

John Everest.

Shall Socialism Triumph in Russia



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FOREWORD

It is obvious to all that certain interests are attempting through the press to poison the minds of the workers against the Soviet administration of Russia, and also hinting at the "anarchy" prevailing in Germany, and it will not be long before Karl Liebknecht—whom they have lauded to the skies as the champion of democracy in Germany—will be labeled as the hair-brained anarchist. Therefore, it is necessary that we take time by the forelock and do all in our power to render their campaign of lies and calumny abortive. Measures taken to prevent the toilers of Europe from developing to the full the "tremendous victory" they have won over their own capitalists, are a menace to the workers' aspirations to freedom in all countries.

Let us unite solidly against Russian intervention. The war is dead! See to it that there is no new war launched against Socialism, for that means: Against you.

On Intervention in Russia

By JOHN REED

A Reprint From "The Liberator," November, 1918)

(Mr. John Reed was appointed by the Soviet administration in Russia as Russian Consul to the United States.)

MY arrest and indictment by the Federal authorities because of a speech opposing Allied intervention in Russia raises a more important question than that of Russian intervention itself. It directly involves the conduct of the war by the Governments of the United States and of the Allies for democratic aims.

My point is, that the American people are misinformed about conditions in Europe, and especially in Russia, and that in the case of Russia our Government is acting upon false information. Moreover, people who are in a position to inform the public concerning the Russian situation are either ordered to keep silent, or, if they speak in public, arrested by the Department of Justice, and if they write in the press, barred from the mails by the Post Office Department.

In these conditions it is impossible for the public to form a clear opinion of the necessities of effective action abroad, and the sovereign American people cannot rightly dictate a democratic foreign policy to their servants in Congress and the White House.

The kind of Russian news usually fed the public is illustrated by the frequent newspaper reports stating that the Soviet Government has fallen, that Lenin and Trotsky have fled to Germany, and that chaos and anarchy are universal in Russia—statements which the very reports of the Allied commanders in Russia have again and again demonstrated to be false. An example of what I mean is the series of dispatches, supported by no competent evidence, stating that thousands of people, especially foreigners, are being massacred by the Bolsheviki. The uncertainty of the newspapers themselves concerning the real situation in Russia was strikingly shown the other day, for example, by a story in the New York Times about the wholesale killing of British, French and Americans; which was followed by another item to the effect that arrangements have been completed by the Soviet Government and the Government of Finland for the safe conduct of all foreigners who wish to leave Russia.

The gravity of the situation is intensified by the recent release for publication by the Committee on Public Information of a series of documents purporting to prove that the leaders of the Russian Soviet Government were in the pay of the Imperial German Government, and that their actions were directed from Berlin. The fact is, that the authenticity of many of these documents is very doubtful. And the documents have been in the hands of the United States Government for more than six months. Why were they not given out before this time? Or, more pertinently, why have they now been released? Was it to give color or excuse to an unin-

vited intervention in the affairs of a friendly people, and, moreover, a people which has appealed to us for help against Germany?

There is definite evidence now in the United States sufficient, I believe, to prove that the leaders of the Soviets have not been pro-German but, on the contrary, if anything, pro-Ally. Strangely enough, this evidence is not allowed to reach the public. Colonel Raymond Robbins, former chief of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia and unofficial diplomatic agent of the United States Governments in contact with the Russian Soviets, who has more information on the subject than any foreigner alive, has such evidence. So has Colonel William Boyce Thompson and Major Thomas Thacher—both of the Red Cross Mission. All these men have been ordered to remain silent.

I, myself, and certain other Americans, who have had the opportunity to observe closely the character and actions of the Soviet Government, have been shut up by the simple expedient of taking away all documents and corroborative papers which we brought back with us from Russia, on the pretext of "examination." Only those officials and correspondents who are opposed to the Soviets, for one reason or another, are allowed freely to speak or write their erroneous facts and their baseless opinions.

Besides these prejudiced observers almost all the news sources concerning Russia are German sources, whose object it is to discredit the Soviet Government. For instance, the complete Russian version of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations has never been published in this country, although it is available; the American people must go to the version given out by Berlin, which was patently altered for both domestic and foreign consumption.

