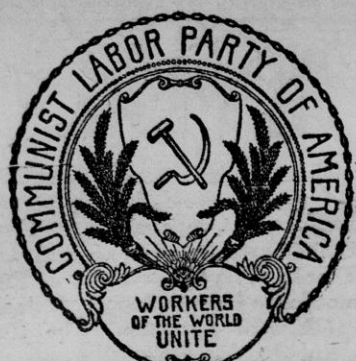




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WHOLE No. 125

FIVE CENTS.

BROTHERS, SAVE RUSSIA!

By Paul Birukoff

"There is no limit to the despair of staving off disaster and seeking its cause to find a remedy, were faced with the fact that it has no rational cause that the tortures it produces are insensate. With such despair am I filled when I see that the sufferings to which the bodies and souls of the Russian people are subjected benefit no one.

"Russia has had a revolution. As the outcome of it, the Soviet Government was born and has lasted two years. The Western Powers look upon it as an execrable Government. 'Let us—they say—exterminate the whole Russian people which tolerates such a Government.' By what process of justice, reasoning or logic? I shall be told that the propaganda of this Government threatens to poison European and American thought: that the poison must be stayed. But has the blockade stayed it? No, the ideas which form the basis of the social organization of the existing Russia have long since overleapt the Blockade, and disseminate themselves freely through out the world.

Indictment of the Allies

"But you, Allied Governments, are committing a crime even more terrible than this. You hound on other peoples against the Russian people. You furnish them with munitions. You excite Russians to fratricidal strife. Some Russians you furnish with weapons for this purpose; other Russians you deprive of everything. You ingenerate implacable hatreds. Why? Can you picture to yourselves the abysses of suffering of unfortunates compelled by your will and against their own to fight one another, when all they ask is to be left in peace?

"If Russia is not yet wholly bathed in blood, it is because of the attitude of the Russian people on either side, who frequently surrender without fighting and open fraternal arms to their brothers. Why do you seek the extermination of the Russian people? You detest the Russian Government—well and good. But why are you massacring the innocent? Are the men who govern Russia such monsters, then, that you must exterminate millions of innocents, to strike them down? They have their faults. But what is there about them which can provoke such hatreds? If they have been cruel, are you not more cruel?

There is famine and chaos in Russia, you say. But it is you who are producing these very things; not the Soviet Government. There are terrible things in the life of Russia to-day. But there is light, too.

Russia's Vivid New Life.

"Last winter I was there I saw and felt beating the pulse of a new and strong spirit of regenerated life. I saw many men, and especially many young men, breathing with full lungs a new order, the springtime of humanity. I saw new and fertile enterprises of public instruction. I saw men in power heroically defending before the world the new, and to them sacred, rights of the workers, of the common people. I saw germs of a new spiritual conviction stirring in the heart of the people of Russia. I saw pulsating through every stratum of Russian life an intimate resistance of war itself—against whomsoever waged.

"Why do you seek to exterminate the Russian people? I fear it is not because they are cruel, as you say, but for some other reason.

Tanks Instead of Peace

You see that in Russia a privileged class has lost its privileges. You fear by this nameless dread, you think that you may lose yours, and, inspired by this nameless dread, you sacrifice millions of innocent lives to ensure your imaginary salvation. You are furious over the peace of Brest-Litovsk. But in Russian eyes this was an act of moral heroism unparalleled in history—and they invited you to make peace with them. You replied with the silence of contempt. Since then they incessantly demand peace of you. You reply with tanks. But if the ideas of these men are as pestilent as you say, you can only fight them effectively with the light of truth. . . . I no longer address myself to you, demoralized by power, or you the hour of repentance has not yet struck. You, too, are to be pitied. I turn from you. . . .

In Tolstoy's Name

"To you, workers, of all countries and of all nations, of all professions, and of all ages, I appeal. To you specially, O men of America, strong in your independence, I say hearken unto my appeal for help, for pity, and compassion. It is as a close friend of the great master, Leo Tolstoy, whose whole life was a struggle against the evil in the world, that I venture to address you.

"In the name of my great dead master, I say: 'Brothers, workers, save Russia!'



THE NEW STATUE OF LIBERTY

THE APPEAL OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET

Comrades!—At the moment when the armies of your governments threaten our town and when, as a result of the blockade, we are suffering terrible hunger, we, the workers of Petrograd, have not abandoned our post. We have proceeded with the re-election of our Soviet and in their hundreds of thousands the workers took part in these elections.

To-day this newly-elected Soviet has met for the first time. Thousands of representatives of the workers of the red army, of the sailors, day labourers, and workingclass organisations took part in our assembly and unanimously we bring before you the facts of the situation.

We shall continue to maintain the Soviet system, the supremacy of the workers and peasants, and we shall fight to our last breath in defence of Socialism against the bourgeoisie.

All the widespread communications of the bourgeois press, of the reign of terror in Petrograd, are pure invention. We are suffering hunger. We collapse from exhaustion at our work in the factories, and yet proletarian discipline and complete order reigns amongst us.

We are defending ourselves from the enemies who surround us on all sides, and at the same time we are creating step by step, the proletarian State. In the eyes of your bourgeoisie we are guilty only because we were the first to raise aloft the Red Banner, because we are still retaining power after two years and because we have given the land to the peasants and the factories to the workers.

Your governments hate us because we published the secret treaties which they had made with Tsardom.

We address ourselves in particular to the workers and soldiers of Estonia and Finland. You have been deceived for nearly two years. You were told that we wished to conquer Finland and Estonia. This is untrue! At the Central Executive, Comrade Zinovieff, declared frankly and clearly in the name of the whole Soviet government that our armies had received the formal and official order not to pass the Estonian and Finnish frontiers. The Central Executive Committee is the highest authority in all Russia. Its decrees are absolutely official. Comrades, we are convinced that for you, too, the hour is nigh, that you, too, will liberate yourselves from the oppression of your bourgeoisie. . . . We do not wish to fight against

you. It is your governments who are provoking war. How much longer will you allow your government to equip our tyrants and executioners with arms, money, officers, and food? In the Murmansk district we have fighting against us English, French, Italian, and Serbia troops. Near Narva Swedish battalions are ranged against us. Along the whole of the Estonian and Finnish frontiers the troops of these governments have fought and are still fighting against us. Your governments are sending spies and provocative agents to Petrograd. These despicable individuals organise explosions and are throwing about bags full of gold for the purpose of winning traitorous Russians for their own use. The Noske-like government of Finland is bombarding our villages and our railway stations by means of aircraft.

But in spite of all we shall never surrender. We are convinced, comrades, that the workers of England, America, Italy, and of the other countries will not allow themselves any longer to be used as the gendarmes and executioners of our proletarian revolution.

Your governments say that they are not interfering in the internal affairs of Russia. But this is a barefaced falsehood. Your governments have recognised as the legal ruler of Russia the contemptible rascal and assassin—Admiral Koltchak, against whom the whole working class and peasantry of Siberia and the Urals have revolted. Your governments are throwing away millions in order to help the Tsarist generals to re-establish the monarchy. Your governments are providing the Russian counter-revolutionaries with everything necessary, from tanks to spies. Your governments have bolstered up Denikin's army, which has murdered thousands of workers in Ekaterinoslav and Charkov simply because they were workers. Your governments are responsible for the atrocities committed by the mercenaries, who, before evacuating Perm, burnt several thousands of Red Guards who have been kept there as prisoners. Your governments bear the responsibility for the famine in our country.

Put an end at least to these crimes of your governments! Stretch forth a fraternal hand towards the workers of other countries. Do all that lies in your power to prevent any help being extended to the counter revolutionaries in Russia.

We send you our fraternal greetings and cry with you:

"Long live the workingclass Revolution in all countries."

THE OUTLOOK OF THE PROLET- ARIAN REVOLU- TION IN RUSSIA

ALEXANDER BILAN.

Two years have passed since the Russian workers began holding the destiny of their class in their own hands. The murderous warfare against the Proletarian Revolution in Russia by the combined forces of the world's capitalist imperialist have been unable to crush the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic. The eyes of the world are turned towards the eastern horizon, where we can read the glaring question: "To be, or not to be?" But this is not Hamlet's hesitating question—it is not even a question—it is a determined decision of an uncompromising class struggle. Dictatorship of the proletariat or bourgeois—which shall be supreme?

In Russia at the present time, regardless of deprivations, heeding not the capitalist lies that are being spread, in the face of all opposition, the process of transformation to Communism is taking place; but that does not mean that the Russian workers alone will be able to reach this stage of society. They are only the pioneers who are preparing the way for a working class world. A Proletarian Revolution cannot be of local character. It comes as a rising tide inundating the entire capitalist society. In such position we find the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. Against it we

(Continued on page 4.)

DEFECTIVE PAGE

A PEASANT WOMAN SPEAKS

Workers' Dreadnought.

Just lately there appeared in the "Times" a series of articles on the effect of Bolshevism in Russia, written presumably by an officer of the Tsar's army, and most certainly by an enemy of Bolshevism. In the same paper was published the announcement of a new democratic government formed under the auspices of the British authorities in Reval, with a Russian financier, Lianozoff, as president.

Being a mere woman, I fail to see why a Russian financier should be deemed democratic, or why the longings of an old regime officer for the re-establishment of the old order of things should be permitted to pass as the wish of the whole of Russia. But, trusting to the fairness of the British public, I beg them to allow me, a true daughter of the Russian working class, to show them how things look from my point of view.

I cannot treat the articles in question as fully as I should like, owing to lack of time, since I have to work for 13 hours a day for my living, and also to lack of regular education, of which the writer of the above articles is in full possession. But I hope the last circumstance will not make my remarks unwelcome to my English working sisters. It is chiefly to them I wish to speak now.

In this dreadful nest of Bolshevism—Russia—we are told by the eminent writer of the articles, there are no servants, and women must do their domestic work themselves before they go to the offices or factories. Just imagine the full horror of it! Perhaps the writer's wife even was obliged to scrub her floors before she left for her 6 hours' office work. In free England you have nothing of the kind, of course! An official record published in 1916 admits that there are some few hundreds of thousands of British women who have easy jobs playing about in the government factories for 9 or 10 hours a day. I wonder who does their domestic work? Perhaps they all have servants? The record does not say.

The author of the articles asserts, I hope not from his personal experience, that women in Russia are made common property. This is rather vague. Does he mean that any young and pretty woman, putting plain ones aside, can be claimed by any man who takes a fancy to her or that she can give her affections freely owing to the simplified divorce process? I have quite a number of young and pretty women friends in Petrograd of all classes, and some of them have complained that there are very few gentlemen left who appreciate the refined art of flirting, because so many of them crossed over to England, owing, no doubt, to their disinclination to work or to fight in Russia and for Russia.

Let us see what other things make Bolshevism a horror—since the gentleman himself is quite willing to put aside the so-called atrocities of Soviet servants. The next thing is that women in Petrograd are all compelled to work for the Soviets, otherwise they cannot get a living. Now, just think of the real freedom you English women enjoy; think of it and appreciate it! You are not compelled to work for the government—quite the contrary, you are advised by your labor exchanges to accept positions as domestic servants and hotel and restaurant servants, if you are obliged to get your living. I am not going to enlarge on the advantages of these two professions; all the world knows and none better than yourselves, what a slavery is the life of a freeborn English woman who has no other choice but to accept a living-in post.

Soviet Russia requires 8 hours out of your 24—and sometimes 6, it is office work; your British mistress requires all your time, from getting up to going to bed. Even in the night you cannot snatch a moment to yourself; you must put out the light and go to sleep, or you will be unfit for tomorrow's slavery. But you are quite free to accept it or not, you know. I hope you can realize now how very dreadful it is for a lady—what they call "a real lady" in England—to be given no other choice—work for the good of the community for, say, 6 hours a day or starve. And perhaps she has never done a stroke of work in her life before, too! Oh, let us pass on to something else; this is too cruel to dwell upon!

The "Times" writer says that women in Petrograd are badly clad, their rations are those of starvation; men are fighting and women have all the burden of keeping life going, added to those of an ordinary woman's life. Yes, this sounds grave, this sounds as if Petrograd were straining its last nerve to keep things going. It is a city in the state of siege. But now let me ask this gentleman: Does he really think that under Tsarism, for instance, it would have been possible for the people to endure so much and so long? What is his explanation of this wonderful power which a handful of people, whom he classifies as nondescripts, misanthropes and degenerates, has over the mass of the people? Why is it that Tsarism, with all its traditions and organization, could not keep things together, and Bolshevism is still there, when everything is ruined and all the resources exhausted? What makes Bolshevism a problem, not to be swept aside as a mere froth of revolution? Even if he knows the answer I do not think he will give it. I remember reading an English article on Bolshevism about 10 months ago. The author of

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It warned England against the real danger of it. "These people," he said, "have the gospel of the working class in their hand; beware, England, lest it be too late for you to stop their progress!" This is the real secret of their power over the masses. Bolsheviks are only men and women; and, as such, they are open to criticism. But they have grasped the vision which you and many others have been hungering for all their lives, and they are able to fight for the realization of it, because the masses of the people are with them. Essential as bread is to the life of the working class; there is something which is just as important and worth dying for—and that is the Gospel of the class. And you English men and women, who paid 70,000,000 pound sterling to stop the propagation of it, may be called upon to pay as much again, and again you may kill the people and the nation who are fighting for it, but you will never be able to kill the idea itself, so long as there is a single working man or woman left in the world.

KROPOTKIN'S S. O. S. FOR RUSSIA

Appeal Not to Aid Koltchak and Denikin

BREAD, NOT GENERALS

Prince Peter Kropotkin, the veteran Russian revolutionist, concerning whose fate during the Revolution many disquieting stories have been set afoot, has now emerged from a long silence to appeal to the Entente powers (of whom during the war he has been an eminent supporter) to end the war against Soviet Russia, to cease supporting the reactionaries Koltchak and Denikin and to help the Russian people with food and supplies.

