, so new and strange to our ideas of policemen. It was to me a little surprising and rather saddening that such a large demonstration could be held without a word being uttered against the starvation blockade, from which thousands of innocent women and children are dying on the Continent, or against the war in Russia, in which English soldiers are fighting against a system of government very like that which the policemen seem to favor. One wishes that these union struggles were animated sometimes by something higher and better than self-interest.

THE LURE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

A recent issue of the "Japanese Advertiser" gives an account, taken from what are said to be official sources, of an advance by Great Britain of considerable funds to the Government at Archangel, and the "consequent establishment of Great Britain's interest in the great forest resources of Northern Russia." The Archangel Government has accumulated since August a debt of 70,000,000 rubles on domestic loans, a part of which fell due on February 15. Bonds issued against these loans are being used as legal tender, making it almost impossible for the government to raise more money by domestic loans. Acording to the "Japanese Advertiser," Great Britain is counted upon to supply the necessary funds, for which large tracts of forest land will be pledged as security, establishing British interests permanently in northern Russia."—New York "Nation."

IRELAND AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Sir Donald Maclean quoted in last week's debate in the British House of Commons, a letter form a distinguished author who has just returned to Ireland from active service at the war. "Returning to the country after four and a half years," he says, "I am really appalled by the scandal it presents of people governed by naked force: essentially the same system as in Belgium and in Germany; armed police, soldiers, machines, tanks, gas, etc.—all the hideous paraphernalia of war. The whole of it apparently to repress a people who are determined, in some way or another, to atain their liberty." Ireland demands today the recognition of a principle which is dominating the whole world. In return she sees tanks lumbering through the streets of her capital and aeroplanes vigilant overhead. Such displays—it is calculated—will in time make her loyal. She will accept British rule, and abandon Sinn Fein; and recover what the Chief Secretary is pleased to call her soul. Even Toryism protests against this criminal folly. Mr. Hills expressed profound disappointment at the Government statement. They "have no solution to give for the Irish problem. . . .Either the Government have got a policy, or they have not. If they have got a policy, it is the bankruptcy of British statesmanship. If they have got a policy, in God's name let them tell us what that policy is." He appeals boldly "to our own consciences and our own hearts." "I, as a Unionist, find the present position perfectly intolerable. We cannot go on as we are.." These are courageous words. It might be well if Liberal, Labor, and independent Tory members got together to devise a scheme which they could force upon this nerveless Administration. But action there must be. We may refer the Irish problem to the Empire. We may refer it to the United States. We may refer it to the League of Nations. But military terrorism is impossible. The one thing certain is—"We can not go on as we are."

RESULT OF "CO-OPERATION OF CLASSES" POLICY—THE HOUSING SCANDAL

The report of the Housing Commission which has investigated conditions in Scotland declares that in 1911 there were 129,730 one-room houses and 439,344 two-roomed: "in other words, 40.4 per cent. of the total number of houses in Scotland have only two rooms," and many of them had neither scullieries sanitary conveniences, nor water supply.

The Royal Family, our Government, the Press, are all extremly annoyed about this disgraceful condition of things. They call it a scandal to civilization. But why their sudden wrath and zeal? This infamy was not caused by the Huns nor by the war. There is a tendancy to talk of it as if it were due to the stoppage of building oprations during wartime and the present dearness of building materials. But the terrible housing conditions endured by the great mass of the British people have been known to all social students for at least a quarter of a century.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JUNE 1

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speakers, J. Smith and A. R. Sinclair

THE RED FLAG

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

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Editor ..... C. Stephenson

SATURDAY.....MAY 31, 1919

The Winnipeg Strike

At this writing the Winnipeg general strike is still on and in view of the continued misrepresentations of the capitalist press and its attempts to obscure the real issues at stake, it is necessary to restate them and so keep them clear before the workers in other parts of the country.

The strike was called on May 15th in aid of the Metal Workers and Building Trades Unions. The issue is that of the right of collective bargaining by means of central councils of allied crafts. The principle in dispute means that members of a particular craft may submit its grievances to the central council and so make it the concern of all the members of the rest of the allied crafts. The adoption of this principle constitutes a step forward in the direction of recognition of collectivity of interest among wage workers and the necessity of collectivity of action for improving their conditions of work and wages. Since the strike commenced another issue has been injected into the dispute, the right of public service employees, police, postal workers, etc., to strike in behalf of themselves or in sympathy with other workers. The Federal Government having come out flatly and stated that those postal workers who have not obeyed the summons to come back to work again are to consider themselves discharged.