History will prove that, instead of plotting in the interest of Imperial Germany, the leaders of the Soviets attempted to enlist Allied aid in their hopeless resistance to the German advance. Some days before the ratification of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Soviet leaders summoned the American representatives, and made an offer of co-operation with the Allies, asking for supplies and technical assistance, stating definitely that if the aid were granted the Soviets would refuse to ratify the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and that Russia would continue the war against Germany. This appeal was cabled to Washington, but never answered by the United States Government. And not only were the people of the United States kept in ignorance of this communication, but I am told that the President himself was not informed until long afterward, if at all.

Similar offers of co-operation were made by the Soviets to the Governments of France and England, and either ignored or refused.

Five months later, without addressing those Soviet leaders with whom the Allied Governments had been in constant communication from November, 1917, without making any complaint or any demands upon the responsible officials of the Russian Republic, the Allied troops invaded the territory of Russia, shot Russian citizens and gave armed support to a series of "governments" whose lack of popular backing was shown by their extreme instability; in sharp contrast to the Soviet Government, which, after ten months of "unrecognized" existence, stands unchallenged by any effective Russian opposition.

Besides the questionable evidence adduced by the Committee on Public Information, is there any other adequate proof that the Soviet leaders were influenced by the German Government in word or act? The words of Lenin and Trotsky speak for themselves; they are available to any American publication which desires to print them. Yet they are not, and have not been, printed, except in Socialist papers of limited circulation. Their acts, too, may be known to any one who cares to read the authentic accounts of them. True, they have not always believed implicitly in the "democratic" pronouncements of the Allied leaders; true, they do not admire our form of government; true, they have not, in the heat of a great revolution, been absolutely and unalterably consistent with their principles; true, the German Government probably did all in its power to encourage the disintegration of Russia. But the point is that the Bolshevik revolution was a revolution against all imperialism, German imperialism included; and the Soviet Government was and still is the most powerful menace to Imperial Germany, and all it implies, in the world; and the Russian leaders, whatever the Germans may have thought they would do, have consistently labored to break up the German power, and to reorganize Russia industrially and in a military way, so as to turn again into open war the secret war they have been conducting so effectively.

I, myself, as well as several other Americans now in this country, can testify to this secret war and to its effects. I was employed by the Soviet Government, in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Among other things I assisted in the preparations of revolutionary propaganda to spread among the German troops and the German war-prisoners, and helped to get it to them. From the Commissariat we sent out every day more than half a million newspapers, in German, Hungarian, Polish, Croatian, Tchecho-Slovak and other languages, besides translations in those languages of the decrees and proclamations of the Soviet Government, and the pamphlets of the revolutionary leaders; we sent speakers into the German lines to harangue the soldiers; we organized conventions of war-prisoner delegates and dispatched hundreds of agitators to the prison camps. This propaganda was so effective that the German and Austrian Governments took the most energetic means to stamp it out, protesting and threatening, putting their troops under the most rigid control, and arranging "quarantine camps" for returning prisoners, who were forced to remain isolated from their own people for several months, during which time they were thoroughly "educated" by patriotic speeches and literature. It was so effective that when the time came to advance into Russia many regiments refused to move and had to be replaced by other units drawn from the western front, where the soldiers were not "contaminated." It was so effective that tens of thousands of war-prisoners made application to become citizens of Soviet Russia, and thousands joined the Red army, in whose ranks they resisted the advance of the German and Austrian armies as best they could.

The Brest-Litovsk peace brought Germany nothing from the Russia that remained. Neither food nor raw material nor any rest from the flood of propaganda. The workers in factories manufacturing goods for Germany struck; so did the miners getting out ore and coal for Germany; so

did the railway workers on trains carrying materials to Germany. Rather than let Germany have grain the peasants burned their crops. And these are the same people who, election after election, in town after town, voted more and more for the representatives of the political parties which make up the Soviet Government. The Brest-Litovsk peace was never referred to by the Soviet leaders except as the "Brigands' Peace," and never regarded by them except as workmen regard the settlement of a lost strike—as a respite in which to reorganize for another strike.