Kropotkin has addressed the following emphatic letter to George Brandes, the famous Danish publicist, who has transmitted it to the Paris "Humanite" for publication.

Dmitrov (Moscow).

"My dear friend:—

"At my age it is physically impossible to take part in public affairs during the Revolution, and to take anything but a public part in them is foreign to my character.

"During the last winter, which we spent in Moscow, I worked with a group of colleagues in elaborating the basis of the Federalist Republic, but the group had to break up, and I had to go back to a work on ethics which I had begun 15 years before in England. All that I can do is to give you a general idea of the situation in Russia, on which, in my opinion, the West is very badly informed.

"This can best be explained by an analogy. We are going through at the moment what France went through during the Jacobin Revolution from September, 1792, to July, 1794, with the exception that now this is a social revolution, which is seeking its own way. The dictatorial methods of the Jacobins were wrong; they did not create a stable organization, and they inevitably led to reaction. But, nevertheless, the Jacobins accomplished, in June, 1793, the abolition of feudal rights, which neither the constituent nor the Legislative Assembly were willing to do. These were two fundamental changes which during the whole of the nineteenth century spread from one end of Europe to the other.

Dangerous Reaction

"An analogous fact has happened in Russia: The Bolsheviks have had to accomplish, under dictation from a minority of the Social Democratic Party, the socialization of the land, of industry, and of commerce. This change is the fundamental principle of Socialism. Unfortunately the method by which they seek to impose in a strongly centralized State a Communism—recalling that of Babeuf, and meantime paralysing the constructive work of the people—renders its success impossible.

"This warns us to prepare for a dangerous reaction, which is already being organized for the return of the old regime, and which profits from the general exhaustion produced, first by the war, and then by the famine which we suffer in Central Russia, and also by the complete disorganization of the money exchanges and of production; all these being inevitable during a revolution so extensive.

Rivers of Blood

"People speak in Western Europe of the re-establishment of 'order' in Russia by armed Allied intervention. But you know how dangerous to all social progress in Europe was the attitude of those who worked to disorganize Russia's power of resistance. This, which prolonged the war by one year, gave us the German intervention under cover of a treaty, and cost rivers of blood to prevent Germany from bringing Europe under its imperial jack-boot.

"You know very well my feelings in this connection. Nevertheless, I protest with all my power against any kind of armed intervention by the Allies in Russian affairs; such intervention can only result in a great stimulation of Russian chauvinism, which would bring back to us a chauvinist monarchy. Signs of this are already to be seen, and, what is more important, it would produce in the whole of the Russian people a hostile attitude to Western Europe, an attitude which would have most grave consequences.

"It may be imagined that in serving Koltchak and Denikin you are supporting a Liberal and Republican Party; but that is a mistake. However worthy the personal intentions of these two military leaders, the majority of their supporters have other views. It is inevitable that they should bring back the monarchy, and with it the reaction and rivers of blood.

The following wireless message was addressed by comrade Tchitcherine on September 29th to the British and French workers:—

"The Soviet Government victoriously repulsed the White Guards and troops of other Governments whom the Entente had ranged against us at Petrograd; it now asks the Finnish and Lettish Governments to enter into pourparlers to re-establish friendly relations. The Government of Russian Workers and Peasants has always recognised the rights of all countries to independence. It does not attempt to impose its sovereignty on anyone and condemns all policies of conquest. The Russian Soviet Government wishes to examine carefully all treaties which would satisfy the parties now at war with it. It feels certain that an understanding is possible, and expresses the hope that the Entente will not put obstacles in its way. The Russian counter-revolution has forced the Polish Government to participate in the counter-revolutionary crusade and to support the interests of the Imperialist Powers of the Entente.

"Workers of Great Britain and France, we appeal to you to prevent an intervention which would hinder the conclusion of peace in the Baltic countries. Your Governments have found it necessary to recall some of their troops from the north and south of Russia. You possess a weapon powerful enough to put an end to the Imperialist policy of your governments in connection with the Baltic countries. Demand with an authoritative voice that your Governments cease to oppose the conclusion of peace. Success will depend on the degree of pressure you bring to bear. The Russian Soviet Government is ready at any moment to enter into negotiations with the Governments of the Entente. By your intervention help the Russian masses who also want to live in peace, as well as the Baltic victims of your Imperialist Governments."

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

The Communist Labor Party is now going ahead with its work. There are many radical magazines and newspapers owned and controlled by the party. At the recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the C. L. P. it was decided to take over the *Class Struggle*, the *Voice of Labor* and also issue a national bi-weekly. The weekly press of the Communist Labor Party has a combined circulation of over 50,000 and the *Voice of Labor* 14,000. So we are going ahead with our propaganda.

We have endeavored to bring about unity between the two parties, but all attempts at unity have been frustrated by the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party. The N.E.C. of the Communist Labor Party rests its case with the rank and file of the Communist Party. The officials of the Communist Party have refused to act and therefore it becomes necessary on the part of the rank and file of the C. P. to force the hands of its officials. The Communist Party officials are prepared to take many of the members of the Communist Labor Party into their party, but not all of them. Therefore we refused to allow the officials of the Communist Party to place themselves in the position of enforcing a miniature selective draft law. By what right does the N. E. C. of the Communist Party take upon itself the authority to decide as to who are Communists and who are not? We admit that there are members within the Communist Labor Party who are not "pure" Communists, yet at the same time we refuse to admit that all the members of the Communist Party are absolutely "simon-pure" Communists. If the officials of the Communist Party were frank about the matter, they would be forced to admit that there is at least one whole State that refuses to accept the Communist Party platform and by its actions at the National Convention showed conclusively that they were not in line with the tactics and program of the Third International.

Furthermore, the Communist Party is composed of Federation units that do allow for real action by the party as a mass. The Russian Federation can at any moment withdraw from the party as a mass and so sabotage the work of the movement. In the Communist Labor Party the members

Starring—for Tsarism
"Those among the Allies who see clearly into events should in consequence repudiate intervention, so much more because if they really seek to come to the aid of Russia they will find enormous work to do in another direction. In all the enormous area of the centralized provinces we are short of the centralized provinces we are short of bread. A whole generation is wasting away while we are refused the right to buy from Western Europe. Why? Is it to return the Romanoffs? Instead of playing the role that Austria, Prussia, and Russia played towards France in 1793, the Allies should have done everything to help the Russian nation in its terrible situation.

"It is for the construction of a new future by the working out of a new life—already foreshadowed in spite of everything that has happened—that the Allies should come to our aid. Come without delay to the assistance of our children! Come and help us in the necessary constructive work! But do not send us diplomats or generals!"

"Peter Kropotkin."

bership is ONE HOMOGENEOUS MASS. The membership acts as a mass.

The Communist Party is built on exactly the same lines as the American Federation of Labor, a number of federations with federation autonomy. How can the Communist Party carry out any plan of campaign that requires the use of mass action? The idea is absurd that a party that is composed of irreconcilable elements can act as a mass! The Russian Federation officials have used the Russian Revolution as a means to push themselves into power. They have gone so far as to openly combat the Soviet Bureau, the official organization of the Russian Soviet Government in America. They talk of splitting and splitting the party until a select few are left, who will be 100 per cent pure (!) Even their own leader, Lenin, has protested against such a policy. Yet the officials of the Russian Federation would have you to believe that they are the chosen twelve disciples, who will go out into all the world and preach the gospel of Communism. The Russian Federation have become so impossible, that their own comrades in Russia have been compelled to send a written protest against their tactics in America. If the revolution can ONLY be achieved by the Russian language federations, then what are we going to do, when the blockade is removed and all Russians are allowed to go home? It means, that is if we follow the arguments of the Russian language federation officials, to their logical conclusion, that there will be no revolution in America, because all the 100 per cent Bolsheviks will have left these shores. We strongly urge the Federal Government to remove all emigration restrictions and save America for capitalism.

Much has been said about the Ohio comrades of the Communist Labor Party fighting their election battles under the name of the old Socialist Party, but what shall we say of the Cleveland comrades of the Communist Party, who advise their comrades to boycott the elections, but VOTE AGAINST BOOZE? It is a waste of time to go to the polls and vote for the platform of the Communist Labor Party, which the State officials of Ohio think is too revolutionary, but it is alright to vote against prohibition! Was there ever such nonsense inflicted upon an organization as this? Yet that is what the Communist Party of Cleveland is advising its readers to do. So let us hear no more about the boycott election stuff. Just because the comrades in Russia found it necessary to boycott the elections, it does not say that we should follow suit. The next thing we shall hear, is that our members should discard all coffeepots and buy samovars. The Russian use samovars, so why should we not use them? Of course we will admit that this is a ridiculous argument, but no more ridiculous than the arguments presented by the Communist Party officials against the Communist Labor Party.

All appeals for unity by the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party, have been scornfully repudiated by the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party. They labor under the impression that we are showing the white flag of surrender. As much as we regret the attitude of the officials of the Communist Party we must from now on go on with our work. We are right and we are

going to go to the rank and file of the Communist Party with our message. Our program and platform is clearer than that of the Communist Party. If you will study their leaflet, "YOUR SHOP", you will gain some idea of how little the Communist Party officials know of the work of a labor committee. They have made a miserable attempt to steal our program on labor and they have failed. We are getting the revolutionary workers of the labor movements of America and Canada. We are in direct touch with them, because we understand how to deliver our message. The issuance of mere manifestos counts for nothing, if you are unable to reach the masses with your propaganda. So comrades of the Communist Party we want unity. We have gone as far as it is possible to achieve unity, the onus of responsibility rests upon your shoulders. Refuse to pay dues into the Communist Party until your officials make a decent attempt to bring about unity. By doing that, you will force the hands of your officials. There must be unity at all costs. It must be the unity of men and women who are prepared to work for the freedom of their class. We must be united on one single aim, all personal ambitions must be swept away. So we trust that you will leave no stone unturned to bring about unity. Rank and file of the Communist Party we are with you, so get busy and demand of your officials that they carry out your wishes, and we do know that you want unity.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY IN MINNESOTA.

The Communist Labor Party of Minnesota at its meeting, last Sunday, formed its State organization. The following members constitute its State Executive Board: Ludvig Anderson, Jack Carney, Minnie Carney, Chas McCarthy, Victor Nordin, Timothy Shea and Tom Fosson. Comrade Carl Haglund will be the State Secretary.

Many locals have expressed their willingness to join us. In the next few days we will communicate with as many locals as we are in touch with. The late State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Minnesota refused to give us a list of the active locals in the State, so we were very badly handicapped. But we shall soon have a working organization going and then we will be able to capture the State for the Communist Labor Party.

Owing to the increasing duties of the editor of Truth, he has not found it possible to tour the State, but beginning Sunday November 9th he will tour the State and line up the various locals. In the meantime will the Chisholm, Virginia, Two Harbors and St. Cloud locals communicate with the State Secretary Room 13 Sloan Building Duluth, Minn.

The Editor of Truth is prepared to give an illustrated lecture on the Russian, German and Hungarian revolutions. He has slides portraying the latest pictures of the Russian, German and Hungarian Revolutions.

The demonstrations in New York and Chicago demanding the withdrawing of the troops from Siberia, and the raid on the Russian Soviet Bureau at New York will also be shown. And also many other pictures taken during the revolution. Locals desirous of booking this lecture must write in at once. Apply to Jack Carney, Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn.

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Dark gray; regular 50c value. Extra special for this sale (limit), per pair, only

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LADIES' RUBBERS

One lot of Ladies' Rubbers of first quality, in sizes 2 to 6, cut to only, per pair

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MEN'S SHEEP SKIN VESTS

Men's Sheep Skin Vests, moleskin of corduroy top. Regular \$8 value, cut to

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One lot of Children's Dresses, in gingham and Flannels; values to \$1.50, cut to—

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One small lot of Men's Mackinaws in sizes to 44—values to \$11.00, cut to

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MEN'S WOOL UNION SUITS

Dunham, make, in gray and cream colors; all sizes; regular \$5.00 value, specially priced at only

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NASHUA WOOLNAP BLANKETS

66x80 in Assorted Plaids Regular \$7.50 Values,

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Ladies' Union Suits, heavy ribbed, fleece lined—regular \$2.25 value, cut to

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BOYS' LEATHER TOP RUBBERS

in first quality; sizes 3 to 6; regular \$3.00 value. Specially priced during this great sale at only

\$1.98

One Lot of Men's 8-inch
LUMBERMEN'S RUBBERS
In small sizes; regular values to \$3.50, cut to

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with corduroy or moleskin top, regular \$12.50 values, for this big sale they are cut to only

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Men's Union Suits, wool process, heavy weight, in all sizes; regular \$3.50 value, cut to—

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Ladies' Silk and Wool Union Suits; high or low neck, long or short sleeve; regular \$4.00 values, cut to

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WOOL YARN

Guaranteed 100%, in all colors, ¼ lb. to the skein; regular 85c value—cut to

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AVIATION CAPS

Men's and Boys' Aviator Caps in all colors—regular \$1.75 value, cut to

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Heavy Wool Lumbermen's Sox, in gray only—regular 85c value, cut to

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CRIB BLANKETS

Crib Blankets, in assorted patterns; large size; regular \$1.25 value, cut to—

85c

BOYS' PANTS

Boys' Pants in blue serge and mixtures—regular values to \$2.00, cut to

98c

HANDKERCHIEFS

Men's Red Bandana Handkerchiefs, large size, last color; regular 15c value (limit), cut to

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MEN'S FLANNEL SHIRTS

Broken sizes—while they last, cut to

\$1.19

MEN'S HEAVY WOOL MIXED SWEATERS

In gray, with or without shawl collar; all sizes; regular \$2.50 value, cut to only

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MEN'S HOSE

Men's Wool Cashmere Hose in black only; regular 50c value, cut to, per pair, only

29c

MEN'S DRESS SHIRTS

Men's Dress Shirts in Arrow, Saxon and Phoenix brands; sizes 16 to 17 only, cut to—

50c

DOWN GO PRICES—COME BE CONVINCED

INTERVIEW WITH TROTSKY

"Our program is let us alone. If we are weak as the newspapers of the entire world insist then by all means let us expire of our own weakness. Don't help us—the ever—trotter soviet government—to fall. Ours is a policy of defense. We pursue no aims of conquest. If President Wilson attacks us then we defend ourselves. If he sends us food, then we take it gratefully. For two years we have not been allowed by the war to build a new society or develop our ideas of democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat is almost entirely the result of the war. We consider the dictatorship temporary. As soon as the conflict is over freedom of the press and other liberties will be restored."