Up to date, the 28th, the strike has been conducted in an orderly manner, without any of those "incidents" so dearly beloved of the press. An examination of the books of the police stations at the end of the first week showed Winnipeg had less use for a police force than at any previous time and that not one striker had been arrested. Nevertheless this has not been accomplished without organized labor being subjected to much provocation. Much abusive and threatening language has been used from both the press and platform by those opposing the strike. Terrifying despatches have been sent abroad, through the press, of a Soviet Government being established, superseding the Mayor and Council for administering the affairs of the city, of babies dying for want of milk, and of general starvation and right along the whole gamut of atrocities which the practised and trained minds of press correspondents could think of. The East and South especially, have been flooded with "news" of that sort. So much so that some of the Labor papers on the other side of the Line have been so childish and uncritical as to come out with scare-heads stating that the Canadian workers had started a revolution. In the west the press has been more moderate, though not without the will, as evidenced by the veiled hints of things of which it had not the courage to say outright. The leopard can not change its spots, neither the capitalist press refrain from spitting its venom.

In the attempt to weaken the purpose of the workers in Winnipeg, individuals have been singled out for abuse and threatening attack. Deportation has been talked of, the anti-foreigner ery has been raised, the returned soldiers have been appealed to, loyalty has been questioned, Bolshevism has been charged, in short all the old, old familiar methods have been used, to discredit and stampede the strikers, which have been in vogue since the beginning of the Labor movement. There is nothing new under the sun, at least the hired thugs of the vested interests are unable to invent anything new.

Editorial writers complain, when one days facts contradict the lies of the day before, that if the Winnipeg papers had been allowed to be published their news would have prevented the circulation of scarifying rumors from "well known journalists." Would it? Is there anything in the "kept" press's dealings with working class struggles which would pustify any such contention?. We trow not. And suppose there were no capitalist papers printed in Winnipeg, does that justify the "kept" press in other districts, for printing rumors, even though they are from "well known journalists," and issuing them as "news" in solid column after column? Again, we trow not. In effect the press is carrying on its customary propaganda of lies in the service of those whose tool it is. There would be fewer strikes and better conditions of life for the workers if the employers had not at their command a powerful instrument in the press for deceiving the people at large, stirring up trouble, misrepresenting and intimidating the workers whenever the latter asked for some alleviation of their miserable conditions of existence. We are forever regaled with vague and grandiloquent articles on the sufferings of the public, without ever having defined for us what the latter mysterious entity is. As a matter of fact from the point of view of the press, it is a stick to beat a dog or it is anyone whose ignorant prejudices and passion can be aroused against a body of striking workers.

And into the bargain along comes an emissary from Ottawa, Senator Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor, and adds his quota to the denunciatory chorus. What capital the press makes out of this ally, the Minister of Labor risen from the ranks of labor; with what wide open, undiscriminatory arms its columns are thrown open to him! According to him the O. B. U. is the cause of the strike, notwithstanding that the O. B. U. is not in existence yet. And even in the opinion of some, the Winnipeg strike broke out at an inopportune time for the progress of the O. B. U. Probably Georges Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Sonino, Orlando, and Woodrow Wilson also had something to do with the strike, for they are the signatories to a document, called the Labor program, formulated at the Peace Conference in Paris, in which collective bargaining is endorsed. And yet, the Great Gideon and his collaborators in Canadian statesmanship, repudiate it, at least at that point where it is going to have any practical effect. He is reported, with what truth, we do not know, to have said that he believed in collective bargaining, but that the collection in Winnipeg was too big. There is the knot in the tangled skein. In collectivity there is strength. True, but as to who is strong oftimes becomes a matter of serious embarrasment to the "Statesmen" of the ruling class.

The Postal Workers

The Canadian Government has announced its intention not to take back into its employment the postal employees now remaining out on sympathetic strike. This is a serious decision for the employees. Their job was a steady one and entailed no drifting around the country, consequently, a larger proportion of them will have wives and families than those following other occupations. And now they are faced with the problem of finding work; finding work in a terribly overstocked labor market. Many of them will have to leave their families and become drifters. Drifting all over the country seeking a precarious livelihood, following seasonal occupations.

They came out on strike to assist workers in other occupations to better the conditions of labor, recognizing, like unto the scriptural injunction, that the welfare of other members of their class was their concern also. There fore we trust that the postal workers will get their jobs back again. We trust that the Canadian working class will see to it that the postal workers do get their jobs back.