The outstanding and misunderstood fact of the matter is that the Soviet Republic, based on the dictatorship of the working class, and the expropriation of the propertied classes, could not and cannot exist side by side with Imperial Germany; and even more so, Imperial Germany cannot hope to survive side by side with the Russian Soviets. It was to the interest of the Russian Soviets to enlist our aid in the destruction of their closest and most dangerous enemy. They attempted to do this—and we rejected their plea. But do not forget that it is also to the interest of Imperial Germany to prejudice the Allies against the Russian Soviets. And nothing can be so satisfactory to the Imperial German Government as Allied hostility to the Soviets, and Allied intervention in Russia, which might drive the Soviets, in sheer self-defense, desperately to seek an ally in Germany.

After all, the American people are entitled to know the real reasons for Allied intervention in Russia. The liberal European press—especially that of Great Britain—is outspoken in the opinion that it is dictated by the desire of the French Government to set up a Government in Russia which will guarantee the payment of Russian obligations, repudiated by the Soviets.

The American statement concerning intervention justifies military action in Russia upon the grounds that the Tchecho-Slovak troops—who were supposed to be leaving Russia by way of Siberia to join the Allied armies on the western front—were attacked by "armed German and Austrian war-prisoners."

Several months ago that same story of "armed German and Austrian war-prisoners in Siberia" reached Moscow, and at the request of Trotsky, members of the American and British military missions were given a special train to make an investigation of the charge. And they reported to their Governments that the story was without foundation. Other observers tell the same tale.

It is true that these former German and Austrian deserters and prisoners, most of them International Socialists, many of whom laid down their lives in battle against Imperial Germany and Austria, fought and are still fighting in the ranks of the Soviet army. The commander and most of the staff of the Soviet army combating the Tchecho-Slovaks in Siberia are themselves Tchecho-Slovaks.

As for the accusation that the Tchecho-Slovaks were attacked by these mythical Teutons—there is no competent evidence to that effect from any disinterested quarter; and there is evidence that the Tchecho-Slovaks themselves obstructed unarmed German and Austrian war-prisoners who were being returned to their homes under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

It is a fact that these Tchecho-Slovaks were armed, equipped and given transportation across Siberia by order and permission of the Soviet Government at the request of the Allied embassies, upon the understanding that they were to be transported to France to fight the Germans. On their way to Vladivostok they marked their journey by upsetting local Soviet governments, and, in some cases, upholding the anti-Soviet elements while they massacred their political opponents. Those who arrived at Vladivostok executed an armed rising in that city, in which they overthrew the Soviet, killing almost all the defenders of the Soviet headquarters.

It was not until the Governments of Japan and the United States issued their statements, in the first week of August, that it was publicly admitted that the Tchecho-Slovaks were "westward-moving," and that it was the aim of the Allies to protect their "rear," as well as to "guard military stores" in the neighborhood of Murmansk and Archangel.

The statement of our Government was profuse in its professions of good-will toward the Russian people, and of entire disinterestedness.

"In taking this action," it says, "the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military forces may be obliged to occupy—and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter. . . ."

The British Government is, however, more candid. Lloyd George speaks frankly of the Tchecho-Slovaks as "the centre of activities hostile to the Bolshevik Government."

But whatever the phrasing of intention the Governments of the Allies, our own included, stand sponsor to an expedition which has interfered with the political sovereignty of Russia, intervened in her internal affairs—even to the extent of supporting Governments hostile to the Soviet Government—and are considered by the Soviet Government to be waging war upon it.

With what aim? Merely to assist some sixty thousand Tchecho-Slovaks in their efforts to reach France? Is it for this that tens of thousands of troops have been diverted from the western front and shipped around to the ends of the world? Our own press speaks of the "reconstitution of the eastern front." But the American statement says specifically that "such military intervention as has been most frequently proposed, even supposing it to be efficacious in its ostensible object of delivering an attack upon Germany from the east, would, in its judgment, be more likely to turn out to be merely a method of making use of Russia, than to be a method of saving her."

Were it reconstruction of the eastern front that is wanted, the Russians themselves were willing to accomplish that, but the Allies refused to accept their offer. No, the attitude of the official press of the Allied countries shows plainly, if the actions of Allied troops are not convincing enough, that the purpose of intervention in Russia is the overthrow of the

Russian Soviet Republic. And in this adventure, against its expressly stated will, the Government of the United States finds itself involved.