By Isaac Don Levine

Copenhagen, Denmark, Friday Oct. 31. — "We Russian are quick to learn languages. We master them more easily than do other Europeans. If the British insist much longer on their present policy toward soviet Russia, then we may show that we can learn Hindi just as easily as any European tongue."

Thus spoke Leon Trotsky in reply to my question as to the significance of the red army's victories in Turkestan. It was on the evening of Oct. 6 when Trotsky received Col. Malone, M. P., and myself in the handsome railway car that formerly belonged to the commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch, but now former part of "Trotsky's train." We are in Tula, a city of 200,000 population, the Bethlehem of soviet Russia, where Trotsky had come to review the red troops and inspect the munitions factories. He spoke in French and addressed himself mainly to Col. Malone.

"We do not want to turn our attention to India," Trotsky continued. "Our interests are wholly European, but if we are driven eastward, then we will divert our energies to Asia."

Trotsky "Has Personality."

Trotsky was dressed in khaki and bore no resemblance to the picture the western world has of him. Col. Malone, at the end of the interview, remarked to me: "Certainly, this is not the debonaire Trotsky of our caricatures. He has personality." Having never thought of Trotsky in khaki I had to confess that there was nothing funny about him. He was unaffected, modest, restrained and quick to answer. After half an hour's conversation one left Trotsky with the impression that this revolutionary agitator and pamphleteer could match minds with any half dozen European prime ministers.

"Our program," said Trotsky, "is 'Let us alone.' If we are as weak as the newspapers of the entire world insist then by all means let us expire of our own weakness. Don't help us—the ever-trotter soviet government—to fall. Ours is exclusively a policy of defense. We pursue no aims of conquest. If President Wilson attacks us then we defend ourselves. If he sends us food, then we take it gratefully. For two years we have not been allowed by the war to build a new society or develop our ideas of democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat is almost entirely

the result of this war. We consider the dictatorship temporary. As soon as the conflict is over freedom of the press and other liberties will be re-established.

Puts Blame on Great Britain.

"We cannot grant unrestrained liberties when Great Britain alone spends 1,800,000 pound (5,000,000) daily on Russia, one-fourth of which goes for corruption, intrigue and plots. Every raid proves the existence of thousands of foreign agents within our boundaries. Under these circumstances we cannot be blamed for the militarization of our government. Take the fighting fronts away, raise the blockade and our militarism disappears and we devote ourselves to the construction of a new economic order in Russia."

I inspected the famous Trotsky train, finding it the most complete I had ever seen. It is made up of fourteen cars and two powerful locomotives. The train is supplied with a wireless installation receiving while in motion dispatches from Nauen, Germany, Lyons, France, and even London. This is considered by the train commander as the first experiment of its kind. Telephonic communication is established as soon as the train arrives at any station. The telegraph is working day and night. The shop in which Trotsky's paper, "On The Way," is printed is quite a striking feature of the train. Most remarkable of all is the imperial railway garage holding five motor cars, including two Packards and also a powerful French machine which belonged to the former czar.

The train guard numbers 250 and includes a machine gun company, as Trotsky often approaches the front line to the train and has already had several very narrow escapes under five. There is a fine library and also a dining car where simple food is served. I had a meal in it found that it consisted of the Russian soldier's traditional food of cabbage soup and gruel with black bread and tea.

Before we parted I asked Trotsky whether the red army was strong enough to withstand Gen. Denikin. "Yes," Trotsky replied with confidence. "We shall defeat Denikin. Mud and snow, the greatest foes of cavalry, are our allies."

Questions Are Answered.

Several days before meeting Trotsky I telegraphed him a number of questions regarding the military situation, which he answered from Tambov. I sent these by wireless from Moscow and I am now repeating by cable the following questions and Trotsky's replies:

Q. How great a menace is Gen. Denikin? A.—Denikin was a great menace until we arrested the push of his cavalry. The moment his offensive stopped, the menace immediately diminished 75 per cent. Our present task is similar to the one that confronted us on the eastern front early in May. We have concentrated in the south splendid forces. The initiative has passed into our hands. We cannot prophesy the march of events, but we will take all measures not to try too long the patience of our old friends

WOODMAN HALL

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9th, 8 P. M.

Swedish and English Speakers

G. C. ELLSTROM, ex-Swedish Minister, will speak in Swedish

JACK CARNEY will speak in English on the present situation in Russia

There will also be a good musical program.

Everybody is cordially invited. We tender to all Swedish workers a hearty invitation to hear Comrade Ellstrom. He is a speaker who has a message to deliver and knows how to deliver it.

Admission 35 and 15 cents.

Refreshments provided.

Watch next week's Truth for advertisement for Nov. 16th

of St. James and the Quai D'Orsay."

Q.—What effect on the military situation in soviet Russia will the victory in Turkestan and the fall of Kiev have? A.—These two events, which have taken place on opposite poles of the soviet front, can indeed be considered in their inner connection. I will not enlarge upon the fact that the loss of Kiev, as well as other important points in Ukraine was the result of the infancy of the Ukrainian red army, which experienced the stage passed through by us more than a year ago. There is no doubt that, regardless of the military causes, and its military importance, the fall of Kiev itself is sufficient to uphold the intervention plans and measures in English and French ruling circles. From the French radio—the falsest of all—we can clearly enough see in what direction the fall of Kiev was used in molding public opinion—not so much of the people as of the bourgeoisie and the upper circles. Although the fall of Kiev temporarily cuts ways which might have connected us with the west, our victories on the Turkestan front already have broken the ring of the blockade in the east, opening before us worldwide, economic political and military possibilities. Regarded from this angle, the military events in Ukraine and behind the Urals make it appear as if British imperialism had made its task to direct with all its energies our attention and the energy of our armed forces toward the Asiatic east. Events will show to what extent we will follow this inspiration.

Victory of Kolchak Discussed.

Q.—What is the military and political significance of the victory over Admiral Kolchak? A.—The significance is always good when one smashes a big enemy. I spoke before of open gates into Asia. There are two such gates. One is in the east and the other in the southeast. If one does not speak of remote prospects but only of the most immediate and real consequences, then one might suppose that the ruling classes of those capitalist states which are less terrorized by fear of a proletarian revolution would be compelled to understand and acknowledge that the plan of strangling the soviet power by means of Finnish, Estonian and Polish bands and a naval blockade is bound to remain a miserable Utopia. English capital, which as a result of the war bases its mastery exclusively upon barbarian conquest, violence and strangulation by means of bloodthirsty hired bands, is clearly unfit to carry on a different policy toward soviet Russia. However, one can admit, remaining in the realm of facts and suppositions, that North American capital would soon be convinced that the only regime capable of standing on its own legs in Asia as well as European Russia and securing order and economic advancement and creating conditions for an intensive trade on a broad international scale is the soviet regime.

Purpose of Siberian Advance.

Q.—What is the purpose of the advance into the depths of Siberia? A.—To knock out Kolchak, clear Siberia of marauding bands, organized communication with Russia and partly to secure our recently freed military and commercial Ural base by a powerful Siberian rear.

Q.—What is the frame of mind of the red army? A.—It was never so even and confident as it is now. During a year of experience and growth the red army has become accustomed to winning victories and not to fear temporary failures. Plots and munitions in the ranks of the red army—inseparable from civil war—have decreased to an extraordinary degree. The attempt of the popular Don region Cossack, Col. Mironov, to raise his corps against the soviet power ended this week in a miserable fiasco. Mironov and his followers without a single shot were captured by the red Cossacks cavalry and handed over to a military revolutionary tribunal. In this fact everyone knowing the conditions of the Russian revolution, especially in the backward southwestern Don region, will see testimony to the high unanimity of the red army.

Declares Deserters Are Few.

Q.—How about deserters? A.—Deserters in the proper meaning of this term, that is, soldiers willfully leaving the ranks of the army, are fewer with us than with any other army in the world, according to the testimony of competent persons who have investigated this question. Until last spring we had a very considerable number of peasants who did not answer the general military calls. This phenomenon was especially noticeable in the southern provinces, but it is now almost entirely absent, thanks in part to the improvement of the military administrative apparatus and mainly to the hatred of the peasant masses for Gen. Denikin. The menace of his offensive compelled hundreds of thousands of peasants who formerly were slackers voluntarily to appear at the commissaries. Our best divisions are now being formed from them.

Q.—How great are the forces of all the enemies on all the fronts of soviet Russia? A.—Regarding this I can only say that our forces are considerably larger than the forces of our enemies and during the coming year will grow faster than the hired troops at the disposal of Anglo-French imperialism.

Q.—How far distant is the end of the war and how long is Russia ready to continue it? A.—I dare not make chronological forecasts in our complicated age. I suppose that the liquidation of Gen. Denikin, which is a matter of months, should bring the end of the war very much nearer. Retaining deep longing for peace and toll we shall fight with ever growing energy until we are left in peace. More than this we do not demand of the present European masters.

THE OUTLOOK OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

find all capitalist governments, who still are holding cinchtd tight in their iron gloves the workers of their countries—the only allies and support in the Proletarian struggle. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia has only the hope of permanent success if it can count upon the support of the American and European working class. Therefore the necessary conditions for Proletarian action the world over are plainly to be seen. The war has brought sharp division between toilers and exploiters, has split all relations and prepared inevitable the last final struggle between labor and capital. The war has destroyed the fruits of centuries of civilization, has confronted the masses with starvation. The example of the Russian Revolution has opened immense possibilities and wide perspectives for the Communist movement.

In pain and suffering is born the future; a new class in entering upon the stage of society creating its own will, in a worldwide struggle with its class enemies. One thing is clear—that without active support of the workers in other countries the working class of Russia and the poor peasantry with them will be crushed under the iron heel of the allied capitalist imperialism, and the bourgeoisie class in Russia will triumph once more with their "democracy" over hundreds of millions of workers. More than that, the darkest night of reaction would be inaugurated the world over.

The power of Soviet, the socialization of land, the nationalization of banks and industry is threatening the capitalist world with the vision of Proletarian Revolution. The imperialism of the world is asking "to be, or not to be?" It is bending all its forces to choke the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. In this right the capitalists are united, setting aside their quarrels over markets and colonies, England, Germany, France, the United States, Turkey—all are fighting Communistic Russia. The historic work in the Proletarian Revolution by the Russian workers is fulfilled nobly. The further development of the Proletarian Revolution depends on the rest of the workers the world over. What is our duty? It is to give our active support, as workers of America, to help bring about the overthrow of the capitalist system, and not to allow it to crush our class revolution in Russia. We must show our class solidarity to our brothers in Russia. They have shown us the way towards working class emancipation, and are nobly carrying on their fight. The workers of England, of France, Italy are doing their share; demanding withdrawal of troops from Russia. What about us? President Wilson is waging a private war upon Russia, sending troops to Siberia. The recruiting of volunteers for Siberia is done openly by the War



Push and go in styles for boys

For the little fellows, 2½ to 10 years, we have now a big selection of different styles in the high-class hand-tailored Sampeck and other good makes. Prices \$6.50 to \$18.

Four extra good numbers arrived yesterday in boys' overcoats. Two made in a blue and a brown pebbled cloth and two fancy mixed heavy weight coats—one a brown fancy plaid and the other a blue and green plaid. For ages 2½ to 8. Best buy in the market today, \$10.

A new supply of those good warm Patrick Mackinaws for boys is here now for all ages from 4 to 18. Prices \$11.50, \$13.50 and \$16.50.

For older boys we have several fresh shipments of Sampeck's great tripleservice

suits, double at seat and knees and in a quality class of their own as far as tailoring and true worth are concerned.

One of the new ones is a heavy dark green cheviot in the waist- seam model and sells at \$16.50. Extra pants may be had at \$4.50.

Then there are triple service suits in green checks, brown mixed cheviots and a tan mixture—all in the newest models of the season. Prices \$18, \$20, \$22.50, \$25 and \$30.

Other makes of boys' suits in well assorted lines for ages 7 to 18, at \$8.50, \$10, \$12.50 and \$15.

Held Caps, Kaynee Shirts and Blouses, Lackawanna Twins Underwear, Iron Glad stockings and American Boy shoes. Webber sweaters.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

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Melrose 2042 SAM BERMAN, Manager Grand 1921-A 126 E. First Street DULUTH, MINN.

Department. The "free" American boys are flogged in Siberia by Wilson's friend. The Washington Government is seeking apologies from czaristic generals in Siberia, as if apologies would heal the flogged wounds of American soldier boys. Have not those two years of the heroic struggle of the workers in Russia convinced you to oppose the doings of our imperialist at home?

The possibilities of Soviet Russia under the workers' control is

dependent not only on the sacrifices and heroic fight of the Russian workers, but also upon the demand of the workers in other countries that their governments cease their murderous actions against Soviet Russia. Our slogan shall be: "No troops, no volunteers, no munitions to fight the Proletarian Revolution! Hands off Russia!" Those slogans must be supported by action, like the English workers, the French marines, the Italian transport workers, and the Seattle Longshoremen put forth. They did not go to parliament or congress with petitions, begging the perpetrators not to do such things; they refused to load munitions to be shipped to kill Russian workers; others refused to go to Russia to war against their brothers. This will be the active support given by us if we act as a class and not as individuals. This action will give life to the workers' control of Russia, and it will teach that All Power to the Workers is the way to working-class emancipation.

