

WE stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

THE TRUTH



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WHOLE No. 116.

FIVE CENTS.

Why Capitalism must go.

"When compared with feudalism, capitalism is a historical advance on the lines of liberty, democracy, civilisation. But, nevertheless, Capitalism is and remains the system of wage-slavery, of enslavement of millions of toilers, of workers and peasants, to a little minority of modern slave drivers; the landowners and capitalists.

"Bourgeois democracy has changed the form of this economic slavery, as compared with feudalism, and has created an especially splendid cover in order to conceal it, but has not and could not change its essence. Capitalism and bourgeois democracy are wage-slavery.

"The gigantic progress in general, and of means of communication in particular, the boundless growth of capital and of the banks, have had as result, that Capitalism has become mature and over-mature. It has outlived itself."

"It has become the most reactionary hindrance to human progress.

"It has reduced itself to the almighty power of a handful of millionaires and multi-millionaires, who send the peoples to the shambles in order to decide whether the German shall supersede the English influence for 'mandates for administration' and so on. During the war of 1914-18, tens of millions of human beings were killed or mutilated for that purpose and for that alone.

"The recognition of this truth is spreading with insuperable force and swiftness among the masses of toilers in all countries, and the more in consequence of the fact that the war has everywhere resulted in exhaustion and poverty, and that the war interests and debts have to be paid everywhere, even among the people called 'victors.'

"And what are these interests? They are the tribute of the masses to the millionaires, because the latter have been so kind as to allow to the tens of millions of workers and peasants to kill and mutilate one another.

"The most that the Capitalists—the bourgeoisie can do, is to delay the victory of Socialism in one or the other separate country, at the price of the extermination of hundreds of thousands more of workers and peasants. To save Capitalism is impossible for them."

SHOPMEN CENSURE WILSON

President "Doesn't Care About Workmen," Says Sanders; Call Off Strike.

Chicago, Sept. 2.—The threatened general strike of railroad shopmen today in protest against President Wilson's grant of a 4-cent increase will not be called, J. D. Sanders, chairman of the Chicago District Council of Federated Shopcrafts, said yesterday.

Although the sentiment of the workers is strongly against acceptance of the increase, the action of a conservative few has averted the strike, at least temporarily, he said.

When President Wilson comes West on his national speaking tour the shopmen will show him how they feel, Mr. Sanders said.

"Wilson is playing his last cards," said Mr. Sanders. "He doesn't care about the working man. His league of nations covenant will get little support from labor."

A resolution adopted at a meeting Saturday of the committee from the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad shops was forwarded yesterday to John M. Scott, a member of the wage committee in Washington.

"You are and have been supported by our hard-earned money," the message reads. "The committee has spent \$100,000 of our money, and we are farther from our original demands now than at the start. The workers condemn your dilatory tactics and wonder how long you think they will stand for your actions."

"If you haven't manhood enough

to enforce our demands or insist that the voice of the workers be heard, then get out and let us have men for our officials. The sentiment of this meeting and hundreds of other meetings unanimously is against acceptance of the new wage, and it was only because of a conservative few that radical action was averted."

ITALY'S KING PARDONS 40,000

Amnesty Granted Soldiers Sentenced to Long Terms During War.

Rome, Italy, Sept. 1.—Forty thousand Italian soldiers, sentenced to long periods of imprisonment during the war, were granted amnesty today by King Victor Emmanuel.

BELGIUM REVOLT THREATENED

Government Trying to Avert Labor Outbreak by Festivities.

By W. J. L. Kiehl.
The Hague, Holland, Sept. 1.—From well informed sources I learn that the unrest in Belgian labor circles is growing ever more serious and that a revolutionary movement is expected before long. The government is aware of the danger and tries to avert it by arranging festivities and celebrating in connection with the close of the war.

LENIN'S STIRRING PROCLAMATION

The following Soviet manifesto has been transmitted by wireless from Moscow. It is headed "The Hour of Liberation Has Struck":

"There is no possibility of enumerating all the cities of the world enwrapped in the heavy threatening movement of the indignant workers. In France, England, America, Australia, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, and other large and small countries, an unending series of blows and strikes is swaying and shaking the massive arches of the Old World. If there is peace in one place, there is a stormy uprising in another.

"The restless, merciless whirlpool of revolution recedes only to gather storm for a new crushing attack of the world's workers on Capitalism.

"The days of Sodom and Gomorrah have come for the international bourgeoisie. In the madness of death, they are flinging their last legions into the fires of the Proletarian Revolution. They have laid Soviet Hungary in ashes, and made slaves from revenge.

"They are bounding on the international Capitalistic pack against

Soviet Russia. They are hastening to enchain the people who are rising in their own lands. They are tossing and rushing from side to side in their last vain efforts.

"The slaves of yesterday are flinging off their rusty chains. The mighty hands of the International Proletariat are taking rifles and are turning guns and machine-guns against their oppressors. They are advancing like lava under the war song of the International.

"The last decisive battle is at hand."

STRIKE-BREAKERS MARCH THROUGH STREETS

Ogden, Utah, August 28.—Forty-five strike-breakers, enlisted in the east for service on the railroads in San Francisco and Los Angeles, were forcibly prevented from leaving Ogden last night by railroad men of the Ogden yards and by scores of citizens. It is estimated that fully 500 men took part in the demonstration.

The strike-breakers arrived in Ogden over the Union Pacific at 4:50 o'clock and were scheduled to leave for the west immediately over the Southern Pacific on the second section of No. 1. It is understood that the crew on train No. 1 refused to move the train unless the men in question were removed. Their coach had been sidetracked in the mean time and No. 1 pulled out, leaving the strike-breakers in Ogden.

After discussing the matter in detail with their leaders, the strike-breakers purchased individual tickets for San Francisco with the hope of leaving Ogden for the west on No. 5 at 1 o'clock this morning. The union men, however, were equal to the occasion and the serial numbers of the tickets purchased by the strike-breakers were recorded and the men thus identified. Pickets of from ten to twenty men were scattered throughout the yards and

every man that attempted to leave the city, who was a strike-breaker, was rounded up. It is estimated that about fifteen made their escape.

When No. 5 departed for the west, the men were all assembled in the waiting room at the Union depot where they were commanded to remove their shoes and socks, prior to taking a hike to the city limits.

Walk in Gutter

The men were then marched to Twenty-fifth street, their route taking in the gutters of the streets, which were filled with water. The hike was east on Twenty-fifth street to Lincoln avenue and thence south on Lincoln avenue to the city limits. Upon reaching the city limits the men were told to leave. Some of the strike-breakers scattered like wild men, seeking shelter in the brush near the Weber river, while the more fortunate ones made their way of some of the rooming houses of the city.

Some of the men attempted to leave the city on the first and second sections of No. 19 this morning, but it is stated that but one of the entire party got away. Those that have been taken into custody are held at the police station, where

they will be kept, pending an investigation.

City hall square was the scene of considerable commotion during the noon hour today. Union men by the score gathered there.

Every effort will be made to prevent the men from reaching San Francisco.

According to information which has reached here from the east, 150 more strike-breakers will reach this city this afternoon on No. 7.

The depot has been picketed and railway men expect to question every man arriving on the train this afternoon. These men, according to labor leaders, will be treated gently, but will be told to leave the city by other ways than going west.

Depot Masters Tracy and Fowler commended the police department in keeping down disorder. The police did not interfere in the least, which, in the minds of the union men, was good judgment. Had the police interfered it is said that a general riot would have occurred which not only would have caused bloodshed, but would also have stopped the wheels of progress at the local yards. The railway men were prepared to strike, but with this outburst the traffic on all trains was resumed.

OFFICIAL SOVIET DOCUMENTS

ALL CHILDREN ARE FED.

For the purpose of improving the feeding of children and the material conditions of the toilers, first of all of the workmen in the factories and workshops of the non-agricultural localities, the Council of People's Commissaries resolves:

1. All food products which are given by the local provisioning organs to children up to the age of 14 inclusive, shall henceforth be given free of charge at the expense of the state.

Note. This regulation applies to food products which are given to children by the provisioning organs from provision stores, as well as from public lunch rooms by cards.

2. The operation of this regulation extends to the largest factory and workshop centres (cities, large settlements etc.) of the following provinces: Archangel, Vladimir, Vollogda, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kostroma, Kaluga, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Novgorod, Cherepovetz, Olenetz, Petrograd, Pskov, Tver, North-Dvinsk and Yaroslavl.

Note. The People's Commissariat of Provisions has the right to extend this regulation to individual cities and factory workshop centres of other provinces.

3. There is imposed on all provisioning organs the obligation to issue first of all children's food products.

4. The right to receive food free of charge is granted to all children of the above mentioned age, regardless of the category of the class ration of their parents.

5. It is suggested to the People's Commissariat to publish immediately a list of the communities defined in (2), and to the Soviet institutions of these communities to take steps for the immediate enforcement of this decree.

6. All credits for the carrying out of the feeding of children in accordance with this decree shall be appropriated through the Commissariat of Provisions.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries,

V. Ulianov (Lenin).

Charge D'Affaires of the Council of People's Commissaries,

V. Bonch-Bruyevich.

Secretary, L. Potneva.
Moscow, the Kremlin,
May 17, 1919.

A Note of the Ukrainian Soviet Government to the Government of Galicia.

Kieff, May 7.—Note to the Government of the People's Republic of Eastern Galicia. To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stanislov.

Having cleared the territory of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic of the Directory troops, which were trying, in opposition to the will of the Ukrainian workers and peasants, to establish there the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Ukrainian Red troops have reached the boundaries of Eastern Galicia. Extending a brotherly hand to the workers and peasants of Eastern Galicia, with whose aspirations for the liberation from all bourgeois oppression we ardently sympathize, I consider it necessary to declare in the name of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government of Ukraine that the question of the political organization of Eastern Galicia is the private affair of the Galician workers and peasants. Believing that, taught by the lesson of the Russian and Ukrainian revolution and imbued by class consciousness, they will themselves through their own organized struggle establish a Soviet rule, the Government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic declares its firm intention to refrain from any military action on the territory of Eastern Galicia, provided the Government of the People's Republic of Eastern Galicia, which has declared its respect for the will of the toiling masses, will cease hostilities against the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and will agree to conclude an armistice and to establish a debarcation line as well as political frontiers between the two Republics. It is up to this Government alone to put an end to the fratricidal war, which aids the realization of the imperialist policy of encroachment of the Roumanian monarchy and of the Polish landed proprietors. The Ukrainian Workmen's and Peasants' Government requests the Government of the People's Republic of Eastern Galicia to communicate its consent to a cessation of military actions, in order that we may take corresponding measures.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries,

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

Rakovsky.

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

May 17, 1919.

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,

TEXTILE WORKERS PLEDGE SUPPORT TO CLASS WAR PRISONERS

The Truth,
Duluth, Minn.

The Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000, Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled at Providence, Rhode Island,

on September 1st, pledged their moral, financial and physical efforts in behalf of all class war prisoners crucified at the orders of the money gods.

William D. Haywood.

ERNEST LUNDEEN, FORMER UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, WILL SPEAK IN WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVE. SEPTEMBER 7, 8 P. M.

Yesterday and Today

By Maxim Gorky

Yesterday was the day of the Great Falsehood—the last day of its power.

For ages, man has spider-like, thread by thread, diligently woven the strong cobweb of a cautious philistine life, impregnating it more and more with falsehood and greed. Man has to feed on the flesh and blood of his fellow men and the means of production, the weapons in the struggle with nature, are merely a means to oppress men,—this cynical falsehood was looked upon as immutable truth.

And yesterday this road brought mankind to the madness of the all-European war. The red glow of this nightmare threw a light on all the ugly nakedness of the ancient entrenched falsehood, and now we see the old world shaken to its foundations, shattered to pieces; its obscure secrets exposed, and today even those who were blind have opened their eyes and see the utter ugliness of the past.

Today is the day of reckoning for the falsehood which reigned yesterday.

The violent explosion of the people's patience has destroyed the outworn order of life, and it cannot again be re-established in its old forms. Not all of the outworn past is annihilated, but it will be—to-morrow.

Today there is a great deal of horror, but it is all natural and comprehensible. Is it not natural that people infected by the strong poisons of the old order—alcohol and syphilis—should not be generous? Is it not natural for people to steal,—if theft was the fundamental law of yesterday? Is it not natural, that tens, hundreds, thousands of men should be killed, after we had been accustomed for four years to kill them by the millions? The seed of yesterday brings fruit today; the present day is brutal, but its brutality is not the offspring of today. Malice is created by the power of men; everything comes into existence through men. Among the ruins of the past is clearly visible every force that held it together, and everything that lay hidden in the heart of the oppressed

is today impelling them to oppression.

It is easy to find fault with man as he is today,—man is facing the mirror of history, naked as a beast, burning with the fire of belated, useless revenge.