The Canadian governing class are no doubt keen sharp business men. Some people, claiming to be judges on matters ethical, say that they are sharp to the point of indecency. It is said they have taken greater advantage of the business possibilities, opened up by the war, for profiteering and graft, than the business men in any other part of the world. The fortunes piled up, while the agonizing war lasted, have been characterized as scandalous. It is also charged against this businessman's government in Ottawa, that it has been very generous in apportioning its war contracts. It is also charged with being suspiciously lax in supervising expenditures and deliveries. Its food control was said to be a joke—for the food profiteers. Other people, of little consequence, though, had other names for it. So had Investigator Connors, but he—he soon had the damper put on him. The "kept" press said that he was a busybody. It is said that for some reason, the working class of Canada have not much use or respect for the character of the government of Canada. So we think it probable that the sharp business men of Canada and their government may have made a mistake when they told the decent men of the postal service that they could not have their jobs back, because, we think that the working class of Canada will see to it that they do get their jobs back. Whatever the result, their case may cause a lot of those people who have been caught by the glamor of nationalization of industry under the capitalist system, furiously to think.

THE TERMS ON WHICH WE COULD HAVE PEACE WITH RUSSIA

There can be no real peace which does not include Russia. Stress was laid on this obvious truth by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech on April 16. But why can we not have peace with Russia? The reason does not lie at the door of the Soviet Government. Ever since they came into power they have made strenuous efforts to secure it, for they know that only by peace can the people of Russia be saved from starvation and ruin. It may be worth while to remind our readers of the facts in this connection.

On January 22 the Peace Conference at Paris approved a proposal by President Wilson for summoning all the Russian parties to negotiations on the island of Prinkipo.

This proposal was rejected by the various anti-Bolshevik governments. By the Soviet Government, although no invitation was officially transmitted to them, and they learned of its existence only through the French Socialist Press, it was accepted. Their reply stated: "The Soviet Government is prepared to purchase an accord at the cost of great sacrifices," in spite of the increasingly favorable situation both from a military and internal point of view. Thus:

1. It is prepared to recognize financial obligations to creditors belonging to the Entente Powers.

2. It is ready to guarantee the interest by handing over goods and raw materials.

3. It is disposed to grant mining, forestry and other concessions to Entente subjects.

4. It does not refuse to exclude from the negotiations the discussion of eventual annexations of Russian territory by the Entente Powers or of the maintenance in regions formerly part of Russia (excluding Poland and Finland) "of armed forces of the Entente or maintained by the Entente or enjoying its military, technical, financial and other support."—"Common Sense."

The International Money Lords

By A. E. C.

In the April 17 Glasgow Socialist"

Watch the financiers. This should be a cue for all militant Socialists. We are apt to concern ourselves solely with the doings of the industrial capitalists, forgetting that in most cases "the power behind the throne" is that of the gentlemen of finance. With the connivance of the Government, some amazing things have happened during the last few years; things which have meant nothing more or less than the establishment of an international money trust, placing into the hands of a group of cosmopolitan cambists the entire control of industry in this and other countries. The financier wields a weapon of practically unlimited power, able at will to create artificial money and bring into being fictitious capital. Of course, like all such weapons, this power is one that possesses dangers for the users as well as the people it is used against, but the fact remains that up to the present the financiers have wielded this weapon fairly successfully. There are, though, ominous signs of a financial crack-up. If we examine the international financial situation we shall discover the important parts banks play in our industrial life, which is not generally appreciated by the majority of the workers. From the relatively unimportant role of being merely bullion dealers with facilities for safe deposit, they have become vital organs of the capitalist system. With the wonderful development of credit they control for good or ill the whole mechanism of production.

Today, an important financial transaction is nothing more than a book-keeping operation performed by the banks, which may lend a thousand or a million pounds by merely crediting the borrower with that sum on their books. The bulk of payments today are by means of cheques; the cheques being exchange or "balanced" at the Banker's Clearing House, and the balances between the different banks adjusted by small transfers of cash. The last returns of the London Clearing House at the end of 1918 showed that the total dealt with was over £21,000,000,000. Outside of this there is the sum dealt with by the country bankers, yet the totality of tangible money in this is about £500,000,000 of which about four hundred millions are paper—money notes. At a very moderate estimate there is but one pound of real money behind every fifty pounds of money of account.

Our capitalists have been living in a fools' paradise during the war. Even before the war, the development of credit had reached a stage when a collapse might occur at the slightest dislocation. Only by strong Government measures was a first-rate financial crisis averted when the war's first alarums shook the capitalist fabric. Moritoriums suspended payments, issue of unlimited paper money; these were the things that saved the situation temporarily, but aggravated it permanently.