The opportunity for such a perversion of purpose is found in the fifth paragraph of the statement:

"No conclusion that the Government of the United States has arrived at in this important matter is intended, however, as an effort to restrict the actions or interfere with the independent judgment of the governments with which we are now associated in the war."

Pertinent at this point is the controversy which, according to press dispatches, has arisen in Japan over the two versions of the Japanese statement on intervention. One version, for foreign consumption, says that a few thousand troops are to be dispatched to Vladivostok "forthwith"; while the version published in Japan has it, a few thousand "to begin with."

A Tokio dispatch of Tuesday, September 10th, is significant:

"A contingent of Japanese cavalry, together with troops belonging to the command of General Semionov, the Cossack leader, entered the town of Chita, in the Transbaikal, on September 6th.

"The formation of a Russo-Japanese economic organization for the commercial and industrial development of Siberia virtually has been completed. Russia is represented by twelve wealthy residents of Siberia and Japan by the Bank of Chosen, the Oriental Development Company and the Sino-Japanese Industrial Company. The organization will be capitalized at from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 rubles."

A Washington dispatch, dated October 7th, says:

"The War Trade Board, in a new ruling, has announced that, beginning today, applications will be considered for the exportation of all commodities to Russia.

"There has been practically no trade between Russia and the United States since Germany, through the treachery of the Bolshevik chiefs, Lenin and Trotsky, gained control of the Russian army and complete domination of the internal affairs of that betrayed country.

"The significance of the announcement by the War Trade Board lies in the fact that it evinces a determination of the Government to begin, at the earliest possible moment, the opening up of general trade with Siberia and the Archangel districts, which have successfully resisted German influence."

I have charged that Allied representatives in Russia encouraged and supported counter-revolutionary movements in Russia. That is true, as it is also true that German agents have supported similar counter-revolutionary attempts. From the days of the Kornilov attempt, at the end of August, 1917, when the British were involved, throughout the Kaledine movement, the separatist action of Ukraine and Finland, the "revolts" of Semionov, Horvata, the Tchecho-Slovaks, the "Northern Government" headed by Tschaikovsky (and all the little republics set up by renegades) and Tzarist officials—this has been true. Our Government alone had clean hands; our Government alone acted as if it intended really to be the "friend of the Russian people," which President Wilson described it to be.

And the Russian people appreciated that fact; the Russian Soviet leaders trusted America; when repressive measures were taken against the citizens of other countries Americans were privileged. Under direction of American diplomatic representatives, I myself have spoken with the Soviet leaders about co-operation with America, and I know what I am talking about. And I know, as I know myself, that this discrepancy between America's acts and America's words is destroying faith in America and hope in America, as Russia's faith and hope in the other nations has been destroyed.

In June, the Tchecho-Slovaks in Vladivostok, with the open co-operation of the British consulate, executed a bloody coup d'etat, shooting down unarmed workingmen on the streets, and jailing the members of the local Soviet. On the 4th of July twenty thousand workers marched in funeral procession, and laying down the rough, unpainted coffins of their dead before the American Consulate, called upon America, on this, the day of the celebration of our freedom, to recognize Russia's struggle for liberty.

It is a fact that certain of the Allied Governments recognized the anti-Bolshevik Governments in Finland and in the Ukraine and loaned them money, and that these Governments then proceeded to call in German and Austrian troops to support them in power, and that so far as I know, the Allied Governments did not withdraw their recognition; even when, as in the case of Ukraine, a dictator was put in power by German bayonets; even when, as in the case of Finland, a German Prince was called to the throne. It is a fact that in all the Allied capitals, in Washington, as well, there are at present either official or unofficial representatives of these "Germanized" Governments, who pursue their activities practically unmolested, while the representatives of the revolutionary Finnish and Russian Governments opposed to Germany are spied upon, hounded and jailed.