But we should remember that the day is too bright, and that is why the shadows are so heavy. We should understand that in the midst of the dust and mud, of the chaos of destruction, of today, has already begun the great work of liberating mankind from the strong, iron cobweb of the past, a work which is as painful and difficult as the pangs of a new birth; we should feel that we are witnessing the death of the evil of yesterday, which is going through its last hours together with the man of yesterday.

It has so happened that the peoples marching to the decisive battle for the triumph of justice are led by the least experienced and weakest fighters,—by the Russians, a people of a country which is backward economically and culturally, a people worn out by its past more than any other people. Only yesterday the whole world looked upon them as semi-barbarians, and today, almost dying from hunger, they are marching toward victory or death with the ardor and courage of old, tired fighters.

Everyone who sincerely believes that the irresistible aspiration of mankind toward freedom, beauty, and a sensible life is not a vain dream, that it is a real force which alone can create new forms of life; that this force is a lever which can turn the world,—every honest man must recognize the universal significance of the activity which is carried on by the earnest revolutionists of Russia.

The activity which is now going on in Russia should be interpreted as a gigantic attempt to incorporate in life, to turn into actuality the great ideas and watchwords which were created and enunciated by the teachers of mankind, by the sages of Europe. Yesterday the Socialist thought of Europe pointed the way to the Russian people, today the Russian worker is striving for the triumph of European thought.

And if the honest Russian revolutionists, few in numbers, surrounded by enemies and worn out by starvation, will be conquered, the consequences of this terrible calamity will fall heavily on the shoulders of all the European revolutionists, of the whole working class of Europe.

Should this catastrophe occur, all those who do not feel, who do not comprehend the terrible struggle which is waged by the workers of Russia day after day, will have to pay for it with their blood and lives.

The honest heart does not waver, the honest thought knows of no temptation to compromise, the honest hand will not cease working while the heart is still beating. The Russian worker is confident that his brothers in spirit will not permit the strangling of the revolution in Russia, that they will not permit the resuscitation of the old, which has received a deadly blow and is expiring, disappearing, and which will disappear,—if the revolutionary thought of Europe will comprehend the great tasks of today.

THE TEST OF HUNGARY

By H. N. Brailsford.

A Liberal newspaper said the other day, with a good deal of emphasis, that what is happening in Hungary is the test case for the League of Nations. A pendant might object that the League does not as yet fully exist. It has an office and a secretary. None the less it is not yet on record that it has held a meeting, either of the Board of Directors or of the shareholders.

In plain words, it will not fully exist until it constitutes itself this autumn. None the less the Liberal newspaper was right: the League and the Big Four are so much one and the same thing that the moral collapse of one of them involves the ruin of the other. If the Big Four cannot deal creditably with this problem of Hungary and Rumania, no one will imagine that the League could do better.

The problem is a rather complicated one, and there are several tests which one might apply to it. The simplest and the crudest of them is whether the Big Four will succeed in making themselves obeyed.

Hitherto in similar affairs they have not been fortunate. Nearly all their little Allies have defied them in one matter or another, or in one degree or another.

How the Big Four Act.

The South Slavs, for example, have occupied Klausenburg, a German-Austrian town, to which they have no right. The usual excesses are alleged against them. They have been ordered to move out. They sit tight, and their chief newspaper declares that if they do move out, they will destroy the town before they go.

Then there is the case of the Poles and Eastern Galicia, the wealthy oil region with a big Ukrainian majority, which the Poles claim on the usual Imperialist principles. The Big Four ordered them not to advance beyond a certain line. The Four then sent out to join their army the famous Haller's Legion (a force raised in France, largely from American Poles)—but it laid down the condition that Haller's men must not be used in Galicia, and M. Paderewski pledged his word. The Legion was used in Galicia. The line drawn by the Allies was crossed and Eastern Galicia was occupied. The Big Four then deliberated on the case, and—awarded Eastern Galicia to the Poles.

With that example before them the Rumanians have evidently felt encouraged to act as seems to them good. They have occupied Budapest, which they were ordered not to do, and they have addressed a fantastic ultimatum to beaten Hungary.

It was much on the lines of the Treaties which the Big Four themselves have dictated. They proposed to take about one-third of all that the Hungarians possess in agricultural machinery, live stock, railway material, river boats and the like.

There are parallels for all these demands in the German and Austrian Treaties. But the Big Four, who have ordered starving Vienna to give up some of its few remaining milk cows to Italy, were apparently shocked. The thing was too like a parody. Besides, other people wanted a share of the loot. The Czechs, for example, had claimed all the river boats, tugs, and barges of Hungary, as far back as March.

To conduct war on the principle of the "spoils to the victors" may be allowable, but the victors must go shares.

So Rumania has been ordered to submit to Paris, in deeds, not words. Will she do so? It seems rather doubtful. One telegram, which at least is well invented, states that she has made conditions. She demands the fulfilment of the Secret Treaty of 1916.

The Root of the Evil.

There we get a glimpse of the root of the evil. The Big Four are not the League of Nations. They are an alliance. Now, it is an axiom of politics that no alliance can control its own members. It cannot do so, while it requires the services of its allies.

Poles, South Slavs, and Rumanians are well aware that they are necessary to their great partners, or to some of them. They are an integral part of the French military system. They are the flying buttresses of the system of ascendancy which M. Clemenceau has very cleverly built up. All with their conscript armies under French military missions, they are to serve as "barriers" against Germany and outposts against Bolshevism.

So long as Germany and Russia

are excluded from the League of Nations, so long as France maintains her military hegemony over the Continent, so long must she contrive to keep her satellites in good humour.

If Poland claims vast regions to which she has no racial claim, if Haller's army amuses itself by Jewish pogroms, if the Rumanians want to carry off a third or more of all the property in Hungary, if the South Slavs covet an Austrian town—in all these cases it is clearly risky to interfere, for one day the services of these Allies may be required against the common foe, Socialism today, Germanism tomorrow.

That is why the Big Four are weak, and that is why the League of Nations will be weaker still, if it is built on the basis of the partial alliance, with those secret treaties buried like title-deeds in its foundations.

Some sort of compromise will presumably be reached with Rumania. She will eventually "obey," when she has been promised some of those territories inhabited by other races which the secret treaty of 1916 held out in prospect to her.

There remain more searching tests. The Big Four, or rather their Commissioners in Vienna, made terms for Bela Kun's resignation. If he went, a moderate Socialist Government was to be "recognised" as his successor. Sheltering themselves under the Rumanian occupation, the "White" elements of Budapest promptly upset the tame Socialist Government, and nominated the Archduke Joseph in its place.

The thing was done solely because foreign invaders had defeated the Red Army and usurped the police of Budapest. No one professes to think that the people of Hungary really want to see Hapsburgs in power again. There even the correspondent of the "Times" agrees with the correspondents of the "Daily News" and the "Manchester Guardian." The "Big Four," we are told, will be neutral. Neutral, indeed! They "starved and blockaded Hungary so long as it had a Socialist Government. They begin to pour in food the moment an Archduke is in the saddle. Could there be a more decided, a more effective form of intervention?

There are, however, to be elections. Apart from the fact that a free election is as impossible under men of the old regime in Hungary as it always is in Spain, how can the masses vote freely with four or five thousand Socialists in prison, and the knowledge that they will be blockaded again if they choose a genuinely Socialist Government?

Hungary has its importance, for it is the index to what may happen in Russia. There, also, there are Archdukes in waiting. There, also, the blockade is used and will steadily be used to destroy the Socialist movement. Hungary tests much more than the League of Nations. It tests the international sense of the working-class movement. If, with this model before us, we fail to save Russia, we may know that we have delivered it over to Tsardom.

La Feuille de Geneva, June 11th, 1919, quoting the French paper Le Progres, gives the number of desertions in the French Army during the five years of war as follows:—

1914 (from 1st August)	509
1915	2,433
1916	8,924
1917	21,174
1918	13,032
Total	46,072

The figures of men condemned to death and shot during the same period are:—

1914	206
1915	442
1916	315
1917	528
1918	136
Total	1,627

La Vie Ouvrière, July 9th, gives "a few lines taken from a letter written by a Russian soldier from Saint Omer on June 25th: On June 20th, an event—recalling that of January 9th at Petrograd. We asked for something to eat. They gave us bullets. Result: Six killed and 19 wounded. All that I saw in my youth is nothing in comparison with what I am enduring here, under the protection of the Allies. But it will never make me yield. As long as I live I will keep firm and trust in the right. Tell me, though, why they look upon us all here, not as men, but as beasts having no further right to existence?"

"These short lines tell only too well of the physical and mental sufferings of the Russian soldiers still left in France.

KARL LIEBKNECHT

Friends, Comrades, Brothers!

In the midst of the earthquake of the world war, of the chaotic collapse of the Czarist imperialist society, the Russian proletariat, in spite of misunderstanding, hatred and slander, has established its rule—the Socialist Republic of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. It is the titanic beginning of the Socialist construction of the world, the work which constitutes now the historic task of the international proletariat. The Russian Revolution has tremendously stimulated the revolutionizing process of the world's proletariat. Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are already drawn into the struggle. The German Revolution, too, is awakening, though tremendous difficulties are arising on the way to the victory of the German proletariat. The bulk of the people of Germany is with us. The power of the most bitter enemies of the working class is breaking down. Still they are striving by means of lies and deception to chain the masses to their chariot and to put off the hour of the emancipation of the German people.

And just as the imperialism of the Entente powers was strengthened by the robberies and murders perpetrated by German imperialism in Russia, so have the German rulers made use of the assault of the Entente powers upon Socialist Russia for the maintenance of their power in Germany.

Have you not seen how a few weeks ago Kaiser Wilhelm II, who after the overthrow of Czarism is the representative of the most infamous reaction, made use of the intervention of the Entente powers against proletarian Russia to arouse anew the war spirit of the masses of workers?

We cannot allow that such welcome opportunities for demagoguery be placed into the hands of our contemptible enemies—the most abominable enemy of the world proletariat. It cannot be that the proletariat of the Entente powers should allow such a thing to happen. Of course we know that you have already raised your voice against the machinations of your governments; but the danger is constantly growing. The united front of the world imperialism against the proletariat is becoming a reality in the case of the campaign against the Russian Soviet Republic.

It is to fight to prevent this that I am appealing to you!

The world proletariat cannot allow the fire of the Socialist Revolution to be put out if it does not want to see its own hopes and power vanish. The downfall of the Russian Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the world proletariat.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! Rise against your masters!

Long live Russia of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

Long live the revolution of the French, British, Italian and American proletariat!

Long live the emancipation of workingmen of all countries from the hell of war, exploitation and slavery!

Berlin, October 21st, 1919.

KARL RADEK TALKS IN PRISON

Soviet Ready to Negotiate for Peace.

M. Phillips Price.

Berlin, August 9.—I have just returned from an interview in Berlin Prison, with the famous Russian Revolutionary, Karl Radek.

After keeping him for over six months in solitary confinement, the German authorities have withdrawn all charges against him, and he is now to be released on condition that he leaves Germany at once.

The Soviet Government, he told me, was ready to enter into negotiations with the Allies, with a view to the settlement of all outstanding questions concerning the safety of nationals on both sides. The Soviet did not confine itself to this, but wished a settlement on a much broader basis.

Amnesty to Churchill's Friends. He could not, of course, pledge his colleagues in their absence, but he knew they were ready to conclude an armistice with the Allies on the Archangel front with a view to facilitate the immediate withdrawal of the British troops from the territories of the Republic. Also, he was sure, they were ready to give an amnesty to all Russian counter-revolutionaries compromised with Mr. Churchill and his plans for enslaving the Russian people.

"The British War Office," said Radek, "speaks of difficulties in its withdrawal, but there can be no excuse for this in view of the at-

titude of the Soviet Government on this point. It is becoming daily clearer that the Allies will be compelled to recognize and enter into business relations with us.

"As for Hungary, let not the Allied Government triumph, for their victory is Pyrrhic. They have turned loose the Rumanian oligarchy and the Hapsburg Monarchists on to a Labour Republic which they have starved by cutting off its supplies. Do they imagine that by letting the Rumanian soldiery plunder in Budapest, and by giving the land back to the Hungarian aristocracy, they are going to have peace there?"

Allies Doing Soviet's Work.

"The setting up of a Monarchy in Hungary will only drive the Austrian Socialist Republic into the arms of Soviet Russia.

"For our part, we from the first realized the dangerous position of our Hungarian comrades, and we warned them that we could not come to their aid as long as Kolchak was not defeated.

"As far as the future is concerned in South-East Europe, we leave it to the Entente to do our work by the re-establishing the rule of the Hapsburgs and landlords. The failure of the Allies to restore social order on the old capitalist basis in Eastern Europe will force them to come to an agreement with us.

"This we are ready to do with the de facto Governments of the Allied countries. We do not expect Soviet rule in England at once. It is a long way to Tipperary, and British Labour will doubtless find its own solution of its own problems.