THE MELTING POT.



O. P. Langdahl, TAILOR



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A High-class, Red blooded, recreation for men, women and children. Everybody likes Box Ball, and is benefited by it, for it invigorates both mind and body. Fascinating, thrilling, healthful.

BE SURE TO TRY IT!

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1919

Carl F. Loff, Manager.

2015 W. Superior St.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

REFORM OR REVOLUTION

There still appears to be a great deal of confusion in the ranks of revolutionaries and reformers alike, as to what is meant by revolution and whether there is a quick route or a long route, a cataclysmic event or a period of ameliorative legislation, to get to El Dorado.

Daniel De Leon's definition of Revolution held the field for many years. He said of revolution in relation to society—"Whenever the internal mechanism is changed, we have revolution." This is good in its way, but does not fill the bill as completely as one would like. Lenin has come to the rescue. He says, in answer to the question as to whether the Soviet Government has a reformist or a revolutionary programme.

Reforms mean concessions got from a dominating class, while the latter's domination continues. Consequently, reformist programmes consist generally of many points of detail. Our revolutionary programme consisted, properly speaking, of one general point; overthrow of the landowners' and capitalists' yoke wresting the power from them, liberating the working masses from their exploiters.

The Revolution, therefore, consists in the liberative act—"the overthrow of the landowners' and capitalists' yoke, wresting the power from them, liberating the working masses from their exploiters."

A social revolution is the overthrow of a dominant class by one below it, which, in turn, becomes the dominant body. The social re-

volution, which alone can free the working class from the domination of another class, is the one to which Lenin refers, and involves, as a consequence, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a revolution does not mean, therefore, that we jump from capitalism to Utopia as many appear to think if the criticism levelled at the Russian are anything to go by. But it does mean that society can then be free to develop at its fastest. It does mean that the shackles fall off the workers at a rate impossible under the old regime. Again, I do not mean to say that every worker becomes by the wave of a magic wand a philosophical student or a master of science. Humanity has never yet discovered a way upward other than by hard work and persistent effort. But certainly the revolution would transfer to the working class the power to develop itself, which capitalism can never provide. Witness the history of any class which has come to power.

It may be asserted that this is class rule. True, with one mighty difference. This class rule gives an opportunity to the members of all other classes which they can never offer to the working class. All people can become members of the working class. The "middle class" cannot say to the workers—"We, invite you all to become members of the middle class." The capitalist class cannot invite us all to become exploiters "to reap where we do not sow." Their philosophy is, that "there must always be Capital and Labour, masters and men, employers and employees." And now, having cleared the ground a little with regard to what we mean by revolution and what it leads to, let us examine the attitude of revolutionists and reformers in relation thereto.

The revolutionist regards the revolution as of paramount importance, the one goal to which all efforts must be directed. Every factor of working-class experience, every movement which grows in their ranks, educational, political, industrial, their hunger or distress, their affluence or their poverty, he regards as of value in so far as they contribute to the growth of power and its convergence upon the citadel of the enemy. Not for one moment must the revolutionist think that a small minority can effect a coup and maintain a revolution. He must agitate and educate and organize until a large enough majority has been secured effectively to carry the revolution to a successful issue. Whether this shall be done by the ballot-box or by other means matters not for the moment. A majority must be secured.

The Reformists view the situation differently. They have a

peculiar theory about the "natural growth of society," always with the implication that "natural" and "slow" are synonymous terms. They endeavour to think about society as a whole, deplore the hopeless ignorance of the working class, and hope by participating in political activity (or parliamentary activity) to support every measure which will ameliorate the conditions of the workers, in the hope that by their aid the workers will some day be sufficiently enlightened to vote a Parliamentary Socialist majority. Violent revolution they deplore and believe that in countries where constitutional democratic institutions exist the workers can get all they want. Revolutions may be alright for such countries as Russia, but here are undesirable and unnecessary. Hence they make up their programmes of detailed ameliorative measures. They will cheer to the echo a peroration about the "days that will be better than well," work laboriously for some small measure, and pathetically doubt the possibility of socialism "coming in their time."

However much the revolutionist and the reformer may cheer the same peroration, it is obvious that there is a fundamental difference involving great responsibilities. Both reformers and revolutionists have to deal with situations which arise independently of their will. From time to time mass movements are generated by the economic antagonisms, etc., in society. These movements do not wait for election times, but come independently of them. They have either to be led forward from strength to strength or driven into a variety of channels until strength is dissipated.

The reformer with his static conceptions under such circumstances is either swept forward in spite of himself or becomes part of the machinery of the governing class to crush the workers back into slumdom and the industrial hells of modern times. It is a terrific responsibility which the "reformers" will do well to ponder over. For the minorities of today have got to recognise the swiftly moving forces which can give to minorities majority power. Under the pressure of these forces modern institutions will be tested and their limitations discovered with a ruthlessness which many will deplore. The "reformists" may choose if they wish to be part of the reaction under the cloak of "democracy," but the revolutionists must waste no time in deploping the ignorance of the working class. Theirs is the responsibility of merging every element of social unrest among the workers, explaining and educating under the stress of actual circumstances, combining instinctive movement with intelligent direction, until the revolutionary minority becomes the revolutionary majority, capable not simply of moving up to the barriers of the existing institutions, but also of sweeping them away, and improvising and creating institutions responsive to revolutionary aspirations.

It is not a question of length of time. It is not a question of imposing socialism from above. It is rather a question as to which class we are prepared to support—the capitalist class or the working class. If the latter, then it is my contention that our activities must extend beyond ordinary propaganda, educational classes, etc., to the harnessing of every possible movement, educating the workers by the experience of conscious movements persistently explained and directed in terms of class. It is not for us to suppress and sidetrack movements, but to aim at developing the conscious majority by every means in our power. The difficulties are stupendous. The risks are great. These, however, do not shift the responsibility.

J. T. Murphy.
Reprinted from "PLEBS."

THE REAL CRIMINALS

Why should not labor immediately press for the trial of Churchill and George for their blockade of Russia, which even Wilson declares illegal, and the consequent death of millions. Is the soil that covers up the remains of our martyred comrades to cover also the black crime of the governing class?

London Call.

A LETTER FROM PETROGRAD

Workers' Dreadnought.

The following letter to French comrades was written in Petrograd on May 20th, 1919.

Comrades:—

Whilst joining in the first of May celebrations here I remembered the old first of May in Paris, the inept violence of the police, our powerless protests—it was a picture, at once sad and impassioned, of the path where perhaps the revolt is born.

Petrograd, at once half starved, threatened on all sides, was yet marvellously sunny that day and rich in enthusiasm and hope. You cannot even imagine what it is to see at last the masses who have freed themselves, who feel themselves at last victorious. For them the first of May was rather a fete-day than a fighting demonstration. The town was decorated in red, the red flag flew on the Fortress of Peter and Paul, where so many of our comrades had been imprisoned; and no army or police in the old sense of the word, but simply arms in the hands of the people themselves.

Can there be any question at this time of differences of ideas or formulae, which used to divide us into syndicalists, individualists, communists, and others? Life has gone its way, carrying away the words and theories without force, raising up in return realities which today surpass our most daring hopes. Nevertheless all the individual interpretations of revolutionary thought possess their value and their power, surely we should all of us remain between ourselves fraternally independent—and thus, even by our differences, our varied, living movement, will know how to develop in every direction. But a truth is forced upon you today, which takes precedence of all the secondary differences: it is that two conceptions of life irreconcilably opposed are confronting each other, and between them the choice must be made.

The choice henceforth must be made in actions, not words. It lies between remaining with the old world, founded upon private property, the principle of authority and conquest, or with the new world, founded from hence forth on Communal Property the Federalist Principle, Internationalism.

The Communist program is summed up in these three words. It is not a mere printed program. It is a program which is realised, or in process of being realised, in a country of 100 million people by revolutionaries, who are outlawed, besieged, blockaded, starved, but who know that no power can henceforth remake what they have destroyed, nor destroy what they have made. The immensity of these realities and of the ideas on which they live is such that there is doom, plenty of it, in this "communism", for all consciences and for all the most independent of revolutionary wills.

In the presence of the common enemy, with whom there is no longer any question of parleying, or of coming to an agreement, and because of the work we are carrying out, such an understanding is necessary amongst all the revolutionaries. That at least, dear comrades, is the point of view of one amongst you who for a long time belonged to the most critical fault-finding, the most doctrinaire critical and intransigent section of the French anarchists—to that of Libertaire and of L'Anarchie. If these ideas could prevail amongst you, they would strengthen enormously your power and ours.

Our two principal enemies are hunger and ignorance. If they no longer existed the revolutionary glory would have been taken towards the city of the future. But with us hunger is organised, desired by the Entente. Countless victims are made by the blockade on the one hand and on the other raids by reactionary hands supported by the Allied military missions. General Janin is still operating (for the French government) with the swashbuckler, Koltchak. These things, reacting upon ignorance, cause abuses and excesses to be committed, many suffer without understanding and tire of the struggle. The unspeakable war, which capitalism wages against us contrary to all published declarations, and which at present includes an open attack on Petrograd is thus a cause of countless evils.

Moreover, the attack is absolutely useless. We should cry to our enemies that they are stupid, for what has been done in Russia will remain such an example that neither bayonets nor epidemics can at present kill the communist idea, even under present conditions. In prolonging the fight against us by ineffective methods the capitalists' governments do evil for the sake of evil. They are both criminal and idiotic.

Karl Liebknecht:

The man, his work, and message

By Wm. Paul

(Continued.)

Although his speech on education ended in an uproar in the Chamber, Liebknecht once again returned to the attack, and in the Reichstag on March 22, 1916, he protested against the submarine warfare. The very next day he was threatened with personal violence in the Reichstag for making a criticism during a discussion on the Budget. On April 7 he made a further attack upon the use of submarines. In this speech he also severely criticised the Government for attempting to get Irish prisoners to fight against England. During this speech he was continually interrupted and called a "traitor." Notwithstanding the blackguardly attacks made upon him, even by the tame Socialists, Liebknecht on the following day made a terrific onslaught upon the financiers in the Reichstag on the subject on the fourth German war loan, which, he contended, was a gigantic swindle. For this speech he was well equipped with facts and figures. He held copious notes in his hand in order to expose German war finance. As he proceeded to prove his case, the Chamber broke out into a most embittered demonstration against him.

Amidst cries of "Treason" and "Traitor" he attempted to speak, when suddenly his notes were stolen and scattered along the floor. When Liebknecht stepped down from the tribune to collect his papers and continue his indictment of the financiers, he was surrounded by a mob of frenzied members, who would have assaulted him had he not been rescued by several Independent Socialists. This historic meeting of the Reichstag broke up in disorder.

Arrest and Imprisonment.

Despite the taunts and jeers hurled at him, Liebknecht continued his revolutionary agitation. On May Day, 1916, he issued a manifesto, which contained the following pregnant passages.

Let thousands of voices shout "Down with the shameless extermination of nations! Down with those responsible for these crimes!" Our enemy is not the English, French, nor Russian people, but the great German landed proprietors, the German capitalists and their executive committee.

Forward! Let us fight the Government; let us fight these mortal enemies of all freedom. Let us fight for everything which means the future triumph of the working classes, the future of humanity and civilization (Quoted from "The Future Belongs to the people.")

On this May Day, the second one since the war, Liebknecht organised a huge demonstration in Berlin. Full well he knew the great risk he was taking in defying the Government. As a soldier, it was illegal for him to appear in public in civilian dress. Before thousands of Berlin work-

Cry it out aloud, comrades. Let the truth of what we are doing be known. Hide nothing that we do; hide nothing of our suffering. Do not be afraid to recognize our mistakes. We no longer fear either discouragement or defeat. The Russian life has entered the epoch of a standard; we must now continue to improve and perfect the work solidly begun. Immense progress has been made especially in pedagogical methods, and higher educational facilities for the people, in the fine arts, ethics, and the creation of a new morality founded upon the spirit of mutual help. Russia is covered with a network of communist groups devoting themselves wholeheartedly to these tasks.

You can help us in many ways, and we Russians will, on our side, even attempt the impossible to help you. French comrades coming to Russia will find a warm welcome; working amongst us they will learn much that will enable them to be infinitely useful on their return to France.

Good wishes from
VICTOR SERGE LE RITE,
Smolny, Ch. 32, Petrograd.

ers he delivered a bold, uncompromising, revolutionary speech. But he was not allowed to finish. In the middle of an exhortation calling upon the workers to end war, he was suddenly pulled off the platform, arrested, and thrown into prison.

Liebknecht's Revolutionary Policy.

Before being confined to prison, Liebknecht addressed two letters to the Royal court martial, in which he set out his case as follows:

The present war is not a war for the defence of national integrity, not for the liberation of down-trodden people, nor for the benefit of the masses. From the point of view of the proletariat, it only signifies the greatest possible concentration and intensification of political oppression, of economic exploitation, and of the wholesale military slaughter of the working class for the benefit of capitalism and absolutism.

To this answer the working class of all countries can give but one answer: A harder struggle, the international class struggle, against the capitalist governments and the ruling classes of all countries for the abolition of oppression and exploitation, for the termination of the war by a peace in the Socialist spirit. In this class-struggle is included the defence of everything that a Socialist whose Fatherland is the International has to defend.

The cry, "Down with the war!" is meant to express that I thoroughly condemn and oppose the present war because of its historical essence, because of its general social causes and the particular form of its origin, because of its methods and its aims; and the cry is also meant to express that it is the duty of every representative of proletarian interests to take part in the international class struggle for its termination. ("Militarism and Anti-Militarism," S. L. Press.)