A period of fictitious war prosperity set in. Government loans were floated and subscribed, while thousands of millions were borrowed from the financial magnates. These millions were only arbitrary creations of credit, having no real wealth behind them, and merely constituting claims on the future surplus value to be produced by future workers. And so we have come to the pass when not only have we an enormous national debt of 80,000 million pounds, claiming interest to the tune of 400 millions per year, but we have the total capital of the capitalist class probably trebled and quadrupled.

All this inflated capital calls out for dividends, dividends, dividends! How can its voracious maw be satisfied? It cannot unless the workers acquiesce into deeper slavery than before. And even supposing the workers do agree to intensified exploitation, this vast mass of dividend-competing capital will, by its own struggles for profits, bring about a crisis which will envelop the whole of capitalism, unless by the establishment of a financial oligarchy or international money trust it can eliminate competition among owners of capital, and by controlling finance artificially prolong the life of the system.

Whether this is possible is very doubtful, but there is undoubtedly an attempt in that direction. The bankers are drawing together, and the financial experts of capitalism are aiming their efforts in the direction of international control. At home the direction towards trustification is seen plainly from the following list of amalgamations:

London City and Midland and London Joint Stock Banks, now London City and Midland.

Lloyd's and Capital and Counties Banks, now Lloyd's Bank.

London County and Westminster, Parr's, Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Banks, now London County and Parr's.

Barclay's, London and South Western, London and Provincial, now Barclay's.

National Provincial Union of London and Smith's, W. and J. Biggerstaff, Bradford and District Bank, now National Provincial Union.

Bank of Liverpool and Martin's Bank, now Bank of Liverpool and Martin's.

Union Bank of Manchester and East Morley and Bradford Bank, now Union Bank of Manchester.

These amalgamations are but foreshadowings of still closer unions. Actually there are only two big interests in the banking world outside of the Bank of England. These are Lloyds and the London City and Midland. These two concerns have swept the rest up into their maw. Lloyds have acquired a controlling interest in the National Bank of Scotland and the London and River Plate Bank, whilst the London City and Midland control the Ulster Bank and the Belfast Banking Company.

Abroad the same policy is in full swing. Lloyds have acquired controls of banks in South America, and through their subsidiary Lloyds Bank (France) and National Provincial Bank (France) are opening offices in Belgium.

Barclay's Bank, by their amalgamation with the London Provincial have obtained an interest in Cox and Co. (France), and they have concluded intimate working arrangements with a number of foreign and colonial banks, the British Bank of South America, Ltd., the Banca Italiana di Sconto, the Irving National Bank of New York and others. The London City and Midland and the London County Westminster and Parr's each combine an Irish bank, while the latter possesses a French subsidiary and branches in Spain. William Deacon's Bank have entered into a working arrangement with Anglo-South American Bank and the London and Brazilian Bank, while clearing banks are interested in the British Italian Corporation and the British Trade Corporation.

And so the process of amalgamation goes on. All this is going on at the surface and must be only a faint clue to the real trustification that is going on secretly in the conclaves of the world's financiers.

At present the money lords hold the reins of power. Meanwhile the storm clouds are massing on the capitalist horizon. The very foundations of property owning society are rocking.

The choice is clear to all who can observe. It is the Social Revolution or the establishment of a world-wide oligarchical tyranny which will pale the fiction of Jack London.

Marx spoke truly when he said that capitalism contained the seeds of its own destruction. Competitive and even trustified capitalism is no longer possible, but we cannot hide the fact that the shadow of the Iron Heel of Oligarchism overhang us today.

On with our Social Revolutionary propaganda! With such a menace we cannot afford to be fatalists. Socialism or slavery is the choice.

EGYPT—A WHITE MAN'S BURDEN?

We take the following illuminating extract from a letter to the "Labor Leader," as illustrating the damnable methods of Imperialistic Capitalism and the havoc it is wreaking on its helpless victims, the prostrate peoples of backward countries. When will the white proletariat put a stop to the infamy?

The letter reports on the rising of the masses in Egypt as a protest against the desperate condition they have been reduced to by foreign capitalist exploitation.

"A British officer who abused the Egyptian flag (under which he serves) and shot the bearer dead, was spared by the crowd, as they were determined not to be put out by any provocation.

Considering the intensity of the provocation, and the dimensions of the rising, the very small list of British casualties (mostly military), compared to the appalling number of Egyptian victims and the extensive destruction of their property, shows the undoubted tolerance of the people and the peaceful nature of their movement. Yours etc., M. A. OMAR, For the Egyptian Association, Imperial Hotel, Russell Square, W. C.