LIKE THE AMERICAN LEADERS

In an article in La Vie Ouvrière for July 23rd, Pierre Monatte replies to the accusation of Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation Générale du Travail, that the masses were not ready to support the International Strike:

"Whose fault was this retreat at the very foot of the obstacle we had to surmount?"

"Was it the fault of the masses? Or those leaders who usually talk so loudly about their mandates and their responsibilities?"

"Of course, the moment the first confusion is over, the leaders do not hesitate for a moment to put all the blame on the masses. On Monday, at the National Council, Jouhaux talked of this demonstration, resolved upon and planned with the greatest care, and went on to say that 'the leaders of the big unions regretted to state the masses were not entirely ready to give it the extension and strength that were necessary.'

"Not so quickly, comrades! Don't throw all the responsibility on others. Keep your own share of it—the greatest beyond shadow of doubt.

"You are these mainly responsible for this retreat of the G. C. T. It was you who were not ready.

You never have been ready for anything for the past five years and never will be now, it is quite plain to see!

"So the masses were not ready, eh? Possible, even probable. But whose task, whose duty is it to prepare them for the struggle? Yours, is it not? To declare at the critical moment that they were not ready is as much as to say that you had not done your duty, either because you could not or because you would not—probably because of both. Don't, then, make your mea culpa on the breasts of others.

"Remember how this demonstration, 'planned,' as you put it, 'with the greatest care,' was decided upon two months ago, and think how it was prepared. If that is a sample of your well-prepared work, I don't want to see the unprepared! . . .

"When you threw in your lot with the Government's war policy, you bound yourself hand and foot for ever, and now even if you sincerely desired to free yourselves you could not do so. You lack the one thing necessary, and that is faith in the working class.

"The task was there to your hands, and you dared not face it. Of course you couldn't. Your fine plan consisted in refusing action when it might have borne good fruit (i. e., at the time of the strike of the metal and chemical industries and of the 'bus and metro, services in Paris), and in pretending to seek it when it could no longer do so, so that you might turn on us and say: 'You see there is nothing doing; the masses aren't ready!'

"The workers must make a clean sweep of their war-time trade-union officials."

ANOTHER LIE NAILED

Avanti! publishes the following telegram sent by the Russian Soviet Government to its western front:—

"The Bourgeois Governments of Finland and Estonia are spreading abroad rumours to the effect that the Red Army intends to cross the Finnish and Estonian frontiers. The suppositions of these bourgeois governments are, from beginning to end, without foundation. No armed Red unit has crossed the frontiers of the above-named countries, and none has any intention of doing so. On the other hand, white guards from Finland and Estonia have crossed the frontiers of Soviet Russia, carrying war into our territories, massacring the peaceful and unarmed population, and sowing death and terror everywhere. The Revolutionary War Council of Soviet Russia bids you repel the attacks of all bands of white guards who have invaded the Soviet territory. It is at the same time your duty to take measures so that no unit under your command crosses the borders of Finland and Estonia."

"La Feuille," July 14th.

Berne.—The Central Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party, sitting at Olten, decided by 20 votes to 10 to propose to the Basle Congress entry into the Third International.

It was unanimously decided to oppose the entry of Switzerland into the League of Nations.

O. P. LANGDAHL, Tailor



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CANADA'S ONE BIG UNION THE MASK OFF

Reprinted from "The Dial"

The close of the first convention of the One Big Union at Calgary in June marked the beginning of a new labor movement in Canada. The Winnipeg general strike, in spite of the silence on the part of the press bureaus of America has forced some news of the new movement to filter through to the United States and close students of labor affairs are paying increasing attention to Canadian developments. So meagre have been the facts reported in the press however that it is difficult for any except those who have been on the ground to appreciate the full significance of the situation in the Dominion. Had I been here, reading reports of the Winnipeg strike in newspapers which denounced it as a Bolshevik Revolution and an attempt to set up a Soviet Government, I would perhaps have been startled and found it difficult to account for the fact that a country which had long been noted for its conservative labor movement could suddenly reveal such a spirit on the part of organized labor.

Even though I was in the midst of the movement in Western Canada, watching it at close range, the speed with which it spread across the Dominion to the Eastern provinces surprised me. In September and October I was in Ontario and though the movement was already being heard from in the West, the radicals in the East looked upon the rank and file of the unions in Ontario as a hopelessly reactionary section of labor. Today in Toronto these unions are lining up by an overwhelming vote for the One Big Union after having demonstrated their advanced attitude by a general strike in sympathy with the Winnipeg strikers, a strike which affected two-thirds of the workers of Toronto and tied up the city for several days. In Montreal the Trades and Labor Council has voted endorsement of the One Big Union, completely reversing a position taken by it only a few weeks ago. In Cape Breton, returned soldiers and trade unionists have formed a Soldiers' and Workmen's Council in the most extensive coal and steel producing area of the Dominion, while in Nova Scotia the latest reports indicate that the workers everywhere will follow the rest of Canadian organized labor into the ranks of the One Big Union.

Thus it is evident that the new labor movement in Canada is a revolutionary industrial union movement. Growing out of the A. F. of L. it has captured the rank and file of the conservative craft unions and transformed their entire spirit. Realizing the futility of trying to force from power the reactionary leadership of the Internationals, backed by the conservative membership south of the boundary, the Canadian workers have organized a Dominion-wide secession movement that has already launched a new organization and threatens to carry at least four-fifths of the membership of the Canadian unions out of the American Federation of Labor. With such overwhelming majorities it seems certain that the minorities now voting against the O. B. U. will prefer to go on with the new union and thus leave the A. F. of L. completely without representation in Canada with the possible exception of a handful of insignificant locals in trades that have no influence on the general industrial situation.

Under these conditions it becomes highly important to understand the foundations of the One Big Union movement.

The Constitution adopted at its first convention provides for an all-embracing form of labor organization after the pattern of the Industrial Workers of the World, the industrial subdivisions to be determined at the next convention. Its membership is open to all wage-workers and the maximum initiation fee is one dollar. Its General Executive Board will consist of a Chairman, Secretary, and representatives of the various industries. These officials are elected for six months only and their pay is \$40 per week. Power remains in the hands of the rank and file, all officials being subject to recall at any time by a majority vote of the body electing them. Conventions will be held every six months, proportional representation governing the number of delegates. In the matter of strikes and disputes, final decision rests securely in the hands of the rank and file.

While some features essential to a revolutionary industrial union organization are not covered by the One Big Union constitution, such a

universal transfer card system which would permit workers to pass from local units of one industry to another without payment of initiation fees or loss of standing, the constitution is broad and flexible enough to permit the easy perfection of all details in subsequent conventions.

The fundamental spirit of the movement is summed up in the final clause which reads:

"Whenever a strike in any district or industry takes place, no member of the One Big Union shall handle directly or indirectly any products of the industry on strike."

"If they live up to that, they're all-right," said a revolutionary leader of international prominence to me. If we need a promise that the Canadian workers will live up to it, I think we can find it in the strike movement recently centered around Winnipeg. That this radical spirit of solidarity animates the rank and file of the Canadian working class has been amply demonstrated by the extraordinary response to the calls for sympathetic strikes to aid the workers in the building and metal trades of Winnipeg.

On the first of May these trades went on strike for a living wage. Although the One Big Union had not yet officially come into existence, the strike was controlled by One Big Union tactics and the striking trades were all united through the Metal Trades Council which proposed to represent them in dealing with the employers. The employers determined to make their fight at this point and refused to deal with the Metal Trades Council. So the strike came to a deadlock on this question and the big issue became the right of the workers to collective bargaining.

On May 15 the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council called a general strike of all the organized workers of the city, in sympathy with the metal and building trades. The response of the workers to this general strike resulted in the most complete cessation of work ever experienced on this continent. Winnipeg was dead. The normal life of the community ceased absolutely. No street cars moved. Teamsters, drivers, chauffeurs completed the tie-up of all vehicles. The shutting off of power stations stopped everything dependent upon electricity. No light, no water running through the mains. Abattoirs and creameries closed, cutting down the food supply. Telephone, telegraph, and mail service stopped. Waiters, cooks, hotel employees of all sorts joined the strike. Clerks and cleaners, scavengers and civil service employees, firemen and policemen had been organized and walked out with the rest.

For four days Winnipeg was helpless in the hands of Labor and Labor waited calmly with folded arms. Then the Strike Committee relieved the tension by issuing permits for several kinds of workers to return to work. Enough men were allowed in the pumping station to keep water flowing in one and two story buildings. The workers do not live in skyscrapers in Winnipeg. Milk wagon drivers were allowed to deliver milk to hospitals. Enough firemen and policemen were allowed to return to meet an emergency. This demonstration of power merely maddened the employers. The press had been stopped by the strike of typographical workers and pressmen. A citizen's committee of 1,000 was formed to combat the Soviet of the strikers. They found volunteer printers and began to issue a four page daily paper called the Citizen. The strikers replied by changing the Western Labor News, their organ, from a weekly to a daily.

The Citizen and the capitalist press elsewhere throughout the Dominion denounced the strike as an attempt to set up a Soviet government in Canada. The resumption of activities in Winnipeg to a sufficient extent so that no one should suffer any hardship and be deprived of the necessities of life was a concession of the strike committee of 300. This was intolerable to the citizen's committee who demanded to know by what right the strike committee should dictate that food be distributed. The government stood quite helpless. The man-power in all its departments was out on strike. The officials fumed but could not function. The postal employees were officially dismissed. An ultimatum was issued to the police but they refused to return to work and were dismissed from the Chief down. Mr. Robertson, the Dominion Minister of Labor, came to investigate and declared the blame for the strike already the breach has been made

should rest upon the One Big Union.

Mr. Robertson had previously encountered the new spirit of labor in Winnipeg about a year ago. On that occasion the city employees, postal clerks, and police struck for the right to organize in labor unions. When the city officials refused to grant this right the Trades and Labor Council began to call out other workers, one trade after another. When the strike threatened to each the proportions of a general tie-up, Mr. Robertson arrived on the scene and ordered the city government to recognize the strikers right to organize. Now, however, the government employees were striking in sympathy with other trades. Mr. Robertson detected a difference and ordered the dismissal of the postal workers. The incident illustrates the attitude of the Canadian government in the face of its new problem of labor and the defiance of the government employees demonstrates the impotency of this attitude. Directly out of the Winnipeg strike of a year ago the One Big Union movement may properly be said to have grown. The spirit of solidarity then manifested, in which the rank and file of the trade unions defied all edicts of International officers, broke contracts, and struck in sympathy with the city employees, heralded the beginning of the end of the A. F. of L. in Canada.

During the past winter the advocates of industrial unionism within the Canadian Federation in the four Western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia organized for the propaganda of the one big union idea and secession from the A. F. of L. In April this movement had advanced to the point where a referendum was being taken of all the Canadian unions except the railroad brotherhoods. When the Winnipeg strike began this referendum had already shown a vast majority of the workers in the four provinces to be in favor of the secession move. The referendum was completed during May and showed 88 per cent of the organized workers in Western Canada in favor of the One Big Union. Its first convention was called to open on June 5 at Calgary.

In the meantime the O. B. U. advocates had called for another referendum for a sympathetic strike and one after another the cities of Western Canada were tied up by strikes which in many instances reached the same proportions as that in Winnipeg. Simultaneously the movement had spread eastward, and in Toronto more than 15,000 workers went out in sympathy with their Winnipeg brothers. All over the eastern section of the country the referendum upon the question of secession has continued and everywhere the returns indicate the same large majorities for the One Big Union. To date no city or town in Canada has voted against the O. B. U. and I have heard of no local union in any important industry voting down the proposition.

The Calgary Convention completely severed organized labor in the four Western provinces from the Federation and at the present rate of growth it seems but a matter of a few weeks when Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces will have completely joined the movement. The next convention, which will take place in November, will bring about the formation of the industrial sub-divisions; and for the first time in history we will see the active labor groups of a whole nation completely organized upon industrial union lines. One reason for postponing the formation of the industrial sub-divisions undoubtedly is the hope of having the running trades of the railroads to form the backbone of the transportation industry.

Though the railroad workers in Canada as in the United States have been generally looked upon as one of the most conservative sections of the labor movement, their recent activities in the West reveal in a startling way the extent to which the one big union idea has spread among them.

In Winnipeg during the last week of the general strike the railroad workers voted to join the sympathetic strike if the policeman were dismissed by the city and when the police were dismissed stood ready to tie up the railroads upon the call of the strike committee. For this action three locals of railroad workers were also expelled in Edmonton, Calgary, and Regina. This

in the running trades and its spread will inevitably mean the gathering of the railroad workers into the fold of the O. B. U.

With practically every other type of overland transportation worker already organized the O. B. U. will have a firm grip upon this basic industry. The mining, metal, and building industries in Canada are perhaps the best organized trades in the Dominion, and they are strongest for the O. B. U. The wide extent of organization among civil service employees and the strong industrial union spirit among them is a very important factor—as the general strike situation proved.