Many jingoes in Britain seemed to derive some satisfaction from Liebknecht's heroic onslaught upon the German Government. They seemed to imagine that because he attacked the German State, and its part in the war, that he was attacking German Imperialism only. But Liebknecht was essentially an Internationalist. He did not fail to make that perfectly clear in his statement at the Royal court martial which sentenced him. His words were:

If the German Socialists, for instance, were to combat the English Government and the English Socialist the German Government it would be a farce or something worse. He who does not attack the enemy, Imperialism, represented by those who stand opposed to him face to face, but attacks those from whom he is far away, and who are not within his shooting range, and that even with the help and approbation of his own Government (i. e., those representatives of Imperialism who alone are directly opposed to him) is no Socialist, but a miserable lack of the ruling class. Such a policy is not class war, but its opposite—inciting to war.

When Liebknecht was brought up before the court martial he made a spirited effort to have a public trial. Even here we find him seeking to use his trial as a means of revolutionary propaganda. The trial was, however, conducted secretly. Liebknecht was sentenced to thirty months' penal servitude. An unsuccessful attempt was made in the Reichstag, by the Independent Socialists, to secure his release. When the result of the trial was announced large demonstration of workers took place in Berlin and other parts of Germany. In many of these demonstrations the workers came into conflict with the police. In the large industrial

centres several big strikes took place against Liebknecht's sentence. Although Liebknecht was imprisoned, he sought to keep the minds of the workers attracted to the need of revolutionary agitation by appealing against his sentence in the hope of either squashing the verdict or of having the case reheard. The imprisonment of Liebknecht had a far-reaching effect upon the German masses. From this date they swerved very rapidly towards a policy which had for its determined aim the stopping of the war and the overthrow of the Kaiser. Within the masses there was now an influential Spartacist element which was boldly making plans and creating organized machinery to establish the Socialist Republic. The Spartacists were to be soon tested. And the test of a true revolutionary party is whether its policy is one of revolutionary talk, or one of courageous revolutionary action.

The policy outlined and put into operation by Liebknecht at the beginning of the war was condemned, as we have seen, by the largest section of the German Socialist movement. But the heroism of Liebknecht, as compared with the opportunism of Ebert and Scheidemann, who led the middle-class elements in the Socialist Party, gradually gained vigorous and dauntless adherents. When he faced the Reichstag and challenged the hatred of the financiers and their lickspittle supporters in the Social Democratic Party by courageously voting alone against the war credits, there were many who sneered at Liebknecht's "one-man" party.

Many numbers, however, neither determine the correctness nor the strength of revolutionary principles. The only test of revolutionary principles is the putting into operation of a certain line of organised action in keeping with the social needs of the masses. No less a man than James Connolly, one of the founders of the S.L.P., correctly summed up the relation of numbers, as compared with revolutionary principles, when he stated that the real strength of a revolutionary party lay in foreseeing social tendencies, organizing, and bravely acting accordingly. This is due to the historical fact that revolutionary movements do not achieve success because of the number of adherents, but rather because social conditions work in their favour. Given the correct policy, social crises will drive the masses in that direction. But even here history does not move mechanically. Revolutions are not produced automatically. It is just at this point where revolutionary agitation, initiative, and courageous audacity plays its part. It is here where the social forces and the daring, conscious, human element converge, and by their joint force destroy the old and create the new. It was the recognition of this that made Liebknecht strong, even when standing alone amidst taunts, insult, and jeers. It was the recognition of this law that made Lenin powerful while working away silently and quietly in Switzerland during the many years that preceded the triumph of the Russian Soviet Republic. And it is the recognition of this historical truism which makes the S. L. P. virile; it refuses to sacrifice its policy to make members; it declines to ally itself with a bastard Labour Party—as the I. L. P. and the R. S. P. have done—in order to borrow a false strength from political charlatans like A. Henderson and J. H. Thomas.

(To be Continued.)
(The S. L. P. of Great Britain must not be confused with the S. L. P. of America.)

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

ANOTHER I. W. W. TRIAL

STANDARD OIL V. I. W. W.

(By Eugene Lyons)
Tulsa, Okla.,—Charles Krieger, field delegate for the Industrial Workers of the World is on trial here on a charge of dynamiting, after almost twenty-two months of confinement without trial. The litigation is now in its second week, but as yet not a single juror has been chosen definitely. The courtroom is crowded with spectators; the atmosphere is tense; despite the formal veneer of a state prosecution it is patent to all that a member of an extreme labor group is being prosecuted by the Standard Oil Company.

Succinctly the proceedings in court may be summarized as follows, and the summary obviates any need for comment:

The attorneys representing the boy, moved for a change of venue. Basing their plea upon the record for high-handed lawlessness in the persecution of radicals established by Tulsa, they demanded that the case be transferred to another county. Motion denied.

The jury panel of 150 being drawn, the defense moved to quash the venire. In view of the prominent part the oil interests are playing in the hounding of Krieger, the only complexion of the panel was ominous. But the motion was denied.

The state has added new witnesses to its list recently. These witnesses are unknown to the defense, which consequently moved for a continuance of the case. Motion denied.

No other motions were made by Krieger's counsel, wherefore no others were denied by the court.

In order that subsequent developments in the trial may be intelligible, we wish briefly to recapitulate the case, the first important labor case to be tried in the state of Oklahoma.

For many months prior to October, 1917, the press of Tulsa had been carrying on a campaign of vituperation against the Industrial Workers of the World, urging violence and mob action. At the propitious moment, on the 25th of that month, something occurred which had the effect of fanning the sentiment engendered by the press attitude into a conflagration of hatred. The front porch of J. Edgar Pew, oil magnate, was dynamited. There was no loss of life, and comparatively little damage. The crime was laid at the door of the I. W. W. on general principles. Under cover of the public ire a tar and feather party was staged, in which 16 members of the organization, among them a man of 55, were maltreated in a savage fashion.

Krieger was arrested about this time because he was recognized by the police as an I. W. W. Not a word was said about any connection with the Pew explosion. Seven months he languished in jail before an indictment was returned against him. The indictment charged "conspiracy to obstruct recruiting," the overt act being the blowing up of Pew's residence. The connection between recruiting and the Pew porch has never been explained. In a mock hearing, where Krieger was not represented by counsel, the defendant was held for trial under exorbitant bail. The chief witness against him was a certain Vowels, criminal, whom he barely knew.

A motion to quash the indictment was sustained, there being insufficient evidence for any court to hold the boy. But a new information was filed, Krieger was immediately re-arrested, and after a hearing last February, was held for trial—the trial which began on the 6th of this month. In the last hearing a new witness took the stand against him—a notorious criminal with as black a past as any one man can very well possess—and alleged that the defendant had confessed to him to having committed the crime. Krieger, of course, denies the mythical "confession," so that the jury will have to decide the relative credibility of a hard-boiled yegg and a fine, prepossessing fighter in the class war.

The only evidence against Krieger which has not the earmarks of frame-up is the indisputed fact that he is a member of the I. W. W. Though it loads him with a burden of unthinking prejudice and entails sacrifice, he proudly admits his membership. The years of underserved imprisonment, at a time when he was theoretically presumed to be innocent, the constant harassments by "investigators" planted in his cell, the obvious bias against him in the public mind, did not impair the cheerful, self-reliant nature of the boy.

TWO INTERNATIONALS

The Third International is daily growing in power. The Italian, Swiss, and Norwegian Socialist parties have already joined it; and now the Madrid section of the Spanish Socialist Party has decided to hold a special Conference to consider taking the same step.

Mrs. Snowden justly complains that the Second International "is not International." Moreover it is not Socialist, and this failing is the greater of the two: were the Conference Socialist, it would of necessity be internationalist.

The Italian Socialists in explaining their reasons for seceding from the Second International, say that it contains too many types of Socialists, and that the types mixing badly together, produce political inconsistency, opportunism, and ambiguity.

But unfortunately it seems to us that the Italian Socialist are very charitable to the Second International. For, so far from the differences between its members being the most apparent factor; the sad and barren unity they display in opposing the workers' revolution outweighs all their differences. J. R. MacDonald in the "Labour Leader" of August 14th, clearly reveals this: He says—

"Of the Third International I have no fears, it has no roots. It is the creation of a revolutionary period. If it lasts it will be our fault."

Again, in reporting to the Second International, on the negotiations with the Italian Party, MacDonald declared that there could not be two Internationals. Nevertheless whilst the Second International must use all its energies (presumably to withdraw adherent from the Third) "a purely anti-Bolshevik attitude would be fatal, because it would not have the masses behind it."

It should be noticed that though, as his custom, MacDonald uses very temperate phrases, he is strongly and definitely opposed to the Communists and to the Third International.

Those who are opposed to Communism, to the Communists and the Revolution are unfitted to lead the movement to protect the achievements of the Communist Revolution. Surely that is obvious.

W. Adamson, M. P. at the Southport Conference declared that no one could possibly have conducted a better fight against the intervention in Russia than the Parliamentary Labour Party; but how can men who are constantly stopping to attack the Communists and the Soviets be wholehearted in their defence?

So it is that the Labour Party has raised no voice of protest against the violent overthrow of the Hungarian Soviets.

Ostensibly the state is directing the prosecution. Actually, over the case is being engineered by Flint Moss, a criminal attorney in the employ of the Carter Oil interests. The chief witnesses, including several of the convicts and ex-convicts are on the pay roll of this tentacle of the Standard Oil. In a word, the action officially known as the State of Oklahoma vs. Charles Krieger might as well more truthfully be the Standard Oil vs. Krieger.

Will Oklahoma law remain prostrate under the heel of the Oil King as heretofore? Will the affiliations of Krieger with the I. W. W. weigh all the facts in the case? A trial replete with thrills, as men of every type step to the witness stand, is expected.

AUSTRIAN COMMUNISTS DEMAND RUPTURE WITH THE ENTENTE.

L'Humanite reports a meeting of Workers' Council of Vienna on August 4th, when the question of the right of asylum of Bela Kun and the other Hungarian People's Commissaries was discussed. A resolution, supported by Seitz, the President of the Assembly, was adopted, declaring the right to be incontrovertible. The Communists, led by Citizeness Friedlander, demanded the immediate establishment of a Soviet Republic in Austria and the severance of all relations with the Entente. In the last great congress of the Workers' Council, on July 1st, Citizeness Friedlander had confessed that the Austrian workers had not yet enough confidence in Communism and that her only hope lay in the action of the Entente workers.

To be conciliatory is often a virtue, but it is not a virtue when principles are at stake.

Conciliation is not a virtue when it leads Communists to remain in an International which glosses over the armed attack by some of its members on the Soviet Republics, and the support given by those members to the capitalist intervention.

Conciliation was not a virtue when it assented to the recognition by the Second International of an Estonian Republic, in which Reformist Socialists were given 41 out of 120 seats in the Assembly, and at a time when that so-called Republic was fighting the Russian Soviet armies, and thus directly or indirectly aiding Allied Imperialism or Russian reaction. At the present time this Estonian Government is using its power to march Estonian peasants against Russian peasants as a lever to obtain Allied protection for itself. If the Allies will promise to recognize it as the Government of an Independent Estonia, this Government with its "Socialist" members, recognised by the Second International, will fight with the Czarist General Yudenich and the Allied capitalists to crush Soviet Russia which has already guaranteed Estonian independence. Could anything be more cynical?

It seems to us that it must have been a source of weakness to the Hungarian Soviet Government, that, in the name of conciliation, we suppose—its President should have been Alexander Garbai, the leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, and an implacable enemy of the Communists, till on Karolyi's resignation, Communism was revealed as the only power that could cope with the situation. Jacob Weltner, President of the Socialist Party, (according to "La Fenille," August 17th), carried on the negotiations which led to the resignation of Bela Kun and the Soviet Government, the disarming of the Hungarian forces, and the formation of the Peidl Ministry so ruthlessly overturned by the Roumanian Armies. Though Weltner called himself a Socialist, an article which has appeared from him in the "Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung," proves him to have been unfitted to guard Communist interests.

It is not possible for Communist to work with the so-called Socialists of the German Government which murdered Luxemburg and Liebknecht and which has opened in Germany recruiting offices for troops to fight Soviet Russia, and which also gave hospitality to a recruiting office for the troops used to crush the Hungarian Soviet. A similar recruiting office was permitted in Vienna by the so-called Socialists of the Austrian Government.

Under the cloak of democracy, the timid Reformists are hiding in company with the most reactionary forces of capitalism. Because the Hungarian Government was formed on the Soviet, instead of the Parliamentary system, the Allied Governments crushed it, excusing themselves by the pretence that it was undemocratic. To keep up their pretence of loving democracy and to revenge themselves on the Hapsburgs (perhaps that is a pretence too) the Allies refused to recognise the Friedrich Government so long as the Archduke Joseph retained power. Yet the Allies had connived at forcible seizure of power by the Archduke and the Friedrich Government.

The Allies now protest that the Friedrich Government was "not established by the will of the people, but by a Coup d'etat carried out by a small group of police under the protection of a foreign Army." They have now told Mr. Friedrich to form a new Government representing all classes of society within three days time. This might be taken to mean that Mr. Friedrich is to have the sole choice of Hungary's Government. Friedrich is the nominee of a party—the party of reaction—and it is that party, in conjunction with the Big Four, which will dictate who is to be in the new Government.

Another Russian Intrigue.

Intrigue defeated the Hungarian Soviets, and the same subtle influences are striving to wreck the Soviets in Russia. It is said that as a result of Kolchak's de-

SEVENTY MILLION TO STRANGLE RUSSIA

By W. H. RYDE.

"Lying is a European Power." National and international capitalist, past and contemporary, confirm the truth of this pregnant saying of Lasalle. Capitalist society being rent with a class struggle between capitalist and wage-workers, any extension of the franchise to the productive and exploited masses is a potential weapon to be turned against Labour's exploiters. To prevent the potential becoming the actual, the will, the thoughts, the aspirations of the masses are systematically adulterated by a venal press. The same tactics are resorted to during industrial disputes; strikes and strikers are denounced as anti-social, as a conspiracy of a part against the whole of society.