We are told daily that the Russian Soviet Government is crumbling, that the forces of the Tchecho-Slovaks, the Allies and the Russian counter-revolutionists are victoriously advancing, that the "insurgent" Governments of Northern Russia, of Eastern Siberia, of Samara, are rapidly attracting the support of the Russian masses. The truth is, that these so-called "Governments," composed of anti-Soviet elements, are absolutely unsupported except by the propertied classes and foreign bayonets; that cities like Vladivostok, which before Allied intervention were anti-Bolshevik, have overwhelmingly voted the Bolsheviki into power; that the Soviet forces are every day growing stronger, and the resistance to the Allied and Tchecho-Slovak advance more bitter. Maxim Gorky's acceptance of a post in the Soviet Cabinet and the reported return of Maria Spiridonova to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, are significant of the fact that all revolutionary Russia, the enemies as well as the friends of Bolshevism, are joining together to resist what they consider an unwarranted attack by the Allies upon Russia.

The conditions which produced Napoleon out of the French Revolution are being almost exactly duplicated in Russia today, except for the important difference that the Russian Government is not only revolutionary,

but constructive, workable, and rooted in the hearts of a considerable section of the working class of all countries. It is even possible that, instead of keeping a million German troops engaged in Russia, which might be done if the Allied Governments co-operated with the Soviet Government, continuance of our present policy in Russia will mean that by 1919 a million Allied troops will be so diverted from the western front. In that event, thousands of American fathers and mothers, sisters and wives and sweethearts, are going to want to know if the lives of their men shall be sacrificed in another and bitterer Gallipoli on the plains of Russia. And thousands of Americans who really believe in freedom will some day want to know why America, instead of leading the liberal world, joined with those whose faces are set against the tides of history.

It is time that we knew the truth about Russia.

The Red Funeral of Vladivostok

(A Reprint From The New Republic, Nov. 9th, 1918)

(A mass meeting was held in New York on Nov. 27th, 1918, and addressed by the author of this article, at the conclusion of which a resolution was unanimously passed and forwarded to President Wilson demanding the withdrawal of the American troops from Russia.)

IT was the Fourth of July I was standing on the Kitaiskaya looking down upon the holiday flags on the American battleship in Vladivostok Bay. Suddenly I heard a far-away sound. Listening, I caught the strains of the Revolutionary Hymn:

“With hearts heavy and sad we bring our dead
Who shed their blood in the fight for freedom.”

Looking up, I saw on the crest of the hill the first lines of the funeral procession of the gruzshchiki.

Four days before, when the Czecho-Slovaks, aided by Japanese and English troops, suddenly seized the Soviet and its officials, throwing confusion and terror into the ranks of the workers, the gruzshchiki (long-shoremen) rushed into the Red Staff Building, and, though outnumbered forty to one, refused to surrender until the building was fired by an incendiary bomb.

To-day, their people were burying the defenders of the fallen Soviet. Out of the workmen's quarters they streamed, jamming the street not from curb to curb but from wall to wall. They came billowing over the hill-top by thousands until the whole long slope was choked with the dense, slow-moving throng, keeping time to the funeral march of the revolutionists.

Up through the gray and black mass of men and women ran two lines of white-bloused sailors of the Bolshevik fleet. Above their heads tossed a cloud of crimson standards with silvered cords and tassels. In the vanguard, four men carried a huge red banner with the words: “Long live the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies! Hail to the International Brotherhood of the Toilers!”

A hundred girls in white, carrying the green wreaths from forty-four unions of the city, formed a guard of honor for the coffins of the gruzshchiki, which, with the red paint still wet upon them, were borne upon the shoulders of their comrades. The music crashed out by the Red Fleet Band was lost in the volume of song that rose from the seventeen thousand singers.

Here was color and sound and motion—but there was a something else, a something which compelled fear and awe. I have seen a score of the great processions of Petrograd and Moscow, peace and victory and protest and memorial parades, military and civilian. They were all vast and impressive because the Russians have a genius for this kind of thing.

But this was different.

From these defenceless poor, stripped of their arms, and with sorrowing songs bearing off their dead, there came a threat more menacing than that which frowned from the twelve-inch guns of the Allied Fleet, riding in the harbor below. It was impossible not to feel it. It was so simple, so spontaneous and so elemental. It came straight out of the heart of the people. It was the people, leaderless, isolated, beaten to earth, thrown upon its own resources and yet out of its grief rising magnificently to take command of itself.