SOVIET APPEALS TO PROLETARIANT

BUDAPEST, MAY 24.—That Hungarian Soviet Government has issued a call to the proletariat in occupied parts of the country to employ every means in their power to prevent counter-revolutions.

"International capitalism and Hungarian reactionaries are fighting us to break down the proletariat dictatorship," the manifesto said. "The anti-soviet government at Szegedin, 100 miles southeast of Budapest, is trying to raise a White Guard. Thus the armed class war continues. We call upon the proletariat in the occupied parts of Hungary to seize all the weapons at their command against the organization of counter-revolutions and make them impossible through sabotage. We call every proletarian to arms to defend the soviet rule against the onslaughts of capitalism."

The counter-revolutionary plot at Devaesark, in the Vesseprem country, which broke out May 5, has been suppressed, and three leaders were hanged. Four leaders in a counter-revolutionary plot discovered in Satoralya Ujehly (130 miles northeast of Budapest and in the rear of the Czech armies) were senteneed to twenty years in prison.

The commissary of war reports an encounter between a Hungarian and British gunboat on the Danube, in which the later was said to have been worsted.

THEIR TITLES CHALLENGED

Bob Smillie has demanded that seven great mine-owning peers in Great Britain, submit their title deeds to the property, for scrutiny. The income of the Marquis of Bute has been estimated at over £200,000 a year. He is the owner of 117,000 acres, including rich coal mines in South Wales. He is also chairman of the Cardiff Railway Company and director of the Rhymney Railway Company. The late marquis left over £5,000,000, and much of his wealth came from the Bute docks at Cardiff.

Lord Durham owns about 30,500 acres and he said at the coal commission enquiry that it would take a railway van to carry his title deeds. "Never mind," said Smillie bring them along.

WHAT IS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM?

The Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada:
Price—$6.00 per 100 Single Copies 10c

Russia Under the Soviets

Being a series of articles based upon an interview with Wilfred R. Humphries, American Red Cross man, recently returned from Russia

By W. A. PRITCHARD

"THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA"

A Lecture by Wilfred Humphries—(Reported by Amy Oliver of People's Institute)

"Another result of control by the workers, combined with the peasants' ownership of the land has been the 'back to the land' movement. Petrograd and Moscow have materially decreased in population, chiefly as a result of the agitation to go out and take up land, agitation that arose because Petrograd and Moscow were the two places where it was hardest to get food on account of the crippled railroads. But even in those cities during the worst of the railroad demoralization, it cost no more to live than in San Francisco. In Moscow I got dinners of soup, meat, vegetables, coffee, and sometimes dessert for from five to ten rubles, that is fifty cents to a dollar—and, of course, conditions have much improved since then. Through the darkest days, from the time the Bolsheviki got control, I am sure there was not one hungry person in Moscow.

"They had begun to organize the distribution of food in a most fair and thorough manner from the time I arrived in Russia, when the great army of twelve million was still demobolizing itself. Even while happy groups of soldiers with their gas masks and tea kettles hung on their backs were trooping home, I saw armed guards handing out leaflets that announced a moratorium on house rents. 'Rentals under one hundred and fifty rubles a month are not payable for three months,' the leaflets said, 'Rentals above this amount are payable as usual.' This and the rationing of food was a godsend to the poorer people. Of course, this was in the early days of Bolsheviki rule. Later it could not be said that the working people were poor people. Their wages were more than adequate—that is, they could live well and save, too. When the White Guard overthrew the Bolsheviki in Siberia and re-established capitalism there, the guard complained during the first few weeks that they could not force workingmen to work because they had too much money saved up.

"Whenever there was a shortage of anything, sugar, bread, whatever it was, the Bolshevik government monopolized it and rationed it out, issuing food cards to make sure that no one could buy more than his share. Sugar was scarce all over Europe. The Soviets set the price at fifteen cents a pound and allowed each person a monthly allowance of from a half pound to a pound, depending on the locality. At first for a short time there was a little sugar for sale in isolated markets and the rich people were buying it at the rate of $1.50 a pound.

"I had a capital opportunity to see the efficient working of Soviet food control, for in taking twelve hundred Serbian refugees across Siberia, for the American Red Cross, I entered into relationship with more than one hundred soviets over three thousand miles of territory. These were refugees who had fled to Roumania, then to South Germany, then to Siberia in Russia. Raymond Robbins got an appropriation of a quarter of a million dollars with which to take them out and colonize them until there should be a chance to take them back to Serbia, and was loaned to the Red Cross to take care of the job.