But the campaign of outrageous lies and vile slanders increasingly waged against Soviet Russia by the capitalists, their press, and politicians perhaps affords the most arresting testimony of the extent to which lying is a power in Europe. How often have we been assured that the Bolshevik regime is hated by the Russian people; that they desire to rid themselves of it at any cost? Yet even the opponents of the Bolsheviks have had to bear witness, however unwillingly, against this oft-repeated assertion. General Miller, the Governor-General of North Russia, the representative of the counter-revolutionary elements in that part of Russia, recently described the difficulties they were experiencing in their efforts to secure recruits to fight against Soviet Russia. "We depend for recruits principally on the villages, but the feeling in the villages is not wholesome. The villagers do not wish to fight; they wish to remain peacefully at home." Even recruits have been gained, they cannot be retained, i. e., "the Bolsheviks urge them to leave the army and return to their homes"—and the advice is followed. The action of the villagers is utterly inexplicable on the view that the Bolsheviks are a hated minority imposing a despotism upon the majority. The admissions of General Miller show that the workers and peasants in non-Bolshevik Russia accept the leadership, not of the carriers of Churchillian culture, but of the much-abused Bolsheviks. On the other hand, the results of the Petrograd elections just to hand, record that the Bolsheviks have secured three-fourths of the seats, their "sympathisers" the remaining seats.

When it is borne in mind that Soviet Russia has been blockaded and starved for nearly two years by the Allied Bandits, the Petrograd elections are convincing evidence of the firm hold applied Bolshevism—a communist administration controlled and directed by the producing masses—has in the will and desires of the labouring population of Russia. The difficulties encountered by the Denikins and Kolchaks in mobilizing a Russian anti-Soviet army, the repeated risings in the rear of counter-revolutionary armies, the Onga mutiny, throw

feats the Allied Governments have decided to change their tactics and are now working to establish a "democratic" Russian Government, to be composed of representatives of all the anti-Bolshevik parties, from the Right Social Revolutionaries to the old Cretobist Party, with Kolchak and Denikin as military commanders only. It is proposed to call a Conference of Russian political parties in Paris in September. Of course it is hoped by this move to capture the half-hearted reformists and those who are prepared to sacrifice any and every principle to avoid the hardships which the Allied attack has brought upon Russia. It is hoped by uniting reformists and the despairing with the reactionaries that the Soviets may be overthrown. Should the plan succeed, reaction would speedily gain the upper hand, "democracy" would be banished from the programme, and, as in the bad old days of Tsarism, the streets of Russia would run red with the blood of martyrs; the heel of reaction would be planted again on the neck of the Russian people.

The peril is great. What part will be played by the Second International in this intrigue.

We believe that Soviet Russia will win through in spite of all.

By HARRY POLLITT.
(Reprinted Workers Dreadnought.)

Ton for Ton.

During the war, when passions were roused to fever heat, and the workers were promised all sorts of prizes to keep them contentedly going on with the war, it was a simple matter to launch the policy of "Ton for Ton" for all shipping sunk by the Germans, and one remembers now very enthusiastically the Press that represents the shipping interests became over this policy. The more ships sunk by German submarines, the more pronounced became the ton for ton cry, until finally it was understood that as a result of the Armistice agreement, the shipping companies were to be compensated for their lost ships by the confiscation of the German merchant vessels.

It may appear that this was a perfectly fair arrangement; but when one remembers that every shipping company in England made larger profits during the war (despite the loss of their ships) than were ever known before, it is perfectly clear that, owing to the influence they command, the shipping combine was

into strong relief the blundering stupidity and brutality of the Government's Russian policy. The Churchillian policy has as little support in Russia as in this country. British Labour has declared in unmistakable terms that it will insist upon a policy of "Hands off Russia." The Government, to head off a political mass strike to enforce the programme of the Triple Alliance, stated that the demands of the Triple Alliance had been met; were, in fact, out of date. To be sure, the demands were agreed to—in words and promises. It is quite otherwise in the world of deeds; the world that counts.

The promise was the withdrawal of British troops and sailors; the deed (?) the despatch of further naval forces. Why? To save life? No! emphatically, no! The withdrawal of all British forces without the loss of a single life could be immediately accomplished by a peace leaving to Russia the right of economic and political self-determination. But our rulers desire the destruction of Soviet Russia greater than they desire peace. Hence the reinforcements. The development of a new offensive against Petrograd shows that the Government has no serious intention of leaving Soviet Russia unmolested. That the Government as a defender of capitalist power and privilege should hate and fear the consolidation of communism in Russia; that it should work to restore capitalism and Tsarism in Russia occasions no surprise to those who have learnt that essential lesson of class-society politics, etc., that the capitalist State does not represent the community, but is an instrument of class-rule. What does surprise us is the readiness of the workers to take capitalist politicians at their own valuation.

The demands of the Triple Alliance have not been met; they are not out-of-date. This and that has been promised, but it is, so far, merely word/ words, words. The deeds of the Government are the old evil deeds. We urge the members of the Triple Alliance who believe they are justified in holding their hand, to reconsider the whole position, in the light, not of the Government's promises, but of its deeds. The British workers want peace; the Russian workers want peace; all workers want peace. The power of enforcing peace lies in the hands of organized Labour. The cost of the Russian gamble has been made public 70,000,000 pounds. But for this foreign financial aid the exploits of Denikin and Kolchak would have long since been ended. Let us emphasise it. The counter-revolutionary elements in Russia are powerless without the aid of foreign money, foreign munitions, foreign supplies generally. This 70,000,000 pounds represents a draft on the future labour of the workers in this country. It means that British labour is supplying the money and material needed to suppress Russian communism. More, that British Labour will be called upon to pay interest upon loans devoted to crushing Russian Labour. British Labour has declared its policy to be one of "hands off Russia." Let Labour so act that Lassalle's aphorism has no application to it. —London Call

able to obtain both the coffee and the halfpenny.

able to obtain both the coffee and the halfpenny.

However, the policy has its good points, for as a result of the German ships being taken over by the English shipping combine, the necessity for building more ships in this country has been removed. This fact has driven home to thousands of workers in the shipyard area, more clearly than all the lectures will ever do, the fallacy of "Making the German Pay."

He will be a brave man who goes to the shipbuilding centres of the North East Coast and the Clyde to talk about "pinching" any more German ships.

The truth is, that nearly all the workers engaged in shipbuilding had been expecting a long run of work, as a result of so many ships being torpedoed; now they see that it is the German shipbuilder who is going to have the long run of work. Human nature being the nature it is, this is making the shipyard worker of England sorry that the German ships were ever taken. Now, on the top of all this, the admiralty has stopped most of its shipyard work, and so has intensified the ever growing unemployed problem. This is exactly what the Shipping Combine and the Shipbuilding Federation has been playing off, and so successful has been their policy that by the end of September, a terrible unemployed problem will be confronting the shipyard workers of Britain. Every day the two federations of employers are coming closer together, and only this week the firm of Harland and Woolf, at whose head stands Lord Pirrie, has bought two of the biggest shipyard on the Clyde. This firm now practically dominates the shipbuilding industry, having its yards at Govan and other places on the Clyde, Southampton, Liverpool and Belfast.

Lord Pirrie is also one of the foremost figures in the Shipping Combine, which made over 300,000,000 pounds profits during two years of the war, and is now in a sound financial position to contest the growing demands of the workers. If there is one class of workers who ought not to be misled by the bogey of "Increased Production," it is the shipyard workers of Britain, for there is not a shipyard in Britain where the workers are not already keyed up to the last second. The pressure is especially great in those yards where piece work and the premium bonus system are being worked.

The increased production cry is not worthy of the men's consideration, coming, as it does, at a time when men are being dismissed every week and when in every ship-building and ship-repairing centre there is unemployment. Anyone who has seen the riveters at work on the hull of a new ship, and has carefully noted the speed at which they work, knows it is impossible for these men to work any harder. They are paid at so much per hundred and the price is fixed so that none but the hardest and strongest can make a decent living. The constant introduction of labour-saving machinery, such as the oxy-acetylene burner and the pneumatic rivetter, all tend to do away with labour, and to increase production at the mechanics' expense.

What increased production means is more work for less pay, and more work per man means, in hard facts, doing away with a lot of other men, a larger margin of unemployed, and that is the employers best weapon for reducing wages. Increased production means increased profits for the capitalists and increased misery and poverty for the surplus workers.

All this talk of workers working harder, when there is a growing army of workers willing to work, but finding no work to do, is not a mere coincidence; it is just part of the policy by which engineering and shipbuilding capitalists intend to defeat the workers during the coming winter, and so temporarily crush the rising tide of the revolution.

For what are the facts? In November a conference is to take place at which will be discussed the advisability of continuing or otherwise the 12½ per cent. and the war awards. Let there be no mistake, the capitalists are determined that something has to come off the workers' present wages. The employers have already beaten the Trade Unions on the

44-hour question; they are now ready for the next round. Unless some new development takes place, it is safe to say that the workers are not ready and are going to suffer another defeat.

If the organized workers are beaten in these two highly-organized industries, then every other class of worker will automatically suffer also. The workers will be well advised to put their own house in order, and let the people who are crying for increased production do a little themselves. Men like Brownlie, who are calling for more work to be done, should also come back into the shops and do some work, instead of always prancing round the employers.

Shipyard Conditions.

A liner leaving the landing stage is always a wonderful sight. Those who have seen the Cunard crack liners slowly moving off down the Mersey at the close of a summer's day, know what a picture of finished workmanship such a ship presents. But how many of those who see it think of the conditions under which the men have worked in the shipyard before the liner was ready for launching.

It is everywhere admitted that a British build ship is the last word in workmanship and finish, yet the conditions under which they are made while on the stocks are positively disgraceful.

In the summer it is not so bad, but in the autumn and winter the majority of yards are flooded with mud and rainwater. The lighting is bad, there are no washing arrangements, and the sanitary conveniences are worse than those provided for the Lascaers in the docks. There is no protection from rain for the men working on the hull of the ship, they are sent home in wet weather; all shipyard workers therefore experience much broken time. Moreover, the work is heavy and skilled. Yet these are the men who are being appealed to to work harder.

Shipbuilding and ship repairing are dangerous trades; amongst the boiler makers there are hundreds who have lost one eye through hot scales from the rivets, or pieces flying off their drifts. The other trades have their own peculiar dangers.

The Blackwall shipyard of R. H. Green and Silley Weir at Poplar is a typical shipyard; during the winter it is like a mud pond, and there is no decent ambulance accommodation in the yard. On one occasion a Lascaer was knocked down the dry dock. When he was brought to the dock side he lay for twenty minutes, and no ambulance came; finally he was taken to hospital on a motor lorry. A month ago, a man received an injury to his eye; he was rendered unconscious, and taken to Poplar Hospital on a horse lorry. Yet this firm has made more money out of the war than was ever thought possible.

In 1918, of the firm's employees eight men were killed and over 2,000 received injuries of a more or less serious character in this yard; from January, 1919, up to the present, seven men have been killed and over 1,000 injured. Amongst the workers of the dock area the yard is known as "Heaven's Friend." The fact that the firm has now appointed special safety officers speaks for itself. If figures could be got from other yards a similar state of things would be disclosed.

I would suggest to the workers that a campaign in favour of increased Comfort and Safety would be more sensible than Increased Production.

What is the Remedy.

The obvious remedy is for the workers in all industries to organize for the purpose of taking over the ownership of all the means of production, but one has to face facts and recognise that the workers are not yet showing any great desire for anything of this character. At the same time the feeling is undoubtedly growing that the Trade Unions have failed, before the superior organisation of the Capitalists.

The first essential is unity and a common programme of action for all the shipyard areas. If we had these we should not again see the spectacle presented in Jan-

workers in Belfast, the North-East Coast, the Clyde, Liverpool, The Bristol Channel, Southampton and London, were all out on strike, and all striking for different demands.

Such a remarkable wave of revolt has not been seen in any industry before. Had all these areas been linked up with each other; had they combined for the realization of a common programme, it would have been impossible for the employers to resist demands, and we should have had a demonstration of solidarity that could have been the beginning for more ambitious and lofty objects. As it was, every area was beaten; the men returned downhearted and disgruntled. We ought now to profit by our mistakes and set about the task of re-organization.

The shipbuilding and repairing industry is a compact one, and has no great difficulties of organization, except the apathy of the workers. The capitalists in their industry are organized to perfection. At the head of the Employers' Federation are some of the smartest and cleverest lawyers in the country; men like Sir Alan Smith, who knows every move on the board. By organizing the employers on the basis of class, irrespective of whether they are large employers or small, they have built up a machine that is now straining every nerve to edge the workers into a fight, because they know the present weakness of the Trade Union Movement.

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at once be elected in every yard. The country should be mapped out in well-defined areas, local councils should be appointed, and from these the smartest men we have should be chosen, irrespective of their craft, to form one National Shipbuilding Workers' Council. This Council, consisting of men coming direct from the shipyards, would know exactly the feeling of the workers on any important question. If any action were necessary, the Council would be in a position to call for united action and able to meet organization by organization. The present barrier to progress is the principle of craft unionism; it may have been necessary years ago, but to-day it is ineffective and obsolete.

Whether you are mechanics or labourers, your wives all pay the same price for food; you all work the same long hours, you all fear the spectre of unemployment, you all run the same risk of accidents, and work under the same dirty and had conditions. Therefore your aims and interests are alike; and, organizing as workers on the basis of Class and not Craft, you breed the spirit of Class Consciousness and Class Solidarity. Mere aims of higher wages and so on, lose their interest, as larger issues come into view by means of your new organization. So you gradually build up the structures whereby you will one day take your stand with workers similarly organized in other industries. Thus you will finally be able to take over the ownership and control of all the productive forces.

Then "Increased Production" will mean increased wealth and leisure for the working class and everything for the worker that it now means for the capitalist. Until that time arrives, increased unemployment and increased misery.