Though the Winnipeg strike was called off by the workers pending negotiation of the questions at issue in the building and metal trades dispute, the strike was not by any means lost and as one of the leaders told me they will undoubtedly "come back stronger next time."

An indication that their power is not lessening is shown by the action of the government in the case of the arrested strike leaders. These men were arrested during the last week of the strike and charged with "seditious conspiracy." They were held without bail and the government threatened to try them in camera and deport them. But the O. B. U. immediately issued a call for a Dominion-wide general strike and balloting began. The government promptly backed down and during the past week they were released on bonds, the highest ball being \$4,000.

The demand of the Citizen's Committee for the deportation of these men was part of a general propaganda carried on against the strikers by stimulating the time-worn enmities against "foreigners and aliens." In Western Canada the native sons are the English, Irish, Scotch, and Americans who were the earlier pioneers of this comparatively recently settled country. While there are considerable numbers of other European peoples to be found in the mines, on the farms, and in many industries, I found that the native sons were the predominant element in the labor movement as elsewhere and the "anti-foreigner" campaign made little headway against a labor organization, the leaders of which bear such distinctly "Canadian" names as Pritchard, Midgely, Johns, Knight, Naylor, Russell, Hazeltine, Berg, Wells, Kingsley, Robinson, Armstrong, Ivens, Bray, Brown, Craig, and Irvine.

The thing that finally impresses an observer of this new Canadian labor movement is the quiet calmness of its propaganda. There are a few brilliant orators among them and a great many able exponents of the industrial union idea but the great educator of the Canadian workers has been the war. It was probably the ideological effect on the people of the war-time propaganda that has counted most in the awakening of labor accompanied of course by the evolution of industrial conditions that drove home to them the impotency of craft unionism and the need of a form of labor organization that ran parallel to the organization of industry effected by the capitalists. The workers were told they were fighting for democracy. They were told they were fighting to make the world a better place to live in. They were told it was a war to end war. They were told that when it was finally won nothing would be too good for them and that the country belonged to them. In the meantime they saw the profiteers flourishing and the government prussianizing the Dominion with its Orders-in-Council against all the commonly accepted rights of man.

When the war ended and reconstruction began it found the Canadian workers preparing to profit by the lessons they had learned. Dependence upon political parties in the past had disillusioned them. The war had given them a sense of their economic power. They are beginning to understand what democracy really means and are demanding its application to their industrial life which they now recognize as being the all-important phase of life for the working class solidarity. They believed the profiteering patriots who told them the country belonged to them in order to get them to fight for it and they are now proposing to take possession of their property. They believe, apparently, that the One Big Union is the instrument through which they will finally achieve these aims.

Winston Churchill, in his speech at the Centre Party's dinner, has spoken plainly; he says that the political truce between the Liberal and Tory parties that sprang up during the war should be maintained to fight Bolshevism. Bolshevism, as everyone knows, though only some dare acknowledge it, is simply the seizure of power by the working class, which means the death knell to Capitalism.

Churchill has come out as the defender of Capitalism. He says: "I am astonished to see how people are afraid to defend the capitalist system. The politicians are afraid, the newspapers are afraid; they prefer to give the thing the go-by." Churchill is right; clever capitalist politicians are afraid to defend the capitalist system openly; they are afraid to tell the workers that the only great political struggle is between Capital and Labour, because, if the poor, gullied workers understand that, they will at last wake up and fight for their own class, instead of against it. Politicians who are cleverer and more far-seeing than Churchill want to put off the direct fight between Labour and Capital as long as they can, because they know that if the workers exert their full strength they are bound to win. But Churchill, reckless and hot-headed, is eager for the fight; he hopes to enjoy the big struggle and fancies himself cut out to play an historic part in it. The smug, old-fashioned Liberals, who patronise well behaved Labour leaders, must be feeling decidedly annoyed with Churchill for so graphically showing that the Liberals and Tory parties are just the same. The little indiscretion which revealed that Mr. W. H. Smith, "the most staid, unimpeachable, blameless Tory," had privately proposed to call the Conservative Party the Liberal Party, and Lord Randolph Churchill's definition: "Tory Democracy is Democracy that supports the Tory Party," fairly sum up the sham Parliamentary politics that have been the comfortable and remunerative hobby of the leisured classes, and have gullied the workers for so long. Our sympathies are with the woman in the 'bus who said: "Vote? No, I don't believe in it; the Government'd take the very blood from y'r 'eart!'"

Lloyd George Exposes the League of Nations Fraud and the Hollow Victory.

Lloyd George's statement that the alliance between France, Britain and America, is necessary to protect France until it is certain that the League of Nations is strong enough to do it, demonstrates that the League of Nations will not preserve the peace of Europe, and that France's share in the "glorious victory" the Governments have been celebrating is less than nothing. France has been weakened and impoverished by the war; no indemnities can repay her; the only thing that can recompense the French workers for their losses and sufferings is the Communist Revolution, the coming of which has been hastened by the war.

Lloyd George says that the triple alliance between France, Britain and America is to protect France if the League of Nations cannot; Wilson has said it is to fight for France until the League of Nations has passed through the formalities which will enable it to do it. These are curious stories to come from those who told us that the war would for ever make the world safe for democracy, by setting up the League of Nations, which would make war and international aggression impossible!

Churchill told the Centre Party that Lloyd George is a "necessary man," but the report Churchill publishes omits to state why he described Lloyd George as "necessary." Obviously it is that Lloyd George has a way of telling the people that he has found a new discovery when really the old thing he brings forward, or something just like it, has been with us all the time. "So with this Franco-British-American Alliance. Europe was a network of just such alliances before the war, and these alliances are always described as "purely defensive," but they never are. This present alliance, of course, has its commercial clauses, its tariff bargains and concessions, its arrangements for the exploitation of native races, and so on, and undoubtedly, like Mr. Churchill, its secret clauses have something to say about "Bolshevism." Clemenceau, who fears the Red Wave with a more immediate terror than his allies, since no salt sea divides him from it, and the French workers are notoriously revolutionary, has no doubt pledged

his confederates to lend him their aid in case of danger. Doubtless, too, the confederates have secured some very substantial advantages in return. But Lloyd George, Wilson and Clemenceau will soon be mere forgotten memories; more vital forces will presently replace them upon the international stage.

The Miners.

At the opening of the year the spirit of revolt was stirring amongst the workers in the shipbuilding industry, and the workers in other engineering sections were affected to a lesser degree. The miners and railway men were appealed to them to join the revolt, but failed to respond. Now the miners are turbulent, and the railway men in certain sections are unrestful. There is a smouldering fire that might carry us further, but those who rose in the new year are now quiescent; the elements are disunited. The strikes are for small sectional things that can make no real difference; they break out sporadically, and as one group comes out another goes back.

The miners' demand for the nationalisation and workers' control of industry might be the rallying point for the whole country and might prepare the workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the soviets, which they must accomplish before the socialisation of industry can be achieved. But at present only a minority of the miners has yet adopted the rank and file scheme for socialising the industry; the others have swallowed the Sankey proposals which in practice will prove almost worthless, whilst in the other industries the socialisation demand has not yet been seriously put forward.

Even the miners have not yet proved that they will strike for nationalisation. They have threatened, but there has been so much bluff in regard to political strikes that no one now believes that they will take place according to time table. Certainly the trade union and Parliamentary Labour officials are working the hardest to stave off conflict, and the miners' charter will be postponed indefinitely unless the revolutionary sections of the rank and file are prepared to act.

The Russian Mutinies.

Of all the hypocrisies of the unscrupulous men who are running the Government and Press of this country, none is more despicable than the outcry that the Russian prisoners whom General Ironside had forced to fight in his army have defied the rules of honour and "fair play." What would have been said of the Germans if they had forced Allied prisoners to fight in their ranks? To force prisoners to fight against their own comrades is the basest outrage; an outrage which, even if it has been committed, and of course it has been done by Europeans in fighting Indians, Africans and other non-European peoples, has never, we think, been boasted of before! But we forgot; of course it is done; the workers are constantly ordered to fight against the workers of their own race. General Ironside was of opinion that what may be done in

Featherstone, Glasgow, Dublin or Tanypany may be done also in Russia.

We suppose that the death of the five British officers will be used to arouse, as far as possible, the spirit of the vendetta in the British Army, but the great slaughter of the European War will render the effort unfruitful. We regret the death of these officers, especially if, as we suppose, they were mere tools in the wicked business, but if a man chooses war for his trade we must not be surprised when he comes to die.

Altogether the Counter Revolutionary Armies are doing badly in Russia. The Times Archangel Correspondent says that what the capitalists call the "loyal" Russian Army will go over to the Bolsheviks the moment the British Army withdraws.

All sorts of elaborate excuses are being invented to explain "Why these peasants whom we are seeking to save from Bolshevik attack should betray us to the enemy." Really it is not difficult to understand, says the Times correspondent: "from the very beginning the Russians have not wholly believed in our sincerity." Quite so, we would observe, but the Times does not mean what those words would obviously imply. He goes on to say that the Russians did not think we really meant to stay till Bolshevism should be crushed.

The Times correspondent indicates that the new and virile British troops in Russia have not proved very good fighters. His explanation is that the men were told they were only sent out to help the original force to get out of Russia; "that they were out for a holiday at the Government's expense. That they were to arrive in the morning and return in the evening, as it were." This is encouraging news; it means that the British soldiers in Russia do not want to fight.

Winston Churchill is doing all he can to popularise the Russian adventure, and is arranging for Major-General Briggs, who has been with General Denikin, to address the Members of the House of Commons. To show that Denikin is not a reactionary his objects in fighting against the soviets have been widely published. Amongst other things he is supposed to aim at is:

"Immediate labour legislation, securing the working classes from exploitation by the Government or Capital."

The workers who have abolished the capitalist and themselves governing their industries will hardly thank General Denikin for this.

Russia and Roumania.

The report that the Roumanians are negotiating peace terms with the Soviet Government indicates that presently the Big Allied Powers may find themselves deserted by all the little nations they have been counting on to form a cordon of warfare round the Soviet Republics. The Soviets desire nothing but peace from their neighbours; they are not out for territorial or trade advantages, and the little States will presently find it safer and pleasanter to deal with them than with the big capitalist Powers.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

DENIKIN'S METHODS IN CAUCASUS

Issued by the Circassian Press Bureau July 11.

Throughout the Caucasus a grave struggle between Denikin and the North Caucasian Republic is the order of the day. His Army is composed in great part of officers of the old regime. He is abundantly supplied by the Entente with arms, war material and munitions. A lively agitation is spreading among the Caucasian population. The Circassian Government has addressed a strong protest to the Allied representatives. It was read in the Parliament by M. Kozof, the premier, in the following terms:

"During the whole period of our government we have taken part neither for nor against Russia. We have given assistance to all those who sought a refuge with us. Russia, on the word of Russians themselves, can only nourish feelings of gratitude towards us."

"We had the right to expect that Denikin's Army of volunteers would entertain no aggressive designs towards us. We were deceived. We do not want war. We have

made many concessions. General Denikin demands not only that we should recognize his authority, but requires us to furnish him with troops. The people of Daghestan, for example, have been asked to supply 3 regiments of cavalry, 8 of infantry, and 3 squadrons of artillery, all fully equipped."

The Premier concluded by declaring that all the Caucasian peoples are agreed that they must fight to the end against the common enemy. The declaration of war, followed by mobilisation of all men between the ages 18 and 40, has been notified to the Allies' representative in the Caucasus, who, on his side, has asked the forces of the Circassian Republic to remain on the defensive.

This new conquest of the Caucasus undertaken by the "black guard"—for so Denikin is generally called—has put all the other Caucasian Republics in a ferment—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan. All strongly protest against the invasion of Denikin's volunteers.

"La Feuille," July 22nd.

SELF DETERMINATION IN FIUME CONSISTED OF OUSTING NATIVES

Italian Officers Discreetly Direct Attention from Jugo-Slav Names in Graveyard and Point Out Necessity of Owning Susak for Protection, Too.

Fiume, Hungary, July 18 (by mail).—This little town is, for the moment, the pepper-pot of Eastern Europe. Perhaps, if I wanted to be more accurate, I should say it is one of the holes in the pepper-pot of the Balkans, but at any rate, there is no doubt in the minds of anybody here that the pepper in the pot is red and that this particular pepper is real Hungarian paprika. Not the "neutral" heading to this article (Fiume, Hungary).

I did that just to show you how I could keep my balance in this turmoil of conflicting commercial aspirations because I argued, sagely, that until a thing is changed it remains the same. Therefore, as Fiume was in Hungary before and during the war, and "we are still at war," it must still be in Hungary, but I am in terror lest any Serb, Croat, Italian, Jugo-Slav or Frenchman reads that heading, for off would come my head.