"I found how ready the soviets everywhere were to help the refugees. They sold food at the same rate as it was sold to the Russian people, prices that might interest you, particularly as they were little more than half what would be charged in this country. Butter was from two to four rubles a pound, that is twenty to forty cents, eggs were two to two-and-a-half cents apiece; bread three cents a pound; and at one place we got whole roasted chickens for thirty to sixty cents apiece.

"We were as generously treated in other respects. At Omsk we asked for a monastery for the housing of the refugees, and would have received it except that it was already full of other refugees, as was the whole city. But the Omsk soviet sent a celebrated man of the city, a doctor, along with us to help us get settled in the next city. He accompanied us and helped us for ten days, and when I offered him reimbursement for his work and time, he refused it. Afterward, when the White Guard had overthrown the Bolsheviki at Omsk, I saw him under quite different circumstances, a pitiable figure being taken to prison to be hanged, and I was glad to be able to effect his release by telling his captors how he had aided the American Red Cross.

Another proof of the remarkable efficiency of the soviets was the tremendous campaign of propaganda carried on up to the German revolution. Boris Rheinstein, the Socialist Labor Party delegate from America to the proposed Stockholm conference, was and still is the head of the English-speaking department of Foreign Propaganda. Petroff, one of the two men released from English jails on the demand of the Soviet Government which ruled that no English merchant could go into or out of Russia until they were freed, is the right-hand man of the chief of all the propaganda. Two dailies in German with a half-million circulation were printed and shipped to the German front, some by airplane, some by hand, through Russians who had become acquainted with Germans during the fraternization period. An illustrated paper for the benefit of the uneducated Germans was also got out. One of these showed the photograph I am showing you here of the German Embassy building, with an inscription something like this beneath it: 'See the building of the German Embassy, with a banner above it bearing the words of a great German. Is it Bismarck? No. Is it the Kaiser? No. It is the immortal Karl Marx, and his words are 'Workers of the World, Unite!' We now throw back to you the words of your great countryman and ask you to unite. We Russians have taken the words seriously and all power is now in the hands of the workers. How long will it be before a German Socialist will come as Germany's ambassador?' Besides these, pamphlets were got out in English, French, Swedish, Turkish and Chinese. I came in close contact with these propaganda workers while I was working for the American Y. M. C. A., getting out and distributing copies of President Wilson's Fourteen Point speech. The Russians liked that speech and agreed with most of its fourteen points, but they were a little skeptical as to whether the Allies would stand by it.

"I got up to Petrograd in time to spend six interesting weeks seeing big things happen there, with John Reed, Louise Bryant and Albert Rhys Williams. I was at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee when it was decided to let the Constituent Assembly meet for one day as a demonstration of class line-up. And I saw the Assembly dissolved early one morning by a sailor who did it by simply telling them that the Red Guard was tired and wanted to go home.

"I saw one whole Sunday of bourgeois protest meetings in Moscow. These were carried on in a very sensible way. Two hundred or more groups of two or three bourgeois men and women formed about the city, each group engaging a few soldiers in an argument. There was no disorder, the Russians are so amazingly reasonable. But they didn't convince the soldiers that they had done anything wrong in taking the power from the 'natural rulers,' as they put it. "Why don't you trust the educated peoples to lead you, instead of putting faith in this Lenine, this man in the service of the German government?' some bourgeois men asked one soldier. 'We are dark and ignorant, I know,' the soldier replied, 'but there is one thing we do know, and that is that the educated people have always deceived us.'

"Here are some of the 'dark and ignorant' Russian people at their new work of governing," Humphries continued, showing a slide of half-a-dozen, stolid-faced earnest workingmen. "This is a village soviet holding a meeting to discuss the ways and means of forming a farmers' school. Notice the calculating frame on the chair. That is used to help them in adding and subtracting.

"This is one of the ten thousand schools the soviets have opened," he said, indicating a slide of a schoolroom with rows of earnest children at one side, three teachers, all eager and competent looking.

"The Bolsheviki have, as you have heard, turned many of their munition factories into factories for the manufacture of agricultural machines, but not all of them. They knew that they must aid the first nation that had a revolution, so they kept a necessary number of the munition plants going."

THE END.

ITALY

A few weeks ago in Milan, the greatest industrial centre in Italy, at a meeting of thousands of workers organized to protest against the holding of political prisoners and to demand the evacuation of Italian troops from Russia, a Socialist representative defined the situation sharply and clearly, amidst thunders of applause from the crowds.