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THE TRIUMPH OF IMPERIALISM

By RICHARD CLEMENTS.
(London Call)

The thoughtful man, above all if he is imbued with Socialist ideas, cannot but observe the striking difference between the idealist and moral professions of the ruling classes in every country during the early stages of the war and the sordid policy of territorial annexation, militarist repression, and capitalist imperialism which is almost universal triumph at its close. One wonders what Mr. H. G. Wells thinks of "the war to end war," not that he and many others who shared his thoughts have "seen it through."

The Peace Treaty, that closed five years of the most appalling war in history, bears the marks of its capitalist origin from beginning to end. This is no Charter of Humanity, ushering in a new epoch in world development; but the document that sets a legal upon the world-wide plans of industrial and commercial exploitation on the part of the capitalist classes of the Entente. All the ideas of a "Peoples'," outside the Labour and Socialist movements, were forgotten. President Wilson's "Fourteen Points," after having served their purpose of sowing doubt amongst the German people, were at once cast aside. The fate of nations, provinces, and districts were decided by the "Big Four" irrespective of the wishes of the peoples concerned. The proceedings of the Paris "Peace Conference" are to-day a byword amongst the nations.

A lasting peace can only be made when it receives the wholehearted consent of the peoples concerned. The Peace of Paris is seen to be but a momentary result of force that are rapidly spending themselves. It is only a lull in the storm. The last word in the struggle for peace will be spoken by the working classes of the world.

In the British Socialist movement we were never more conscious than we are to-day of our class duty, nationally and internationally. Upon us devolves the heavy task of preparing the masses by education, agitation, and organization for a prolonged and bitter struggle against British Imperialism abroad and the prevailing system of economic exploitation at home.

Men make their own history, as Marx once wrote. But as he was always amongst the first to recognize, their work is necessarily conditioned by the economic, social, and political circumstances of their particular age. The social problems that now confront us were brought into existence by the economic and social evolution of modern society.

The development of the means of production and communication has been such that the capitalist classes can no longer confine their efforts to the merely

national markets, but must seek outlets all over the world for their products. This power to produce a surplus mass of commodities and the absolute necessity of finding an outlet for surplus capital are not features of capitalist development in any one country, but are common to all highly developed industrial and commercial nations. Hence the diplomatic intrigues, struggles, and war amongst them; for foreign markets, colonies, and "spheres of interest" the capitalist classes are ever ready, as the present exhaustive war has shown, to hurl the masses of their respective countries at each other's throats. It is this relentless search for new markets and outlets that explains capitalist penetration, domination, and control in India, Egypt, Africa, Mesopotamia, and Turkey.

The Case of Persia.

Atlance at the text of the "agreement" between the British and Persian Governments, which was signed at Teheran on August 9th, will reveal the present-day methods of British Imperialism in its dealings with small nations.

The first clause of this precious document reads as follows:—"The British Government reiterates, in the most categorical manner, the undertaking which they have repeatedly given in the past, to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia."

And we are then told in the following clauses how it is proposed to carry out this "undertaking." The Persian Government is forced to accept "what-ever expert advisers may be considered necessary for the several departments of the Persian Administration. These advisers shall be engaged on contracts and endowed with adequate powers, the nature of which shall be the matter of agreement between the Persian Government and the advisers."

The British Government is to supply, at "the cost of the Persian Government," military officers, munitions, and equipment, for the "preservation of order in the country and on its frontiers."

In order to carry out these reforms, we are told that the Government offers to provide a loan of 2,000,000 pounds, at the rate of 7 per cent, redeemable in twenty years' time, "for which adequate security shall be sought by the two Governments in consultation in the revenues of the Customs or other sources of income at the disposal of the Persian Government."

The construction of a modern railway system in Persia by British capitalists is also provided for in the following paragraph:—"The British Government fully recognising the urgent

need which exists for the improvement of communications in Persia, with a view both to the extension of trade and the prevention of famine are prepared to co-operate with the Persian Government for the encouragement of Anglo-Persian enterprise in this direction, both by means of railway construction and other forms of transport, subject always to the examination of the problems by experts and to agreement between the two Governments as to the particular projects which may be most necessary, practicable, and profitable."

The control of Customs is also to pass into the hands of our Government, as it is proposed to set up a joint committee of experts for the examination and revision of the existing Customs tariff with a view to its reconstruction on a basis calculated to accord with the legitimate interests of the country and to promote its prosperity."

Imperialism and War.

In 1907 Great Britain guaranteed the independence and integrity of Persia, and afterwards acquiesced in Russia's brutal policy of repression and terrorism in that unhappy country. When the power of Tsarist Imperialism was broken by the Russian workers, hopes were widely entertained of a free Persia. The rapacity of the British ruling class has again come between the Persian people and the realization of their hopes.

Persia is a rich country—rich in raw materials, especially oil; but perhaps the factor that most influenced our ruling class in this case was that of the consolidation of our rule over the vast territories stretching across Southern Asia from Egypt and Palestine through Mesopotamia to India. In this part of the world, at any rate, the wildest dreams of our Imperialists have been realised.

But what of the workers' share in Empire? It is beginning to dawn upon even the most politically backward of British workers that Imperialism is a burden and a curse for their class. It loads them with the chains of debt while inflaming the greed and enmity of other nations, and thus leads from the burden of armaments to the crowning folly of war.

Imperialism is a product of capitalism; we cannot destroy the one without overthrowing the other. The Socialist struggle against economic slavery at home cuts at the roots of Imperialism and war. These last two evils can only be overcome by the working-class conquest of economic and political power in their respective countries, which will bring to a close the capitalist regime, and call into existence a group of federated Socialist Republics.

more I saw in him the brother—the double—of my son. The situation terrified me. In the face of discipline and duty I could not save his life. I must give the pitiless sentence. To gain time I questioned him. I learned he was the only son of a widow, a poor shopkeeper, whose opinion could be summed up in adoration for him. "Do you know," I said, "that I am forced to order your immediate execution?" "I know it," I was confounded. My lips absolutely refused to pronounce the sentence. "So," returned I, "you do not value your life. You love nobody? Not even your mother, who awaits you, and who will soon learn you are no more, that her child has committed suicide without pity for her, because his death... that you seek... it is suicide." He frankly let me see I had touched him, with just that same simplicity with which he had shown his courage. "Oh! the dear lady; if I could spare her this torture. If she could be ignorant of my death she will at any rate wait and hope. It would save her despair." "Very well," I said with sudden inspiration, "we must deceive her. Tell her you are in trouble, and must leave France. What would you do if I permitted you to go—to live to her?" "You would do that?" "Yes. If you give me your word to be here at sundown." "I give it and will not fail you." I scribbled a safe conduct and let him depart. There were murders around me which I feigned not to hear. "You think he will return," the sergeant permitted himself to say in a discontented, loud voice. "I hope with all my soul he will not return. Once under the influence of his mother's caresses he will lose this proud heroism he has shown before me."

He did return.

That evening he came... out of breath... he had been running. "I am late," he said to me. "She would not let me go, but I managed to get away." They led him away. Others judged him. Those who knew blamed me for my tolerance. He was condemned. I asked for his pardon. It was refused. One hour after the fusillade had sent this poor devil to eternity I handed in my resignation. I had had enough.

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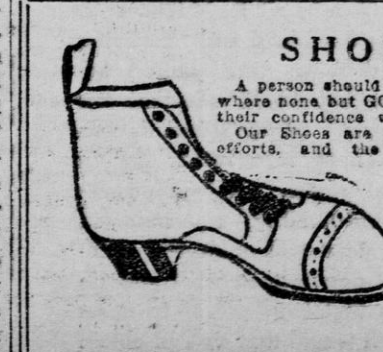
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THE COLONEL'S RESIGNATION

A Story of the Commune.
By G. Regnal.

Translated and adapted from the French by Fred H. Poet.

We asked the Colonel why he had left the ranks so young. He who had so brilliantly obtained promotion. "Promotion, that's a fine advantage," said he, with bitterness. "How many times have I wished with all my soul to have the happiness of ease, irresponsibility and rest... I need not hide the circumstances which induced me to give up the uniform... Here they are."

It was the 25th of May, 1871. This takes us back, you see, to the Commune in full swing. I had just returned to Paris with the Versailles army. There is no need to recall the frightful conditions. Our soldiers were exasperated against the insurgents, and were ferociously ardent, not only in the fight, but in the execution of individuals bearing arms. Yes, it is sad to own it, but after a great deal of fighting, some of it, between brothers, we finished our sinister work without the shadow of repugnance or remorse. As for me, I have never permitted myself, like the others, to get intoxicated with powder, passion, and blood. But

Suddenly I found myself in the presence of a sergeant and his squad, who had leading to the tribunal a Communeard, and I realised I had to determine his fate. He was pushed before me. Ah, my friends! It was my son, my own son, my beloved Jean, my pride, my only care. He stepped forward, his hands free, with no resistance. Beneath his uniform, mud-stained and tattered, he retained his dignity. His look—so gentle and so noble—that of my poor son whom I will mourn all my life

when in action had ended and I saw victors and vanquished side by side in all the tortures of their last moments and the lividity of death, was not I did not have the heart of a soldier.

It was to me frightfully painful during those horrible days of May to preside at courts-martial, to see decide one by one—criminals, monsters—call them what you will, but at any rate human beings, whom I had in cold blood to stick against the wall. This day then, the 25th of May, I had just broken up, and was the last to leave the sitting of the Council of War, of which I was president. My soul was troubled like a nightmare and full of unforgettable faces, beautiful and ugly, men in the full vigour of life, young people who should have been thinking of love and poetry rather than murder, women with dishevelled hair cursing... all were sullen, declamatory, full of hatred, over-excited—but brave and sincere, bear that in mind.

Suddenly I found myself in the presence of a sergeant and his squad, who had leading to the tribunal a Communeard, and I realised I had to determine his fate. He was pushed before me. Ah, my friends! It was my son, my own son, my beloved Jean, my pride, my only care. He stepped forward, his hands free, with no resistance. Beneath his uniform, mud-stained and tattered, he retained his dignity. His look—so gentle and so noble—that of my poor son whom I will mourn all my life

—was calmly fixed on me. "Here he is, colonel," said the sergeant at the same time. "We caught him coming from where we were searching. He has been shooting at us, the rascal, since this morning through the windows. Look at his hands, black with powder." Little by little I came to myself and perceived with joy that I had been mistaken through a striking resemblance. For a moment it had been a frightful torture. This young man was not my son. Nevertheless, it caused my soul to overflow for him. He was summarily asked: "Your name... your age?" "Leopold Fourrier, nineteen years." "Were you really this morning in the house? Did you fire on the regular troops?" "Yes, colonel." I had hoped he would deny it. His reply was clear without pose or boast. My Jean would have done the same. His tone was filled with charm. I tried hard to find extenuating circumstances. "Why did you do it?" No reply. "Do you regret your error?" said I, with a benevolent regard. "Have you given way to fear or been enlisted by force?" He raised his head quickly: "I have feared nothing," said he proudly, but without boast. "If the Commune has been an error... well, it is a glorious error that could not be half-hearted." What could I do? I had before me an enthusiast. My men surrounding me were thirsting for reprisals. As for me, the more I looked at this child whom they wished to kill the

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EDITORIALS

IF YOU AGREE WITH THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN "TRUTH"

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Two years ago the Russian workers, with Lenin and
Trotzky at their head, took control of Russia. Tired of
the imperialistic policy of Kerensky and the rest of the
miserable compromisers, the Russian workingclass and
the peasantry combined, and created the Soviet Republic
of Russia.

Well might the workingclass of the world feel proud
of their Russian comrades! Through two terrible years
they have managed to remain in control and today they
stand at the head of the world's proletariat, shewing the
rest of the world's proletariat how to fight its battles
against the brutal and cowardly forces of world imperial-
ism.

When you know that every capitalist government in
the world has combined against the Russian people,
you must admit that it has been a tremendous task for
the Bolsheviks of Russia to carry on their work. The
Japanese on one side and on the other the forces of Eng-
land, France and America. Against the armies and
navies of these nations and also the foes within her
borders, the Russian Bolsheviks have fought. Whilst
carrying on that part of the fight, they have also organiz-
ed their own nation and out of the chaotic conditions, a
product of the Czaristic regime, they are building a new
Russia.

The capitalists of the world have had their eyes open-
ed. In the ranks of every army of the capitalist coun-
tries of the world, there are daily mutinies. Men refuse
to fight any longer. Remember, that these men have
been well supplied with food and clothing. On the other
hand, the Russian army has had to be content with a
meagre allowance and has suffered from a lack of cloth-
ing. Yet within the ranks of the Red Army of Russia,
there has been no discontent. Every member went into
the fight, prepared to fight until death, so that the Rus-
sian revolution might be won. The Allied soldiers fight
to make others rich, the Russian soldiers fight for free-
dom. That is the difference between the two armies.
It is that difference that makes one army discontented
and the other contented to fight on, as long as it is
necessary to do so. The capitalist class of this country
have yet to see the workingclass in action. When do
they will witness the same deeds of heroism that make
the Russian fighters the pride of the world's proletariat.

Our Part in the Fight.

It will not suffice that we sign the Internationale and
cheer revolutionary speakers. We must offer more
convincing proof of our sympathy with the workers of
Russia. We have got to assist the Russian people by
compelling the Allies to withdraw from Russia and so
allow the Russian people to rebuild Russia on the founda-
tion of a free society. We must resolve on this second
anniversary of the Soviet Republic of Russia to play our
part like real men and real women. We must refuse to
manufacture or transport any ammunition to the
Koltchaks of Russia. We must refuse to be the tools of
designing Imperialists, who see in Russia a glorious op-
portunity to exploit the 180,000,000 Russian people and
the valuable resources of that country. We must arouse
the workingclass to a realization of their duty. If we do
that, then we can say that we are playing our part in the
great fight of the revolutionary workingclass. Let us not
be afraid, but stand up like revolutionists and stretch
out the hand of comradeship to our comrades in Russia
and in the one army of the world's proletariat we will
commence the final drive against the imperialists of the
world and instead of celebrating anniversary of the
Soviet Republic of Russia, we will celebrate the founding
of the Soviet Republic of the world.