Nature did all it could to conceal the paprika from the naked eye, with the peaceful hills as a background and a gem of an oval-shaped bay with rugged islands as a foreground. Aside from the idle merchant fleet anchored to the very edge of the town, the big American and French warships and the many Italian destroyers and torpedo boats anchored further out give evidence that something is doing.

In the streets the 10,000 Italian soldiers and few thousand English Tommies and the flaming sign, "Italy or Death," pasted all over the Hungarian Bank Building (how spontaneous and natural), and often exhibited in small stores, whose proprietors have conspicuously Hungarian or Jugo-Slav names (which, of course, proves them to be the descendants of the ancient Romans and Italians, for whose sake the Italian government would "liberate" them), provided the most conspicuous evidence that something was "doing," and every one had to have a military pass and be accompanied by a military officer. Not even a press correspondent, bent upon obtaining the "truth," is exempt from this supervision, and as the Italians actually rule, though, of course, Fiume is "occupied" by the Allied troops, I forthwith went to the proper Italian authorities as soon as I arrived in the nearest town outside the martial law zone.

Days of Excitement.

It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon when I reached that town, just three or four days after the most exciting trouble had taken place in Fiume, and just when more excitement was expected. Why did I want to go to this particular town on the Adriatic? I was asked. It certainly wasn't any more interesting than, say, Zebinico, down the coast, and it was extremely inconvenient to allow strangers to prow around alone. I might even get sniped at from a roof-top by one of the thousands of pro-Italians who would, undoubtedly, mistake me for a Jugo-Slav. Italy must protect strangers from such dangers, and the Italian military authorities could tell me all the "facts." The whole world knew that the Italians of Fiume would not tolerate anything but Italian rule. It was a clear case of self-determination, and the 15,000 Jugo-Slavs and more than 6,000 Magyars were really very indifferent! Of course, Susak was entirely Jugo-Slav, and would have to be included in the final Italian control, but they would, doubtless, welcome the Italians as emancipators in time.

Not being allowed to go to Fiume that night, but having extracted a promise for facilities the next morning, I most naturally, after the way of correspondents, roamed about that small town and talked with as many people as I could.

Jugo-Slavs Expelled.

A very attractive post-card and tobacco store where I bought views of the Gulf of Fiume approaching somewhat its marvelous beauty, proved the source of real information. It is owned and run by a woman who said in answer to my question: "Fiume is three miles from here, but I have not been allowed to go there since the armistice because the Italians are expelling all Jugo-Slavs from the town and forbidding them to enter. I

am a Croat and 80 per cent of the people in this town are Croats. We want to be independent not necessarily with the Jugo-Slavs, but according to the program of your great President Wilson." Stopping short when an Italian soldier entered to buy cigarettes and resuming as soon as he left: "We could not have any hope for the future if we did not know that America and England will not permit the Italians to continue suppressing our newspapers, forcing Italian to be taught in the schools, employing as far as possible only Italian laborers and feeding the Jugo-Slav population last of all. We have even been deprived of our cinema, as the signs are written in Italian."

At this moment a friend who had been in America passed the door and she called him in to tell the American. In very good British, all about it. At the same time a group of seven or eight Italian soldiers came in and took several minutes to buy postcards. The friendly one-time American resident came closer to me, whispering under his breath that I must be careful or he would be deported to Sardinia, where hundreds of men, women and children had already been sent who were suspected of being pro-Jugo-Slav.

Can't Find Employment.

"Well, say!" he said out loud as soon as the last Italian soldier had left, "it isn't like this in America, is it? I was some 'nut' to just happen to come back to see my folks in 1914 and I've wished myself back again many a time. What's a man to do? I'm a carpenter, but because I'm a Jugo-Slav I can't get a job except as conductor on the street car between this town and the next. If I even have a Jugo-Slav newspaper in my pocket I am liable to get arrested. The other night, when seven of my friends and I went up in the woods on top of the hill to sing some old religious songs on St. Peter's Day, we were surrounded by a regiment of soldiers and warned not to repeat the offense. You tell America just how it is and then it will be made all right."

He hesitated a long time before complying with my request to write down for me the names of the Jugo-Slav leaders in that town. He finally said he would if I would conceal him from one side and the other proprietor from the other and he would write under this coat. The way he wrote the three names was an eloquent tribute to the "liberation" which the Italian military authorities have been able to establish in the short time since the armistice.

Demand a Plebiscite.

Two days earlier than this conversation I was the innocent cause of and witnessed another exhibition of how self-determination of the Italian variety works. It was in a little town far up in the mountains in the region of the great retreat from Caporetto. I met the Mayor, burgomaster, postmaster and school teacher and was invited by my Italian military escort to ask them all the questions I desired. It was a village exactly like 25 or 30 others through which I had passed during the past week in the "Italian Irredenta" districts of Austria. The Italians have steadily opposed the holding of a plebiscite in these regions, so my first question was, "Do the people in this village want a plebiscite, and how would they be apt to vote?"

"We do want a plebiscite," said the little schoolmaster, "because we believe in democracy which your great President Wilson stands for. The principle of self-determination can never be torn from the hearts of the people here. As very few people in this region speak Italian, I believe they would want to be under Jugo-Slav rule in preference to Italian, but we really want to be independent."

Lenine Versus Wilson.

"Has the Russian revolution had much influence here, do you think?" I asked.

"The Russian revolution has had an enormous effect here," he answered, "because all of the soldiers from this part of Austria were sent to fight Russia, and the many who were taken prisoners are now returning. They say that it is a choice between Lenine and Wilson now, and that if Wilson, who is more practical, fails, then we must follow the ideals of Lenine. Though Italian is taught in our schools here, German is not forbidden, and we have much better treatment from

the Italians as regards food than the Austrians ever gave us, but the idea of democracy and self-rule has taken a firm hold on the people."

Five minutes later, while I was talking to one of the other officials of the town, I observed that this man was summoned by an orderly to leave the group, and was spoken to very harshly by the ranking officer present, and that when he returned to the group two brilliant red spots were visible on his cheeks and a shining glitter was in his eyes. Later I was informed that these village people were extremely ignorant fellows, who had been so much oppressed by their Austrian rulers that they were incapable of any initiative.

The Barracks of Hope.

Driving to Fiume in a military automobile from Abazia, where I had spent the night, passed the extensive Whitehead torpedo works, now closed, and the barracks built to accommodate 5,000 emigrants at one time. These low houses had sheltered many a hopeful immigrant to the United States, as Fiume before the war was the most important port of embarkation for emigrants from the Balkans and eastern and southern Europe. They were built by the independent town of Fiume, were used as hospitals during the war and now sheltered the soldiers of the French army of occupation.

Passing through the wide avenue, renamed since the armistice (by the Italians) Avenue 17th September, I got a lovely view of the bay from the main street, and the auto soon began to climb a steep hill to the official Italian headquarters, as I had to report to the military high command.

The official residence was full of dignified portraits of leaders in the history of the free town of Fiume. The Commando Supremo began by welcoming me to Fiume and telling me why any thought of other than Italian rule was thoroughly obnoxious to the people of the city, and ended by assuring me that during the next four hours (my time was restricted to four hours), he would do anything in his power to allow me to find out the truth. Taking him at his word, I requested to be taken to the cemetery, because upon the tombstones in this ancient cemetery the Jugo-Slavs said rested the names of Jugo-Slav dead for many generations, which proved that the town was never inhabited by large numbers of Italians. That cemetery had even figured in peace conference disputes, so, as a conscientious correspondent, I must have a look at it.

Must Have Susak, Too.

Believing that my request had been granted, I returned to my auto and drove through the city, across the narrow stream, separating Fiume from Susak, and up a steep hill to an old fort. Here I was told that a very much better view of the narrow river which the Allies wanted to make the boundary between Fiume and Susak could be obtained than from the cemetery, and that the Supreme Command had decided that it was quite impossible for me to visit the cemetery that day. Would I please note how easy it would be for the Jugo-Slavs of Susak to shoot across that 20-foot stream and how obvious it was that Italy must control Susak also. The hill commanding the two towns would be in the Italian domain anyway, so why allow these 10,000 odd Jugo-Slavs to possess a portion of the town which, after all, was thoroughly useless, as the deep-water harbor became a marsh in that vicinity.

Thoroughly mad, I asserted my right to go to the cemetery (alive or dead), but this time I was told it would be impossible for another reason, as the automobile (having gone five miles that morning) had very little gasoline. The officer would escort me about the streets of Fiume. Ten minutes later I was allowed the extreme pleasure of gazing with both eyes upon the outside of the building where the Allied Commission, appointed to investigate the recent riots, had that morning begun their deliberations. The very handsome opera-house opposite was much more interesting because it proved that the city of Fiume as a self-governing community supported both music and the drama. I also found the Hungarian and Magyar names on every store and street corner (unless the latter had been conspicuously replaced by an Italian name) most

interesting and found myself helpless in my desire to talk to the people because my Italian military guide told me he could not understand their Slovak tongue enough to interpret it. Obviously the town of Fiume was overwhelmingly Italian!

Jugo-Slav Italians.

However, if I would visit the Town Council, my guide told me, I would see how Italian Fiume was. The president of the Town Council spoke very good Italian and was a very eminent physician who had introduced radium as an anaesthetic for wounded soldiers during the war. His name was distinctly and unpronounceably Slav, but his conversation was as distinctly Italian. He informed me that the council was entirely Italian in sympathy, as the Jugo-Slav in the town, when they did vote, selected Italian councilmen. He said that Susak was under Hungarian rule, as independent as Fiume had been, and therefore had its own Town Council. There had been an election since the armistice, but women, although voting in all other parts of Hungary, had not been allowed to vote under the Allied jurisdiction. He spoke of Wilson's self-determination policy as proof positive that Fiume should be allowed to decide for Italy.

And there you are! Self-determination comes out ahead every time! Not having been afforded ordinary opportunities, but only obstructions, by the Italian authorities, I naturally suppose that "every one" in Fiume may not be rooting for Italy. Maybe some of them believe the Jugo-Slavs when they say that all Italy wants Fiume for is to make discriminating railroad rates in favor of Trieste, so that the Balkans will be effectually bottled up and trade will be entirely diverted to Trieste. Whatever the truth about the recent riots may be, the fact remains that the natives seem to want what they have always had—namely, self-determination. The French blame the Italians for the riots, and the Italians say the French are the trouble makers, while an English Tommy who was acting as sentinel, and to whom I was able to talk, said: "It's jolly well certain the row's coked up by some one!"

Meantime, what are the Socialists of Fiume itself saying, and how now the Italian Socialists feel about the imperialistic aims of Italy? Thwarted in my efforts to reach both Italian and Jugo-Slav Socialists on the spot, I sought them out in every town I subsequently visited in Dalmatia and in Italy. Without exception, every Socialist I met in Italy and from Fiume said the same thing. They had not interest in making Fiume and Dalmatia either Italian or Jugo-Slav.

The Fiume Socialists report that

the Comrades in Fiume want to see under a government similar to Lenine's. They want the whole world to use the port of Fiume, and they don't think that freedom of the seas necessarily means the control of the Adriatic by Italy. In Milan, Turin and other Italian cities all the Socialists I asked said they were not interested in anything but bringing about complete revolution and Soviet government. Fiume would then belong to the workers of Jugo-Slavia, Italy, Hungary, and the world.

SOVIETS FRESH GAIN

Koltchak Himself Defeated.

The Soviet Wireless reports: "After the capture of Cheliabinsk the enemy concentrated his forces, and made a fierce attack. After five days' fighting, which was directed personally by Admiral Koltchak, the enemy was obliged to assume the defensive."

"Our troops then again made a decisive advance," which proved successful. During this fighting we took over 4,000 prisoners and 50 machine guns.—Wireless Press.

Skirmishes on the Murmansk front are reported by the War Office. At Archangel the situation is quiet. An American Y. M. C. A. representative, who has returned on parole, states that all British personnel captured in the mutiny have been well treated, and are at present at Vologda.

Estonian Headquarters report that the Russian North-Western troops, under pressure of superior enemy forces, have left Yamburg and are retiring in a south-westerly direction.—Reuter.

TERROR IN ODESSA DESCRIBED BY REFUGEE

Murders Laid at Door of French and Russian Officers by Man Who Fled.

By Isaac Don Levine.

Stockholm, Sweden, July 7.—This is the story of Jeanne Labourbe, the Edith Cavell of Soviet Russia. Jeanne Labourbe was a Frenchwoman. She was a Moscow school teacher. And she was a communist. She was in Odessa when her compatriots occupied that city. On the night of March 3, 1919, Jeanne Labourbe was murdered in cold blood by a group of French and Russian officers.

This is also the story of an old mother and her three daughters, of a man and his wife, of a French soldier-communist, and of two other men, all of whom on the night of March 3, 1919, together with Jeanne Labourbe, were murdered in cold blood by a group of French and Russian officers.

Incidentally, this also discloses one of the reasons why the French were compelled to evacuate Odessa.