The dissolution of the Soviet, instead of plunging the people into inactive grief and dissipating their forces, begot a strange, unifying spirit. Seventeen thousand separate souls were welded into one. Seventeen thousand people, singing in unison found themselves thinking in unison. With a common mass will and mass consciousness, they formulated their decisions from their class standpoint—the determined standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Czecho-Slovaks came, offering a guard of honor. "Ne noozhna!" (It is not necessary!) they replied. "You killed our comrades. Forty to one you fought against them. They died for the Soviet and we are proud of them. We thank you but we cannot let the guns which shot them down guard them in their death!"

"But there may be danger for you in this city," said the authorities.

"Never mind," they answered, "We, too, are not afraid of death. And what better way to die than beside the bodies of our comrades?"

Some bourgeois societies came presenting memorial wreaths. (The Cadets officially denied that these wreaths came from them.)

"Ne noozhna, it is not necessary," the people answered. "Our comrades died in a struggle against the bourgeoisie. They died fighting clean. We must keep their memory clean. We thank you but we dare not lay your wreaths upon their coffins."

The procession poured down the Aleutskaiya Hill, filled the large, open space at the bottom, and faced up toward the English Consulate. Nearby was a work-car with a tower for repairing electric wires. Whether it was there by design or accident I do not know. Presently it was to serve as a speaker's rostrum. But there seemed to be no speaker and no programme. There was only a crowd and stillness.

The band played a solemn dirge. The men bared their heads. The women bowed. The music ceased and there was a silence. The band played a second time. Again there was the bowing and baring of heads and again the long silence. And yet there was no speaker. It was like a huge Quaker meeting in the open air. And just as a sermon has no place in Russian public worship so here a speech was not essential to this act of public devotion. But should someone from the people feel the impulse to speak there was the platform awaiting him. It was as if in the pause the people were generating a voice.

At last out of the crowd one came and climbed upon the high platform. He had not the gift of oratory but his frequent iteration, "They died for us," "They died for us," touched others to utterance.

Most eloquent of all was a lad of seventeen, the secretary of a league of young Socialists.

"We were students and artists and such kind of people. We held ourselves aloof from the Soviet," he said. "It seemed to us foolish for workmen to govern without the wisdom of the wise. But now we know that you were right and we were wrong. From now on we shall stand with you. What you do, we will do. We pledge our tongues and pens to make known the wrongs that you have suffered the length and breadth of Russia and throughout the world."

Suddenly the word went through the throng that Constantin Soochanov had been paroled until five o'clock and that he was coming with counsels of peace and moderation. Soochanov was the president of the Soviet, a student twenty-four years of age, son of a high official of the Tsar, and a hero in a revolution that is not given to hero-worship.

While some were affirming his coming and others were denying it, he himself appeared. He was quickly passed along upon the shoulders of the sailors. In a storm of cheers, he climbed the ladder and came out upon the platform-top, smiling.

Twice his eyes swept across that field of upturned faces, filled with trust and love and hungrily awaiting the words of their young leader. As if to avert the flood of tragedy and pathos that beat suddenly upon him from every side, he turned his head away. His eyes fell for the first time upon the red coffins of the men who had been slain in defense of his Soviet and upon the mothers, wives and children of the men who lay within them. That was too much for him. A shudder passed through his frame, he threw up his hands, staggered and would have fallen headlong into the crowd, but a friend caught him. With both hands pressed to his face, Soochanov, in the arms of his comrades, sobbed like a child. We could see his breath come and go and the tears raining down his cheeks. The Russians are little given to tears. But that day there were seventeen thousand Russians who sobbed with their young leader on the public square of Vladivostok.

But Soochanov knew that many tears were an indulgence and that he had a big and serious task to perform. Fifty feet behind him was the English Consulate and fifty rods before him were the waters of the Golden Horn with the frowning guns of the Allied Fleet. He wrenched himself away from his grief and gathering himself together began his message. With an ever mounting passion of earnestness he spoke, closing with the words which shall henceforth be the rallying-cry for the workers in Vladivostok and the Far East:

"Here before the Red Staff Building where our comrades gruzshchiki were slain, we swear by these red coffins that hold them, by their wives and children that weep for them, by the red banners which float over them, that the Soviet for which they died shall be the thing for which we live—or if need be—like them, die. Henceforth the return of the Soviet shall be the goal of all our sacrifice and devotion. To that end we shall fight with every means. The bayonets have been wrested from our hands but when the day comes and we have no guns we shall fight with

sticks and clubs, and when these are gone then with our bare fists and bodies. Now it is for us to fight only with our minds and spirits. Let us make them hard and strong and unyielding. The Soviet is dead. Long live the Soviet!"