Besides celebrating the Russian revolution, we must
also profit by the examples give to us by the Russian
workers. The tactics of the Russian revolutionists have
demonstrated the correctness of the viewpoint and the
position laid down by the Left Wing movement of this
country. The Socialist Party has always "shewn" the
workers the "easiest" roads to travel. Certain programs
were laid down and through the application of same we
were to vote ourselves into power and then, without any
trouble, just the mere signing of the ballot paper, we were
to walk into the paradise of Socialism and leave behind us
the wilderness of capitalism, just like leaving an old
flat and moving into a new one. It was a glorious picture
and one that captivated the workers for the time being.
But with the growing power of the workingclass making
itself felt, we witnessed capitalism in all its hideousness.
We witnessed our class asking for bread and receiving
bullets. We realised, more than we ever realised be-
fore, that the only argument that would convince our
oppressors of the "righteousness" of our demands was
the argument of power. There is no other law in
capitalist society, but that of power. If you possess
power, then what you do is considered right, because you
have the power to enforce your will upon the com-
munity. If you have not got power, then what you do
is considered wrong by those that have power to upset
all your schemes and ideas. It is said that we can obtain

a revolution through the ballot. Those that are of that
opinion are either cunning knaves or blind fools. You
may pass any law you deem fit, but if you have not got
the power to enforce that law, then all your work is of
no avail. It was the power of the railroad brotherhoods
that forced the U. S. Supreme court to declare the
eight-hour law as being constitutional and it was power
that enabled the copper barons of Colorado to declare
the eight hour law of that State unconstitutional. The
capitalist class by virtue of its economic power can break
any law with impunity. By virtue of their power they
send the soldiers to break strikes. By the organizing of
the power of the workers, the workers can achieve their
freedom. So on this glorious day of the anniversary of
the Russian revolution, let us go back to the shop and
organize the workingclass. Let us educate the working-
class to a realization of the power the possess. Let us
meet the challenge of the capitalist class and accept the
issue they confront us with.

The Russian Revolution came to us like a meteor
from the sky. It flashed across the dark horizon and gave
us promise of greater things than we had ever dreamed
of. It shewed to us the way out of a mad world,
that was soaked with the blood of the workingclass. Let
us in this hour pledge our faith anew and work for the
establishment of the dictatorship of the world's proletar-
iat. Having established that dictatorship, we can destroy
the sordid forces of world Imperialism that seek to
destroy our movement and upon the ruins of capitalism
erect the new social order.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

IN MEMORIAM

On November 11th, 1887, there were eight members
of the LaWor Movement hung in Chicago. Their crime
was that they agitated for the freedom of the working-
class. These men, Albert R. Parsons, August Spies,
George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Samuel
Fielden, Michael Schawb and Oscar Neebe were radical
unionists. They were not members of the labor move-
ment, for the purpose of securing positions as sane labor
leaders. No, they joined so that they might arouse and
organize the workingclass and by those methods bring
about the emancipation of their class. They were the
first martyrs in the fight for the freedom of labor.

Like Tom Mooney's trial, their trial was a farce.
Witnesses were called who did not know the men and
who swore that they witnessed them throw the bomb and
urge others to use dynamite. It was capitalism in all its
hideousness. Because these men wanted their class to
receive more of the good things of life, the capitalist
class feared them. They knew that the more the work-
ingclass gets, the less they get. Therefore these men
must die. That is how the disciples of law and order
operate when you work against their interests.

But that was in 1887 and times have changed!

On November 5th, 1916, there sailed on a ship to
Everett, a number of American workers. They were on
their way to see that the citizens of this Republic received
their constitutional rights. As they made their way,
across the waters of the river, their came the strains of
their lusty voices. You could hear the voices in glad
refrain:

"Hold the fort for we are coming
In One Big Union grand."

In their minds there was no thought of revenge, no
thought of spilling human blood, but the light of freedom
shone in their eyes, these men wanted to see labor free.
As the boat docked in the harbor, suddenly shots rang
out. The blood of these men was spattered all over the
ship. Some fell wounded and falling overboard they
were soon caught up by swirling waters and their lives
were snuffed out. Others were badly wounded. Hugo
Gerlot, John Looney, Gustave Johnson, Aba Rabinowitz
and Felix Baran were murdered. They never lived to
make their stand for free speech. What a story a Zola or
a Jack London could have told about the massacre of
Everett! Not content with murdering members of the
I. W. W. the thugs and parasites of Everett pounced upon
the rest and beat them, until they were rendered
insensible. That was twenty nine years after the judicial
murder of the Chicago comrades. The same thing is
going on today. In the Steel district, women are being
outraged and murdered. All because the workingclass
demands more of the good things of life.

Masters of America, we will not forget! For every life
that you have taken away from us, we will make you
pay a thousand fold. Gone are the days when we
would sit and sulk over your misdeeds. Today we live
to fight and not to sit idly by. We come now, not with
a spirit of revenge, nor with the passion for blood in our
veins. We come to take from you the mines, the factories,
shops etc. that you cannot run without us. You have
shewn that it is necessary to kill over fourteen million
men, in order to run this system. This waste of human
life must stop and we will stop it. We will take from
you all the things that you have taken from us. Out
from your mansions into the workshops. Your turn to
serve society has arrived!

Comrades of the dead! You paid the price that some
must pay, in order that the movement for freedom may
go on and bring forth its fruits. It may perhaps be our
turn to stand the test, that you stood. May we in that
hour, be possessed of the same love and devotion as you
were possessed of. We shall pay our debt to you by the
deeds that we shall do. Comrades goodbye, the work
you left behind we will carry on. Soon we shall stand
around your graves celebrating the realisation of the
ideals that you gave your life for.

Hear a word, a word in season,
For the day is drawing night

When the Cause shall call upon us,
Some to live and some to die!
He that dies, shall not die lonely,
Many a one hath gone before;
He that lives shall bear no burden,
Heavier than one they bore.
Nothing ancient in their story,
E'en but yesterday they bled
Youngest they of earth's beloved,
Last of all the valiant dead.

GREETINGS TO EUGENE DEBS

On November 5th, Eugene V. Debs, entered upon his
sixty-fifth year. Today, after forty two years serving
the workingclass, 'Gene is lying in prison a physical
wreck. It is but a tribute to his influence and power.
The capitalist knew 'Gene better than his own class knew
him and so they placed him behind the prison bars.

It would be foolish for us to even pretend to even
mention one thousandth part of the great work that Debs
has done. Our pen is but a poor instrument to convey
to you how much we would like to convey, to tell you
of our regard for this Man. Debs is almost too big to
write about, and this is said with all the respect and
homage that this great soul commands by his character,
and not with the blind adulation that subjects are ac-
customed to regard the so-called great men of history.
Debs as a writer or as an agitator, stands towering above
the many who style themselves writers and thinkers.
There is something majestic in that tall figure of Debs,
something that makes you feel a bigger man in his
presence. It is in his character as a man that he stands
supreme and challenges the respect and love, the admira-
tion and the emulation of the modern world. Gentle,
inflexible, self-forgetting, and rigidly scrupulous and
honest, he presents the inspiring figure of a man.

Victor Hugo began his oration on Voltaire's centen-
nary celebration with the single but sublime sentence:
"One hundred years ago a man was born." And so we
say of our beloved 'Gene today, "Sixty four years ago
a man was born."

In the world of men there is nothing so rare as a man.
That is why in the midst of the great events of today,
we miss dear 'Gene.

What might have Debs gained in luxury and wealth,
if he had but allowed his moral power to supplement
his intellectual power?

Had he but consented to negotiate, to bargain, to
compromise with their ruling class, he would today be
occupying a seat amongst the mighty and not in a prison
cell. But Debs is immeasurably above and beyond
temptation; his lofty character disdains all dickerings
and temptations; he stands at all times, even in prison,
and in all situations inflexible as granite in moral rectitude,
and though death might overtake him in a prison cell,
he is still 'Gene Debs the man.

The moral grandeur and the impregnability of the
man shine forth in all their matchless lustre today and
in its splendor we behold not only Eugene V. Debs the
Man, but Katherine Debs the Woman. It is the wives of
the revolutionists that give them the courage to go on
and fight. So to speak of 'Gene without speaking of
his wife is to forget one's duty. At all times Katherine
Debs has stood by 'Gene. In the early days they starved
and suffered together. Soon comrades by our work and
agitation we will open up the prison doors and bring
those two loving souls together.

It becomes our task to bring about the release of
'Gene Debs. The release of Debs, means also the release
of all class war prisoners. Because Debs will never leave
others behind him to bear the cross of labor. So let us
celebrate the birthday of Debs by giving all our support
to the agitation for the release of all class-war prisoners.
Make it a duty on your part to send at least one dollar to
the Communist Labor Party national secretary and help
us to free Debs and all class war prisoners.

To you 'Gene, through the prison bars we send our
greetings and in the words of the brave members of the
I. W. W. who died on your sixty-third birthday: "Hold
the Fort for we are coming."

"Back to Europe"

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
And you hail us this unfed,
Though there's never a dollar of all your wealth
But marks the workers' dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest,
And you lie on crimson wool;
For, if blood be the price of your cursed wealth,
Good God! We have paid it in full.

There's never a mine blown skyward now
But we're buried alive for you;
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go, reckon our dead by the forges read,
And the factories where we spin;
For, if blood be the price of your cursed wealth,
Good God! We have paid it in full.

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
For that was our doom, you know;
From the day when chained us in your fields,
To the strike-ago,
You have reaped our babes and wives,

And we're told its your legal share;
But if blood be the price of your lawful wealth,
Good God! We have paid it in full.

So comrades I am going to say good-bye. Your mas-
ters call me a dirty foreigner and they say that I am
behind every strike. Well I am not going to worry you
any more. No more will you despise me, because I am
going back to Europe.

I came to this country and as the poet writes "there's
not a dollar of your cursed wealth, but marks the work-
ers' dead." I have gone down into your mines and
witnessed my mates, who came with me, buried beneath
tons of ore and I have seen their wives and babes left to
starve. I have built your sewers and your railroad tracks
and I have swept your streets. Yet when I ask for the
right to live a decent life, you spit on me and weave
slanders around my name. To hell with your twelve
hours per day, before a hot furnace. I want to live and
you want to sweat me to the grave. When the man in
me dominates the beast that is in me, you call me a dirty
foreigner. Well you will not call me that anymore. I am
going home. We are all going home. Turn out your
ships and if you have not got the crews, we will man
them ourselves. We are going back to Europe, where the
sun of liberty greets the dawn of a new day. We are
going back to play our part in making men and women
human beings once more. We are going back to make
you, you parasites that sapped our life's blood, honest
men so that you might play an honest man's part in life.

Go down your own mines; stand before your own
furnaces and till our own soil. Get down into the muck
and dirt and dig your own sewers. You called us
dirty foreigners once too often. You told us to get to
hell out of this, once too often, we are going home.

Good bye comrades, we are going home. We are
going to join the Red Army of the workingclass. We are
going to make Europe the home for American exiles, as
America once used to be the home of European exiles.
When you find the fight getting hotter and you need us,
we will come back to you.

Masters of America, you thought to deport us. You
knew that you need us, but we don't need you. Au
revoir but not goodbye, we are going away, but we are
coming back when America once more asserts her
independence.

I have broken my hands on your granite,
I have broken my strength on your steel,
I have sweated through years for your pleasure,
I have worked like a slave for your wealth,
And what is the wage you have paid me?
You masters and drivers of men—
Enough so I come in my hunger
To beg for more labor again.

I have given my manhood to serve you,
I have given my gladness and youth;
You have used me, and spent me, and crushed me,
And thrown me aside without ruth;
You have shut my eyes off from the sunlight,
My lungs from the untainted air;
You have housed me in horrible places
Surrounded by squalor and care.

I have built you the world in its beauty,
I have brought you the glory and spoil;
You have blighted my sons and my daughters,
You have scourged me again to my toil.
Yet I suffer it all in my patience,
For somehow I dimly have known
That some day the workers will conquer
In a world that was meant for their own!

FOR YOUR ATTENTION COMRADES!

William Madison Hicks, of Oklahoma, was sentenced
to twenty years imprisonment and fined \$10,000.00, for
uttering statements that were written by President Wil-
son and other Government representatives.

He has a wife and four helpless children, the oldest
being seven years of age. It is impossible for us to
respond to every appeal that comes to this office. But
we cannot overlook this appeal. It is dammed hard
to be in prison for twenty years, but imagine if you can
the feelings of a man, who knows that he has four child-
ren and a sickly wife outside STARVING TO DEATH.
Comrades this woman and four children must be attend-
ed to. We thank you for the thousands of dollars that
you have given to the various appeals that we have
made, but this appeal must answered. We have given
all we can and you know that radical editors are not
millionaires. It is entirely up to you to see that at least
the next few weeks will bring a little comfort into the
Hicks home. A sickly woman and four children! They
live on \$4.00 per week. That is five people, having, say
two meals per day, for seven days per week, are allowed
5½ cents each for a meal. Think of the high cost of
living and then try and put yourselves in these little
kiddies' places. Four dollars per week. How they live
we do not know! We want to raise at least ONE
HUNDRED DOLLARS AT ONCE. Can you help us in
any way? Perhaps you have some things that the kiddies
might wear. Our pen is poor. We would like to paint
the picture as it is. Just let your heart respond. Send
us one dollar or more if you can afford it. Even if
you cannot afford it, just go without for once in a
while. Comrades this appeal is being backed by us
personally because it is so urgent. **FOUR LITTLE
CHILDREN AND A SICK WIFE—FOUR DOLLARS
PER WEEK!**

Another Case of Brain Lesion.

The miners are being told that they will starve if they
remain out on strike.
Before they struck they were told that they had earned
high wages and there was no need to strike.
"O where and Oh where have the high wages gone?"