Only one man lived to tell the full story. By an act of daring he escaped the blood-bath. His name is Ratkov. And he is a Serb, as his story shows.

Ratkov's narrative is here reproduced just as he spoke, without any modifications. Before giving it to the readers of The Daily News I made every effort to have it confirmed from an additional source. This week I met here, in Stockholm, a former member of the anti-bolshevik Ukrainian government of Petlura. This ex-minister was in Odessa at the time the atrocity was committed and admitted to me the truth of the occurrence.

Ratkov's experience, as told by himself, follows:

Serb Tells His Story.

"On March 2, at half past ten in the evening, I was sitting with Milo Labourbe, the old Mme. Leifman, her three daughters, Rebecca, Vera and Gessia, and with their guest, Lazar Shvets. Some of us took lessons in French, others were reading. The door was opened, and ten armed men rushed into the room. Among them were two generals, two colonels, two privates and four French officers. There were five Russians dressed in uniforms and one in civilian clothes. Three of the French officers were in the uniform of infantry and one in that of the navy. Upon rushing into the room they ordered 'hands up!' and aimed their pistols at us. We raised our hands and got up. One of the officers flung himself upon me with the words: 'Tell where is the money which has been brought from Moscow, or I will shoot you!' I answered:

"Shoot, if you have the power! I am not a coward. I am a Serb. I know nothing about the money."

All Documents Taken.

"He took my pistols away and began to search me, cursing. He went through my pockets, took away all my documents, all my money, removed my watch and began to inquire what was my business and that of my comrades Labourbe and Lazar, and who we were. We were thoroughly cleaned out. All the papers were taken, including postal cards, documents, even the old woman's money was taken away. She began to cry, but somebody shouted at her: 'Silence!—I will shoot you, slut!' Things were scattered about the room. Our hands were bound, and again there was a search for money, accompanied by the words: 'If you do not tell us, we will find anyhow. We will break the walls, but we will find.'

"On comrade Labourbe they found various papers, a copy of the 'Communist' in the French language, various notes, etc. They found two notes on me. One officer said to a general: 'Certainly this is the whole gang.' All the things that were taken away from us were put together. The money was put into the pockets, and the other things into a basket which was carried to the office of the secret service. Then they went into the barn, broke open the lock and finding there bolshevik literature of last year, said: 'Rascals, they must have brought this literature from Moscow.' Gessia answered: 'This is literature of last year.' Everybody was calm, except the old woman. They replied: 'We are no fools. We see that this is fresh literature.'

Man Is Beaten in House.

"After the house was sealed. The old woman was taken on a cab, and we were driven along Pushkinskaya

to military headquarters. We were taken up to the third floor, seated within three feet of one another. The women's hands were untied, but ours were left bound. Then a French soldier-communist, two women and three men who had been arrested before us, were led out. Then Engineer Elin was examined and beaten. He was so knocked about that he came out all in blood. Then another prisoner was taken and also savagely beaten. Then an officer appeared at the door and shouted: 'Monsieur Michel, please!' The leader of the French group, who was called to be examined, was so brutally beaten that the old woman Leifman fainted. Another woman said: 'This is worse than under the old regime.' One of the officers shouted: 'Silence! We will give you freedom. Threats and fists for you, revolutionary scoundrels.'

Says French As in Command.

"When I asked a colonel why were the prisoners beaten, he answered: 'I don't know, I have nothing to do with this. Here the French are commanding.' At this, one of the French officers approached, struck me twice in the face and shouted: 'Silence!' After the examination of comrade Shvets, who was also beaten, my turn arrived. I entered the examination room. There, at the table, sat a red old man of about 55 or 60, who was the examiner, and two French officers. On the left there were seated two aristocrats, and in the rear there were standing four or five Russian and French officers. My hands were bound. The following inquiry took place.

Try to Terrify Serb.

"Who are you?"
"I am a Serb."
"You are a scoundrel, not a Serb."

"I am not a scoundrel, mind you, but I am a Serb."

"He shouted at me: 'Don't yell! You are taking too much liberty.' I answered that I had no one to fear."

"I will give you five minutes' time. If you are an honest Serb, you ought to tell us, what in common you have with these French and this gang. Remember, that we freed you from the Germans, the enemies of Serbia."

"Thank you, messieurs officers," I answered, for your freeing us. "What scoundrels!" I said to myself. "Unfortunately I can tell you nothing, even if you gave me not five but ten or twenty minutes' time. You will get nothing out of me, and if you want to kill me, then take a pistol or a knife and slay me like a dog."

"The French officers said that they would not beat me, and I was led into another room where those who had been beaten were kept. One comrade was lying on the floor all in blood. So were others. My hands were untied. I stood and looked through the doors. Soon three French officers and one Russian came into the room. One of the Frenchmen approached comrade Michel and began to talk to him about something. Then he suddenly struck comrade Michel several times in the head and with his foot in the abdomen. Comrade Michel fell and cried like a child from pain. One officer and a lady, apparently a wife of some bourgeois, passed through the room. They looked and laughed."

Taken Out in Automobile.

"Soon Michel, Shvets, Elin, one young comrade whose name I did not know, Gessia and I were driven to the exit. It was 12:30 a. m. Armed officers and several soldiers were waiting for us at the doors. We were led downstairs, placed in pairs in a line and driven out into the street. Two automobiles were standing there. Michel, the young comrade and I were placed in one automobile, the other three were put into the second automobile. A whole suite including the officers who had arrested us, armed with revolvers and bombs accompanied us. There were eight armed men around each automobile. The automobiles started. I asked: 'Where are we being led? I was answered: 'To the staff.'

"I collected all my strength and thought of what to undertake in order to be saved. We were taken outside the city, near the barracks, to the second Jewish cemetery. When we arrived at the cemetery the officers ordered: 'Stop!' The chauffeurs stopped. The officers ordered the automobiles to go back some distance, saying that they lost their way and arrived not

where they should have gone. One of the officers asked us if we had arms, and then I and the other comrades were searched. Having convinced himself that we had none he ordered the chauffeur to put out the lights.

Makes Dash for Life.

"Then the work began. I knew that we would be shot immediately. I decided to act. Seizing with my left hand the pistol of one of the officers and striking him in the face with my right, so that he fell on the others, I jumped from the automobile and ran. From both cars volleys were shot at me but I was not struck. I ran, fell into a pit, raised myself and ran on. The executioners kept shooting at me all the time. Upon reaching the fence of the cemetery I jumped across it and found myself in the cemetery. At the same time the executioners began their bloody settlement with their unfortunate victims. The shooting continued for fifteen to twenty minutes.

Women Go to Their Death.

"I went out into the field and walked toward the city. The night was bright but moonless. I kept walking. Two French soldiers crossed my path. I hid myself in a court. I do not know which, and waited until they passed. Then I went on. As soon as I emerged from the court I suddenly saw automobiles coming from the city. Again I hid myself in the court. I saw that the automobiles, the same that carried me, now contained five women, comrade Labourbe, the old woman Leifman, two of her daughters, Rebecca and Vera, and the wife of the engineer Elin. They were taken to the bloody execution place! Indeed, after some time there was heard much shooting."

On the morning of March 3, 1919, the newspaper "Odesskia Novosti" carried the following notice under the heading "An Unfortunate Accident":

"About 2 or 3 a. m. there was heard shooting near the Jewish cemetery. A patrol was sent out, but found nothing. Only after some time there passed by the patrol two automobiles with people in civilian clothes and some armed soldiers. At dawn there were found near the Jewish cemetery ten corpses, six women and four men. The bodies of the unfortunate ones were taken to the morgue, and on the breast of each of them a little paper was placed bearing the inscription 'Name unknown.'"

Odessa Aroused by Act.

The excitement in the city was great. The agitation among the workers grew stronger every day, in spite of arrests and numerous executions. Protests poured in from all the elements of the population of Odessa. The newspapers carried daily notices of men shot while trying to escape, but the readers understood their meaning. At the funeral of four executed railroad men the workmen came out in such force, singing revolutionary hymns and displaying red flags, that the troops were unable to disperse the crowd. Demonstrations continued during the month of March.

Early in April the French evacuated Odessa.

GENERAL'S SAVAGERY

Why Italians Broke in 1917.

H. K. Moderwell.

Milan, August 7.—"Avanti!" has been publishing a remarkable series of documents on the Caporetto disaster in 1917.

It will be remembered that the defeat was exploited as capital against the Socialists, who, it was claimed, had deliberately procured the defection of the Italian troops.

But, according to the report of Colonel Douhet to the Government Commission, the defeat was caused by a long series of inexcusable military faults on the part of the Italian Command. The Command of the 46th Division had no maps of the battle-front, which it was depending.

Perhaps most important was the brutal discipline in the 4th Corps, holding the Caporetto sector, "Avanti!" states that General Graziani one day saw a private soldier, one Ruffini, who saluted him with his pipe in his mouth. The general, saying, "I treat my soldiers as I please," ordered Ruffini to be shot in the presence of the bystanders.

THE IRON HEEL IN GERMANY

CAPITALISM, REACTION AND TERROR.

By Madeleine Doty.

A few hours after my arrival in Berlin I sought out my Communist friend. She had been a close friend of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. She was with them a few hours before their death. She fought with them for the Revolution.

My heart beat violently as I stood at her front door. Was she dead or alive, or in prison? There came the sound of a step, and I knew she was there. There was the same passionate personality, with burning eyes and massive head with its shock of grey hair, the same passionate friend, that drew me to her. But in her face were lines of sorrow, in her manner a selflessness, and I knew she had gone through tortures.

When we could speak, my first question was, "Where is the Revolution? What has happened?" and she bowed her head. "Temporarily it is dead," she said. "We have

been hounded, imprisoned, and killed until there are none left to fight. I have been in prison."

The Capitalist Republic. "But," I ventured, "the world talks of a Socialist Republic in Germany." She smiled grimly. "It is a lie," she said. "There isn't an atom of Socialism. The monarchy has gone, a Republic has come; but it is a Capitalist Republic, a Capitalist Republic that is more deadly than the monarchy."

"At first Scheidemann spoke with the Communists. In the early days we were all together. Scheidemann saw it was the way to win the people, and the people didn't understand. They thought Scheidemann stood for Socialism, and that Socialism had come when Scheidemann was elected. But from the first his power waned. He feared Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and murdered them. Then the Capitalists took heart. They saw the bourgeoisie and the peasants were with them. They got behind Scheidemann. They offered him their strength. They made him their tool. They turned the revolution of the people into a Capitalistic and Militaristic Republic."

That evening my friend and I walked the streets of Berlin. I saw the Kaiser's Palace and adjacent buildings riddled with bullets. I saw the barbed wire entanglements and the grim young soldiers with fixed bayonets guarding every public entrance. And we came up Unter den Linden to the Tiergarten, and on beyond to the big open space in front of the Reichstag, and there in the stillness of the night my friend told me her story.

The New Tyranny. "When Scheidemann and Noske saw they had accomplished nothing by their murders, they turned on the people. They gave up all pretence of Socialism, all pretence of decency. They imprisoned and killed people without any trial. In the Kaiser's time there were at least

trials; there was some attempt at justice. Now there is nothing. No one is safe.

"Noske has taken the old trained and drilled militarists, the old order with the old ideas, and equipped them with hand grenades. They go out joyfully to slaughter. There is hardly one of the well-known Communists who hasn't been imprisoned or killed."

"In March 28 soldiers came to my door. Eight of them seized me. So many men for one woman. They searched my flat, turned out all my papers, but found nothing. No evidence was found against me, but they carried me off to jail."

"I was treated like a beast. I was ill with bronchitis, but they made me take a hot bath, and then put me in a cell with the windows wide open, and they gave me no covers. I couldn't eat any food. For seven days and nights I never slept a wink. I grew very ill. My daughter was allowed to see me. She is a doctor in a big hospital. Through her influence I was sent to a sanatorium, and after several weeks I was allowed to come home."

"But my prison commitment says I will be arrested if I speak publicly or take part in politics."

"At present it is useless. It is not the time. The leaders are in prison, or dead, and the people are not yet ready for communism. The peasants must first be converted. We are making no attempt to gain control. The Government knows this, but it pretends we are. It stirs up riots among the people. It does this that it may slaughter and imprison us to the last man."

The Two Armies. "There are two armies forming: Noske's army, with the trained and drilled militarists, the Prussians, the White army; and the army of the workers, the Red Army, miserable, half fed, but filled with mad rage. Just now Noske is strong. There may come even greater reaction. A monarch might be put on the throne. But not for long, the people are awake now. They will never submit again. They will go out in their blind rage to battle, women and children as well as men. There will be bloody slaughter. The people cannot be held in check. We who might have organized, quieted, and led them, are being killed. We are helpless. When there is a spontaneous uprising of the people, we cannot leave them to destruction, and we come forward then and speak for them, and try to help them. But soon there will be none of us left. The Government is bringing chaos and destruction upon Germany."