"The Italian bourgeoisie is bankrupt. The state which represents it is bankrupt. It matters not that bankruptcy has not been declared. It exists every public service and the state is disorganized. Unemployment is growing. There is nothing to meet and face the needs of the people. The state and the bourgeoisie fear the situation. (Voice: It is true. We need revolution.") "Even if Italy has won a military victory by sacrificing a half-million of its workers, it has been defeated economically. Our problem now is to feed the people, and the bourgeoisie cannot feed them. Only if the revolution in Russia, in Germany, in Austria succeeds will it be possible to obtain food from the East."—New York Dial," May 3.

A correspondent in the New York "Nation," says that, "there are two names written in profusion or the walls of Rome.—W. Wilson and N. Lenin."

DISTURBANCES IN INDIA

India after having been devasted by influenza, a most serious famine. These are facts that ought with appalling loss of life, is now in the grip of not to be forgotten in reading the accounts of the disturbances, amounting to "grave diorder," which have broken out in various parts of the country. On top of this misery the heavy hand of D. O. R. A. has laid with unrelaxed weight since the armistice.

The present disturbances occured principally in the Punjab. Troops were called in to restore order and there were casualties on both sides.

As showing the extent of the revolt against British rule, the Punjab is the home of the Sikh. These people have always been most "loyal" to the the British Regime. They practically conquered India back for the British after the mutiny of '57, and since then have policed the East Indies for them.

The Executive Government has called up the whole of its reserves, military and other, and is applying all the special powers of war-time, with some others revived from the days of the East India Company, and several well-known Punjabi political leaders have been deported or interned, and it may be taken for granted that to all intents and purposes the Punjab is under martial law.

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State Capitalism or State Socialism in Russia --Which?

IN a recent issue of a Seattle paper appears a report of a lecture delivered by Wilfred Humphries, a Red Cross worker but lately returned from Russia. In this report Humphries is credited with the assertion that "State Socialism" is now in operation in Bolshevik Russia and that the Bolsheviki admit that the "period of transition" must necessarily take that form. This statement, is I find, viewed with something very like consternation by certain "Revolutionary" Socialists. Some are inclined to deny the correctness of the statement and to insist Humphries misunderstood his informant. Others, while accepting the statement at its face value, take the stand that the Bolsheviki have, by adopting such a stand, "betrayed the revolution." Meanwhile, Socialists of the "Menshevik" type are, of course, highly elated at what they are pleased to interpret as a tacit admission that the transitory period must inevitably be patterned on their particular conception.

There should be no misunderstanding on the part of "scientific Socialists" regarding the point here raised. But, as I have suggested, such misunderstanding does undoubtedly exist at least among those who have not a thorough grasp of the principles involved. Wherefore, I take it, a little light on the subject will not be amiss at this juncture.

The misconception undoubtedly arises from a careless but very prevalent habit of treating the terms "State Socialism", and "State Capitalism" as synonymous. I have heard "Menshevik" Socialists use the term "State Socialism" when an analysis of the particular economic condition to which they had reference showed undoubtedly that they meant "State Capitalism." On the other hand, I have known "Revolutionary" Socialists to denounce as reactionary any reference to "State Socialism" as a probable transitionary state when it was obvious that what they had in mind was "State Capitalism."

We know, of course, that the State, as at present constituted in all capitalist countries, is merely the instrument of the national capitalist class. This is so in FACT but not to any degree in FORM. The FORMAL assumption, then, by the State as at present constituted, of all economic authority would be "State Capitalism" and nothing else. This is certainly the immediate "Menshevik" program.

On the other hand the formal and actual assumption of all economic authority by a State controlled by the proletariat would be "State Socialism" or, in other words, a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which are one and the same thing. Viewed thus it may be clearly seen that there is an essential difference in FORM between "State Socialism" and "State Capitalism." There is also an essential and vital difference in FUNCTION which it would be well to note.

The formal Capitalist State would exist, as does now the actual Capitalist State, for the purpose of perpetuating a comparatively small exploiting and privileged class and consequently a large exploited class. On the other hand the aim, and literally the end, of the Socialist State or Dictatorship of the Proletariat would be the elimination of the exploiting class and consequently of the exploited class, thus ultimately banishing all economic class distinctions. The foregoing points being clearly understood it will be obvious that the statement attributed to Mr. Humphries and referred to above, while probably correct in substance, affords no excuse for premature elation on the part of Menshevik or Bourgeois socialists nor for consternation on the part of Revolutionists.