The crowd caught up the closing words in a tremendous demonstration, mingled with the strains of the "International."

"Arise ye prisoners of starvation,
Arise ye wretched of the earth,
For Justice thunders condemnation
A better world's in birth——"

The resolution proclaiming the restoration of the Soviet the objective of all the future struggles of the revolutionary proletariat and peasants of the Far East was read. At the call for the vote seventeen thousand hands shot into the air. They were the hands which had built the cars and paved the streets, forged the iron, held the plough and swung the hammer. All kinds of hands they were: the big, rough hands of the old *gruzshchiki*, the artisans' deft and sinewy, the knotted hands of the peasants, thick with callouses and thousands of the frailer, whiter hands of the workingwomen. By these hands the riches of the Far East had been wrought. They were no different from the scarred, stained hands of labor anywhere in all the world. Except in this regard. For a time they had held the power. The government had been within their grasp. Four days ago it had been wrested from their grasp but the feel of it was still within their hands—these hands raised now in solemn pledge to take that power again

A sailor striding down from the hilltop, pushed through the crowd and climbed upon the platform. "Comrades! Comrades*" he cried joyously. "We are not alone. We are not alone. I ask you to look away to the flags flying over there on the American battleship. But you cannot see them down there where you stand. But they are there. And with the flags of all the other nations there is the red flag of our Russian Republic. No, comrades, we are not alone today in our grief. The Americans understand and they are with us!"

It was a mistake of course. Those flags had been hung out in celebration of our Day of Independence. But the crowd did not know that. To them it was like the sudden touch of a friend's hand upon a lonely traveller in a foreign land. With enthusiasm they caught up the cry of the sailor: "The Americans are with us!" And the vast conclave, lifting up their coffins, wreaths and banners were once more in motion. They were going to the cemetery but not directly. Tired as they were from long standing in the sun, they made a wide detour to reach the street that runs up the steep hill to the American Consulate. Then straight up the sharp slope they toiled in a cloud of dust, still singing as they marched until they came before the Stars and Stripes floating from the flagstaff. And there they stopped and laid the coffins of their dead beneath the flag of the great western democracy.

They stretched out their hands, crying, "Speak to us a word!" They sent delegates within to implore that word. On the day the great republic

of the west celebrated its independence the poor and disinherited of Russia came asking sympathy and understanding in the struggle for their independence. Afterwards, I heard a Bolshevik leader bitterly resentful at this "compromise with revolutionary honor and integrity."

"How stupid of them," he said. "How inane of them! Have we not told them that all countries are alike—all imperialists? Was this not repeated to them over and over again by their leaders?"

Truly it had been. But with this demonstration of the Fourth of July the leaders had little to do. They were in prison. The affair was in the hands of the people themselves. And, however cynical many leaders were about the professions of America, the people were not so. In the hour of their affliction, these simple trusting folk, makers of the new democracy of the east, came stretching forth their hands to the great strong democracy of the west.

They knew that President Wilson had given his assurance of help and loyalty to the "people of Russia." They reasoned: "We the workers and peasants, the vast majority here in Vladivostok, are we not the people?" Today in our trouble we come to claim the promised help. Our enemies have taken away our Soviet. They have killed our comrades. We are alone and in distress and you alone of all the nations of the earth can understand." No finer tribute could they offer than thus to come bringing their dead with the faith that out of America would come compassion and understanding. America, their only friend and refuge.

But America did not understand. The American people did not even hear about it. But these Russian folk did not know that the American people never heard about it. All they know is that a few weeks after that appeal came the landing of the American troops.

And now they say to one another: "How stupid we were to stand there in the heat and the dust stretching out our hands like beggars!"

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS.

PLATFORM

of the

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and program of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is therefore master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property right in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
 2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.
 3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.
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Edmonton Local No. 1 meets every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., Socialist Hall, 2nd floor Bellamy Block, corner 100a Street and 101a Avenue.