My friend ceased speaking, we turned and walked to her home. Underneath the trees in the Tiergarten ragged soldiers lurked. Crime is rife in Berlin. The next day we heard there had been two robberies and a murder in the very place where we had stood.

The Truth Revealed

Ransome's Greatest Work

SIX WEEKS IN RUSSIA IN 1919

By Arthur Ransome.

Soviet Russia is the question of the moment. The Press of the ruling class are pouring forth their lies about Bolshevism. Do you want to know what life is like in Petrograd, Moscow and Russia generally? Do you want to make the acquaintance of Lenin, Trotsky and the big men and women of Soviet Russia? Then get a copy of this book of Ransome's.

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Mr. Arthur Ransome, the distinguished Russian correspondent of the London Daily News, has recently spent six weeks in Moscow. Ransome is neither Bolshevik nor a Communist. He is simply an honest investigator who records facts. He has recorded these facts in his remarkable work, "Six weeks in Russia in 1919."

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Reds in a Dock Blockade

Swedish Bolsheviks Halt Loading of Cargo for Vladivostok.

By Bassett Digby.

Stockholm, Sweden, Aug. 26.—After weeks of agitation urging the transport workers to blockade all consignments of freight destined for anti-Bolshevik countries barring trade with central Russia, the Swedish Bolsheviks have at last succeeded in getting results by the refusal of Gothenburg stevedores to load 200 tons of shell cases on the Ceylon, which was scheduled to take them to Vladivostok. These seventeen carloads of shell cases were made by the Separator works here and were delivered on the Russian legation's order.

The harbor authorities declare that they do not intend to allow the dock laborers to constitute themselves a board of censorship over what freight is to be loaded. They maintain that they will get the consignment loaded by the port officials and cranes.

The case opens interesting possibilities, as the Bolshevik party, which includes a large majority of the dock laborers, may now begin the blockade in earnest.

The Protest Strike in Germany

"La Feuille" the Geneva daily gives the following particulars of the International Strike in Germany, and Austria:

Germany.

At Berlin the strike was partial. The tramways and underground stopped work, but the city railways and omnibuses continued to circulate. As this, however, was not sufficient for the traffic, emergency vehicles had to be brought out, as during the Berlin transport strike.

In the gasworks and municipal electric power stations work was completely suspended, but a supply of gas was assured by "reserves." In other factories work went on so that there was little interruption of the water supply. The big shops were open. The open-air meetings planned by the Independents did not take place as advertised, owing to its being prohibited by Noske. Meetings were held in the suburbs, but there were no demonstrations in the centre of Berlin. The Government took care to concentrate troops to see that the prohibition to hold meetings was obeyed. "Vorwärts" for July 21st denounced the strike as "a new crime against the German people," saying that Germany's only hope lay in work and production, and exhorting the workers to "put no trust in those who were destroying their future prospects."

At Halle all electrical, gas and tramway workers went on strike. No newspapers were published. At Brunswick the stoppage was complete.

The Hungarian Plot

A Foretaste of What May Happen in Russia—Germany.

By a Political Correspondent.

If, as late as a week since, the Daily Herald had said that the real object behind the attempts of destruction of the Soviet Government in Hungary was the restoration of a dynastic military dictatorship, we should have been accused of "revolutionary extravagance," "seditious vilification of the Allied Governments," "Bolshevik sedition," and much more to the same effect.

Well, today the avowed facts of Allied policy in Hungary constitute an accusation far more damaging than any which we have made.

Having by blockade, by starvation, by the secret encouragement of outside military aggression, destroyed the Soviet Communist Government on the ground that it did not represent the wishes of the people, having also destroyed the "Right" Socialist Government which succeeded it, the Allies have now restored the Hapsburg monarchy in Hungary against the known and declared wishes of the vast masses of the Hungarian population, and in the interests of a tiny clique of Magyar Junker landowners sharing all the worst traditions of the Prussian militarism which it was our professed object in the war to destroy.

Let us consider a moment what this means. For five years the Allied Governments have been appealing to their peoples to sacrifice their last drop of blood in order to destroy the type of military autocracy of which the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties were the embodiment and prototypes. Again and again we have declared that there was nothing really to choose between these two dynasties or systems: the Hapsburg was not only a military autocracy, it was also, what the Hohenzollerns on the whole were not, an anti-national and mainly foreign dynasty.

The Abominable Plot.

Very well. The armies of these autocracies are beaten, and their peoples revolt and sweep them away. The Allied Governments proceed to certain "territorial rearrangements," to the assignment of "mandates"—to themselves; to the carving out of spheres of influence in Eastern Europe—all things to which the existence of the German and Austrian Powers stood as an obstacle. These things being accomplished, there remains the problem of the future fate of the peoples themselves. These peoples choose the way of republicanism. Industrial as well as political self-government. What do the Allies do? How do they use their power? For months they have been deliberately plotting for the restoration of the self-same, monarchical, mili-

tarist, tyrannical dynasties whose destruction was declared to be our only object in entering the war. The Allied Governments have already succeeded in Austria. Not only communism and Socialism, but political democracy and republicanism, are deliberately destroyed.

We say that if our people tolerate this it will merely be a beginning; that the restoration of Hapsburgs in Hungary by means of Allied bayonets will be followed by the restoration of Romanoffs in Russia by the same means; and finally by the restoration of German royal houses in Germany itself by the aid, if not of invading Allied armies, then of "economic pressure," and of those bribes upon which capitalism rests.

Is it merely the Daily Herald or embittered Socialists who make these accusations? The truth has at last become so unavoidable that it has terrified the more astute even of the capitalist and bourgeois forces. Encouraged doubtless by the apparent inertia of the masses the junta of elderly diplomats in Paris have discarded their masks, and the grossness of the thing has prompted even the "Times" to warn them that if the thing is not done with a little more finesse they will play into the hands of "revolutionaries."

The Fatal Admissions

Just note what the "Times" in its leading article of yesterday, admits:

1. The Entente mission or missions of Hungary have chosen a member of the Hapsburg family as their delegate.
2. For months past there have been intrigues on the part of the Entente missions to place the Archduke Joseph at the head of what remains of the former Hungarian kingdom.
3. Months ago the Peace Conference were organizing a military invasion of Hungary and the military occupation of Budapest.
4. The governments who were to supply those troops were told that they were to place the Archduke Joseph on the Hungarian throne.
5. The "Times" admits that the operation would amount to "foisting members of discredited dynastic families upon peoples who have had no voice in electing them."
6. It admits that this monarchical revival is in the interests of the Magyar aristocracy.
7. It admits the inevitable development of this policy: "If the Archduke Joseph be placed in power at Budapest, why should not the Emperor Charles or some member of his family be restored to the Vienna Hofburg or members of the German dynasties to their respective residencies?"
8. It admits that this policy is

a complete abandonment of the last shreds of any pretence at "self-determination" or "democratic principles."

Not that the "Times" really would be distressed at these violations; but it fears that in the crude form in which they are now emerging they "give the show away." A republican, a Socialist, or a communist government had to be destroyed by blockade or invasion because it was not "democratic." But a foreign monarchy, buttressed by foreign bayonets, in the interests of Junker landowners, can defy popular will as much as it likes and the Allies will support it.

Is the British Democracy really going to tolerate this? Is it really going to be fobbed off by the statement that it will be able to put its case at some vague general election, held months hence when the damage will have been done and these intrigues carried to fruition on the ruins of democracy, republicanism, Socialism, and working-class government?

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A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

By MARY E. MARCY

We American revolutionary socialists are in process of finding ourselves and some of us have a long way to go.

One Left Wing group imagines and teaches, by inference, if not by design, that revolution is a project, a PLAN, and this group has issued blue prints of the coming change and promises of what it means to do during the transition and after, even going so far as to guarantee the profits of small investors. This group has adopted wholesale the program of our splendid Russian comrades—even to their recognized mistakes, and to the compromises the Russian Soviets have sometimes been forced to make during a period of chaos, in order to expedite the processes of production and secure food and clothing for a desperate and hungry people.

These of us are not going to be guided by events and circumstances and requirements and necessities; we are going to make our plans and stick to them though the heavens fall! We are already compromising with the petty bourgeoisie when we may never be forced into this extremity. We are promising things we can never perform.

Another group which formerly called itself a part of the Left Wing, seems to be so enamored with its own narrow, incorrect interpretation of political action that it seems about to cut off those branches of this form of activity which are counted most essential in the Left Wing program of Europe. Of late several writers in this group have been denouncing mass action, under the mistaken idea that we can get nowhere by following the working class and in the evident belief that leaders alone will be able to guide the workers into the New Society. They forget that Lenin and Trotsky followed the Russian workers straight into the revolution.

This group is not advocating the election of socialists on reform platforms, but it evidently does intend to overthrow capitalism by one grand political coup. Since they disapprove of mass action, they must mean by the election of socialists to office.

This group, which is tolerably well-informed of the writings of Marx, has forgotten that Marx declared he would give all the theories in the world for ACTION by the working class, and that Marx organized the Workers' International, an economic, rather than a political organization.

Some of the comrades in this group are discouraging strikes and telling the workers that all strikes are failures. Coverly, they are disparaging all forms of unionism. They seem to forget that men learn by doing instead of by theorizing; that the Great Man Theory of making history belongs to a by-gone period, and that strikes are the best schools on earth for developing class consciousness, class loyalty, class power, class fighting spirit.

They forget that Necessity is today treading so closely upon the toes of all workmen that workers HAVE TO BE ETERNALLY FIGHTING to keep pace with the rising cost of living. The workers HAVE TO FIGHT on the industrial field, with their fellows, or acquire deadly habits of slavish submission under which they would sink lower and lower into utter degradation and despair. The only alternative such a worker would have would be the performance of some rash individualistic act that would lodge him in jail.

A great opportunity is before us revolutionary socialists today. We ought all to be in the very heart of every industrial fight, helping the worker and showing him that while higher wages will help him to keep pace with the rising cost of living, the cost of living is going to continue to go up. We should show him that the only real hope for the working class is in the ABOLITION of the WAGES SYSTEM.

We ought to be able to sum up our platform in this theme:

"Abolition of the Wages System!"

And if we are to qualify that phrase in any way we ought to add:

"By the working class; using political action, which includes mass action, and revolutionary unionism."

Many and many a page of perfectly good, clean paper has been spoiled during the last few weeks by groups calling themselves revolutionary socialists berating the I. W. W. because that organization refuses to endorse political action, whereas a well-known group, formerly in the S. P., has itself repudiated political action as defined by the Socialist Party of America in recent years.

The I. W. W. is a revolutionary industrial union aiming to abolish the wages system. It is the chief organization in this country today that is fighting, organizing and educating ON THE JOB. No intelligent person who knows anything about the I. W. W. imagines, for a moment, that its members would, in a time of revolution, permit any group of capitalist thugs, gunmen or bandits to go about killing workmen, or robbing the workers of their products, without organizing to prevent these things—had any other outrages against the working class. The I. W. W. is so busy waging the class war on the job that it has not laid out any specified plans for next year. But no organization that fails to adapt itself to the need of the times can possibly endure, and the I. W. W. intends to stay in the game.

If, instead of denouncing the only revolutionary movement that is actually making inroads in industry, we would learn what political action really is, and tell our friends what it is; if, instead of petty criticizing, we were to back up this fighting organization and show it that an army is the force that makes the State something besides a few words, or laws written upon pieces of paper; that mass action may be political action and that we are all so close together that we ought to present a solid front to the capitalist enemy, we might then develop a movement in this country that would

actually move and grow. Every worker is turning toward socialism or industrial unionism today. Why not educate these men and women instead of confusing them with our own errors?

A fine young Marxian student said a few days ago, when referring to a most exclusive group which called itself a part of the Left Wing movement: "We are going to keep on as we have done if we only have 10,000 members; we mean to be right if we only have TEN."

But a social revolutionist, a would-be, builder of the new society, cannot be right if his group numbers only ten. To be right today when financial systems are dissolving before our eyes, when economic systems are being revolutionized and great nations going bankrupt and workers everywhere demanding a new deal, or the abolition of the existing system, to be right at such a time we have TO EAT AND SLEEP AND TALK AND FIGHT AND SUFFER AND LEARN WITH THE MAN ON THE JOB!

The great European Left Wing revolutionists, some of whom have died in the cause of the workers, knew this. They knew, with Marx, that the emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers; that the working class and not the theoreticians are the makers of history; they knew, as Lenin and Trotsky showed so plainly, that no man, however wise, can actually lead the workers into revolution. They can only help the workers to get what they want when they begin to fight for it. They can only remove the obstacles from the torrent of blind, desperate revolution and help it sooner to find a safe outlet in the satisfaction of working class needs and desires.

This is precisely the reason our European comrades insisted upon standing for MASS ACTION as being the best means for revolution. This is why the socialists or communists of Europe who met at the third International held in Moscow last March emphasized mass action as being most effective in the days of revolution. In the Manifesto of the third International our comrades declare that this is "the era of the collapse of capitalism," believing, as foreseen by Marx, that capitalism is disintegrating through its own contradictions and that the workers will everywhere be FORCED into revolution.