While on the subject of the Proletarian Dictatorship it might not be out of place to dispose, once and for all, of an objection lately urged against that institution as now functioning in Russia by one John Spargo, erstwhile socialist. It appears that Mr. Spargo objects to the Bolsheviki because they are not what he terms "Democratic." It has been said that "by their fruits ye shall know them." If then, Democracy is to be judged by its fruits it might be as well to let Mr. Spargo's objection stand. If such conditions as now exist in practically all countries, now that the world has by a particularly gruesome process been successfully made safe for democracy, are to be accepted as illustrating Mr. Spargo's meaning of the word, then might one will say "Away with your Democracy. We want none of it."

I imagine, however, that the democracy Mr. Spargo has in mind is that purely theoretical democracy which has nowhere any actual existence and may be defined by a slight alteration of a well worn formula, thus: "Government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people." If this be Mr. Spargo's conception of the meaning of the word then may I be permitted to point out to him that there is not one single argument which can be urged on its behalf against the political system now in vogue in Bolshevik Russia that cannot also be urged with greater justice against the very system in vogue in that "land of the free and home of the brave" wherein Mr. Spargo resides; the rulers of which have some time since taken Mr. Spargo to their collective bosom.

What Mr. Spargo objects to, of course, is the fact that in Russia under the Bolsheviki the Bourgeoisie are denied the franchise. This is indeed a terrible business. We can imagine Mr. Spargo's uplifted hands. We can visualise the whites of Mr. Spargo's uprolled eyes. Alas! that these things should be.

But why this sudden consideration for the Russian Bourgeoisie? Charity, it has been said, and rightly so, should begin at home. Does not Mr. Spargo know that in the United States, that model democracy, millions of women are denied the franchise while in Russia they are admitted on equality with men? Is he not aware of the fact that in the United States no man who is not a citizen can vote no matter how useful a member of society he may be; while in Russia any person resident there may vote providing only that he or she is performing work that is in some way or other useful to society? Has not Mr. Spargo himself somewhere remarked on the fact that enormous numbers of men otherwise qualified to vote are virtually disfranchised by the fact that the nature of their occupation prevents their staying long enough in one place to fulfil the necessary qualification of residence, whereas in Russia no such qualification exists? Does not Mr. Spargo know that in the United States there are millions of young men and women of eighteen and twenty-one years of age who are performing useful work in mines, factories, and industrial plants but are denied the franchise until they are twenty-one, whereas in Russia workers of eighteen years and up have a vote, and that the statments made above regarding the franchise in the United States are, in the main, applicable to all other countries except Russia?

Undoubtedly Mr. Spargo knows all these things but, for reasons perhaps best known to himself, he chooses at this time to ignore them. Let the facts speak for themselves. Mr. Spargo, by his criticism, has invited a comparison between the degree of political democracy existing in Russia under the Bolsheviki and that existing in the so-called "Democratic" countries under capitalism. We who endorse the Bolsheviki programme do not fear to meet the issue.

Russia today stands forth as being formally and actually more nearly democratic than any capitalist country on the surface of the earth, and potentially more democratic than any country can ever hope to be under Capitalism.

C. K.

[This article was sent to us without any indications as to the identity of the author. Will our comrade kindly oblige us again? Please.—Edit.]

ARE FRENCH AND GERMAN PROLETARIAT COMING TOGETHER? LONGUET TALKS WITH HAASE

In the "Populaire" of May 6, Jean Longuet, just returned from Amsterdam, records a long conversation which he had there with Hugo Haase, the leader of the German Independent Socialists. Haase declared that there had been in Germany "a superb movement to the Left, towards a genuine revolutionary Socialism," as proved by the last elections for Workmen's Councils. In Berlin out of 25 seats, 13 were now held by the Independents, 4 by the Spartacists, only 7 by Majority Socialists, and 1 Bourgeois Democrat. The party had now 250,000 members; its Press was growing in circulation despite the paper shortage. At the recent Congress of Councils they had carried the majority on many important issues.

The Schiedemann-Ebert-Noske Government, said Haase, was absolutely discredited; the way was clear for a real Socialist Government. The Spartacists were really a tiny body: such increase as they had shown was entirely due to the abominable persecution and repression (worse than anything under the old regime) to which they had been subjected by the Schiedemann Government.

In Russia he thought that the Soviet Government was now thoroughly stabilized. Over the war now being waged against the Hungarian Soviet Republic he wrung his hands.