The workers never have agreed nor ever can agree on, or plan, a revolution. Revolutions are the results of desperate needs, great economic convulsions and financial collapses. The workers revolt WHEN THEY HAVE TO, and never in the history of the world have they ever revolted before that time.

Today the working class is anxious to hear the message of communism, revolutionary unionism, or whatever it is you have in mind when you speak of the Abolition of the Wages System. Every revolutionist ought to sink himself among a group of wage workers and help organize and educate them, after he is sure he knows what he is talking about himself.

We ought not to discourage strikes because strikes hinder production, help increase the cost of living, because they cause further currency dilution (the printing of more unsecured paper money), as well as because strikes are the great training schools in the class war. The worker who is militant enough to fight loyally in a strike becomes a fighting man. He is going to take part in the Social Revolution. He is going to learn to do some thinking for himself, and it will be difficult for Blind Leaders to mislead him. May the gods deliver us from workers, no matter where they are, who listen to would-be leaders who advise them to sit down supinely during a falling labor market (falling wages) and LIVE on LESS while they are waiting for the revolution!

It is the good fortune of the workers today that they have to keep up a constant fight to catch up with the cost of living. If we only help to force prices up for all commodities, as well as for the commodity labor power, we will see the working class WHIPPED into SHAPE for REVOLUTION by everyday events, because it will learn to fight by fighting. Every strike hastens the downfall of capitalism.

Today the Russian Soviets are printing tons upon tons of new unbacked paper money because they know that they are thus, once and for all time, putting capitalism permanently out of business. Rising prices, strikes, rising wages, etc., force the capitalists of every nation into further currency inflation. They FORCE CAPITALISM TO DIG ITS OWN GRAVE.

These are great days and the only way we can actually take part in the great struggle going on is to ally ourselves with the workers in industry whence the great economic revolution is taking place. Small, exclusive groups that get together to mull over Marxian theories, while the FACTS of revolution are galloping past (precisely in accordance with the Marxian analysis of capitalist society), will be left on their selves during these stirring times.

We believe that every one who calls himself a revolutionist is a strong advocate of education, but if we are to have "education" opposing strikes, mass action and industrial unionism, I am sure we can dispense with such "education" to the advantage of the Class Struggle.

Further, even the very wisest of us does not know quite all there is to learn. We have to learn as we go along; we shall have to adapt ourselves to the rising tide of revolution. We may be sure it will never turn aside to shape itself to our small preferences or desires.

We may as well realize, too, that there are no true blue prints of the revolution and that the great change is not going to be encompassed by an "educated" working class, in the socialist sense. As conditions grow worse and the workers' fighting spirit increases, I suspect we are going to be amazed to see a lot of good Catholics, and staunch Republicans and hide-bound craft unionists who will be forced to jump right in and fight just as hard and just as well as we Marxians. They may not know exactly what they want or how to get it. They may want to destroy instead of to use, as they did in Russia, and so the more educated workers we have the easier will the transition be for us all.

But the RANK and FILE, The HENRY DUBBS, if you please, are going to do what Necessity makes them do, and Necessity is heading them straight for revolution. The more they strike and suffer, and suffer and learn and raise Cain generally, the sooner will the capitalist system progress far enough in the process of disintegration to enable the workers to throw off the burden of wage slavery.

Then will come the big job for wise heads. And if we are in close touch with the working class, if we know the job and the needs of the job and the MEN ON IT, if we are trusted by the workers and are OF the workers, then we can more easily help bring order out of chaos and help build the New World. In other words, if we are close enough to the workers we can, with them, shorten the birth-pangs of the New Society.

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew.—Abraham Lincoln.

Reform means a change of externals. Revolution means a change from within.—Daniel De Leon.

A THINKER

Three score years ago, one of the greatest minds of the nineteenth century applied the scientific method to a study of capitalist society. He took hold of history and made it appear like one unfolding panorama. Each event in history coming after the other in a process of evolution. He proved that in society, as in the phenomena of nature, development was no haphazard process, but unfolded in accordance with underlying laws.

The Big Four, the men responsible for the bringing into being the League of Nations, have demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt the correctness of the position laid down by that master-mind—Karl Marx. Study the developments of capitalism and you find that by reading "Das Kapital" that events have followed the course mapped out by Marx. Look around and see the huge trusts and combines that exist; notice how the small business men are driven to the wall and swallowed up by these same trusts and combines. Notice how the interests of the capitalist class dominate all other interests and you will then realize the remarkable foresight and wisdom of Marx.

IDEALISTS

The entry of Woodrow Wilson upon the world's stage has been the means of bringing before the world the idealists and their idealism. For a time, due to the triumphant march of the militarist, the idealists were placed in the background. But thanks to Wilson we are now suffering from a dose of idealists, that seeks to cure all social evils by glossing them over with fine phrases.

There are two ways of looking at the problems of the world. The first way is that of the idealist. He sets out with his mind full of phrases and talks about honor, justice and democracy. He has an idea that if the world would only accept his idea, then the world would be saved. He is a devout believer in the gospel of love, especially at a time when the workers are engaged in a tremendous struggle with the forces of capitalism. He would be alright, only for one mistake that he makes and that is in endeavoring to fit the world into his idea. If the world would only accept his idea and allow itself to be fitted into it, well then we would be saved a whole lot of trouble and annoyance. Ask the President, he knows? The idealist lives on perpetual illusions. He never gets down to earth, only when some sharp economic fact knocks him off his pedestal.

There is another type of idealist. He is more scientific in his analysis of worldly affairs, than our other friend. He takes hold of the facts of life and drawing upon his experiences he develops his ideas. Taking the reverse position of the other type of idealist. All ideals are but the shadow of the real things of life. Yet we are not opposed to the workers having a belief in an ideal. The value of an ideal is best seen in the Russian revolution, where the workers were urged on by the power of an ideal, namely that of ultimately obtaining control of the whole resources and lands of Russia. The driving force of an ideal is of inestimable benefit to the revolutionary movement of the workers. When we base our ideals upon the sound facts of our existence, then we are in no danger of being led astray by such "eminent statesmen" as our worthy President. It is only when we build our ideals upon the fleeting sands of vague conceptions, do we court danger and disaster. The working class movements must build their movements upon the scientific knowledge given to us by the minds of such men as Marx and Lenin. We must profit by the work of these men. By doing so we gain an understanding of the industrial system under which we live and how the working class is developing a revolutionary force to abolish this system. By that method we will have true ideals bearing a proper relation to life. With ideals having their roots in life itself they can assist us, but when they have their roots in the phrases of Wilson and other misleaders, then they become sickly false and lead the workers astray.

DID YOU EVER SEE ONE?

Did you ever see one?

They shout Bolshevikki after you, so that they can make good in the eyes of the boss.

They can be seen with their noses touching the very ground, when they see the boss or his wife pass by. And when it comes to a strike vote, that is if they have been forced into a union, because they have not got the guts to join one of their own free will, they will talk about their wives and children.

They use their wives and children, like the profiteer uses the flag.

They will go to hell for the boss and take their own children along with them.

Did you ever see one? Sure you did.

Some day there is going to be an inventory made and when the whole blamed system is called to scratch, we will change the environment of our timid friends and instead of trying to make them good by giving them bibles, we will give them the chance to be good by giving them decent conditions.

Capitalism is the degrading system that makes men cowards. Socialism is the system that makes men—men.

What do you stand for? And where do you stand?

DID YOU EVER PAUSE FOR A MOMENT AND THINK OVER THINGS?

Did you ever pause for a moment and think over things? Did you ever wonder how it is that we have been for thousands of years on this old planet and yet—

Children die for want of food, yet thousands of years ago, the so-called barbarian children lived and became strong men and women.

It took over twenty-five million men's lives to justify the annexation of German trade by the Allies.

We have the advantage of the wonders of the science over the crude methods of the savage, yet we of the working class are treated and fare worse than the savage.

Just wondering whether you thought about these things. WE HAVE.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

In view of the importance of the founding of the Third International, it is absolutely essential that the Manifesto issued by the Third International be in the hands of every member of the Socialist movement. We have no doubt whatsoever that this Manifesto will do for the socialist movement, what the Communist Manifesto of 1848 did for the socialist movement of those years. Previous to the issuance of the Communist Manifesto, the ideas of the socialist and labor movement were very much confused. Honest sentimentalists and scheming charlatans, by their combined ideas wrecked every movement that they entered. The Communist Manifesto issued by Marx and Engels in 1848, was the death of the old and confused ideas of that period. It tore from the faces of the leaders their masks, it destroyed the old catch-words and for all time to come, destroyed the old

policy of expecting to win over the capitalist class by appeals to justice. The Communist Manifesto did more than destroy the old ideas, it built up the socialist movement on the sound foundation of scientific facts. It lifted Socialism up from out of the gutter of Utopian sentimentalism and planted it upon the bed-rock of science. It rescued Socialism from the clouds of Utopian sentimentalism and brought it back to earth, in direct contact with the social relations of the earth. The opening of the new period, that brought with it the birth of a revolutionary Socialist movement, was the result of the issuance of the Communist Manifesto. Men and women who had been groping in the dark for many years, now clearly saw the way they had to travel and how to travel it.

Many Socialists, especially those of the State Party of Michigan, now known as the Communist(?) Party, are under the impression that the Communist Manifesto of 1848 is all that we require to know. It is good to have the requisite knowledge, providing you have the necessary knowledge of how to apply your knowledge. In other words your ideas and tactics must harmonize. One without the other is futile. The new Communist Manifesto issued by the Third International, last March, in the city of Moscow, is the manifesto that teaches us how to act in conjunction with the knowledge that we gained from the Communist Manifesto of 1848. The new manifesto exposes the weaknesses of the Second International. It points out the changes that have taken place and how our moderate socialists have ignored them. The Third International in its manifesto calls for an international army of the revolutionary working class. We must overthrow the idea that we can have a national policy in Congress and an international policy in the industrial field. We have got to meet the economic international of the capitalist class by an economic international of the working class. The power of the capitalist class lies in their control of industry and the power of the working class lies also in industry. We can utilize Congress as a means of exposing the capitalist class, at every available opportunity. We can propagandize our ideas through the ballot, but we must center our efforts also upon the industrial machine.

The "Truth" makes no secret of its opposition to the Second International. The policy of the Second International is obsolete and worse still it is yellow. We call upon all comrades who believe in the Third International, to realize the revolutionary needs of the party and to stand out boldly and solidly for the Third International. You must make your choice now. Minnesota has made its choice. All of its delegates to the National Convention stand behind the Third International where do your delegates stand?

The Communist Manifesto can be had through the State Office or the CLARION BOOK STORE, 204 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

ALAS, POOR BELGIUM!

The Peace celebrations and the welcome home to the Duluth soldiers call to our attention the sad plight of poor Belgium.

We were in Europe during 1914, when war was first declared upon Germany. During those first months of war we witnessed the thousands of Belgians that were compelled to seek refuge in England. There they became servants, without pay, for wealthy ladies who were desirous of giving their emotions a good debauching. The male folks were used to scab upon the English workers. Yet, the politicians were continually drivelling about the poor Belgium. How many women were carried from patriotic meetings after hearing about the poor Belgian women being outraged? How many young men joined the army after hearing the same story, rehearsed time and time again, each time the details being made all the more revolting? Furthermore the small nation—Belgium—acted as an effective blockade against the on-rushing forces of the German nation. If it had not been for the resistance of the Belgian soldiers, Germany would have conquered France and then her guns would have been bombarding the shores of England.

The tears that have been shed over poor Belgium's unhappy fate and the millions of dollars that were sent in relief, by the workers of the Allied countries. To recall all the grief and anguish, all the sympathy that was bestowed on poor Belgium during the four and a half years of war.

Our eyes fill, the heart is full of grief and pain, when we think of all the slobbering that was done by the press. To hear our vaudeville singers tell us that we would make "an American beauty out of poor Belgium." Oh, it was so noble, despite the fact that it was so heart-rending. When the war was over we would see to it that the Germans and the Austrians would repay their debt to Belgium.

THE WAR IS OVER. WHEN DID YOU LAST HEAR OF BELGIUM?

We wonder does Koltchak expect Lenin-ency?

The boss robs you and then gets you to fight to defend the fruits of his robbery. Some nerve!

The masters of industry grin—the masses of industry groan.

"THE MASTERS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE THE COMBINED CAPITALISTS AND MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES." So says President Woodrow Wilson. He ought to know!

The profiteers are always living in want—the want of more.

LOCAL COMRADES

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Lundeen is working

to get the facts of the

British Wilson League

Before the People.

ERNEST LUNDEEN, FORMER UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, WILL SPEAK IN WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVE. SEPTEMBER 7, 8 P. M.