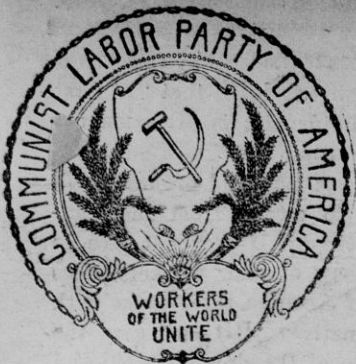




THE TRUTH

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VOL. III—No. 45

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1919

WHOLE No. 126

FIVE CENTS.

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After five years of deadly intrigue and furious naval and military competition, Europe plunged into war and headed straight for anarchy. The system of producing articles as commodities to be sold at a profit rather than as goods to be utilised had got out of hand and, their ideas demented and their prejudices inflamed, the helpless rulers had violently colluded. Laissez-faire had yielded to Imperialism, Imperialism has assumed the guise of Secret Alliances and Militarism. The following stage was War. The class conflict was

obliterated in the battle of States and their armed peoples.

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At the same time the Allied nations discovered that whilst commerce absorbed the output of commodities all too leisurely, so that leaden-footed demand lagged behind supply, war devoured insatiably the most prolific production of competitive industrial machines. They manufactured munitions by the million and competitive consumption cried aloud for billions to replace them.

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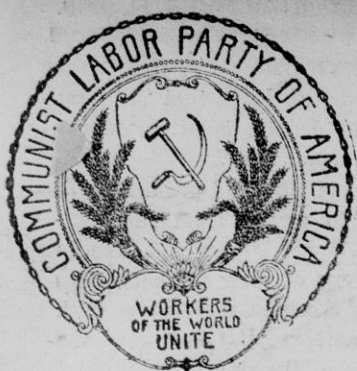
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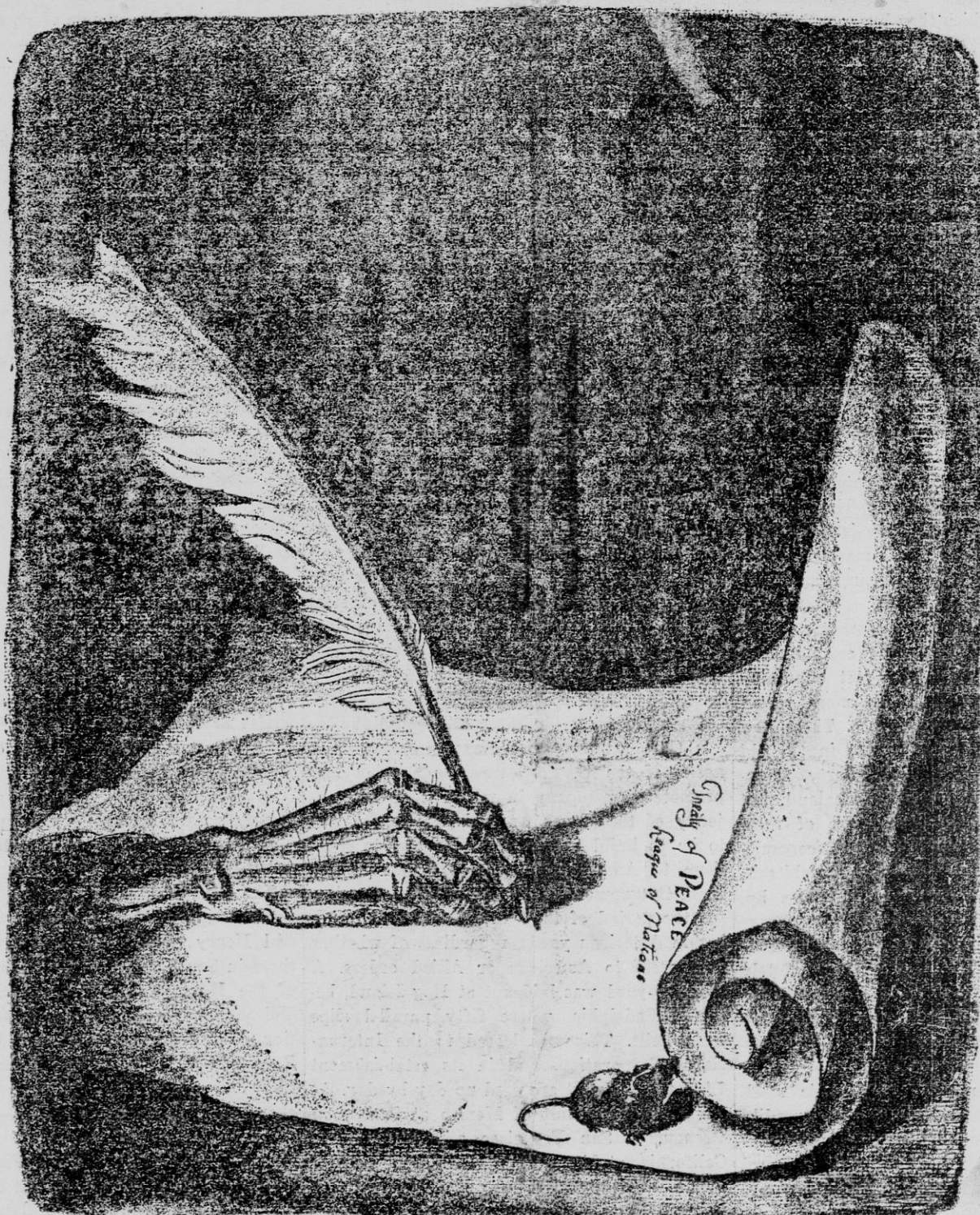
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INTENTIONAL DUPLICATE EXPOSURE

The American workers were offered and selected Wilson.

Wilson and the Money Trust.

At that very time "the Money Trust" had been on its trial—the usual harmless "investigation." It had been exposed and "dissolved." There is nothing so opportune for a trust as to be "dissolved." All the little fellows get alarmed and sell out at a loss, and the big fellows "reorganise" themselves into an enormous profit obtained by devious methods of unloading fresh paper on the public. The trusts were reviled, exposed, fought at the election investigating again and allowed to re-form themselves. "The Money Trust" could see what was happening in Europe. The Schiff's and the Armours were "in" with the Hohenzollerns, and the Morgans, Vanderbilts and Astor frequented the Court of St. James. "The Money Trust" had billions of funds—largely borrowed from our gilded aristocrats and the European noblesse—awaiting investment overseas. It wished to remain discreetly in the rear, alternately reviling—with its tongue in its cheek—and applauding—with a knowing wing—the one just man, the Aristides of New Jersey.

Woodrow Wilson created an atmosphere. America became officially idealistic, gentlemanly, honourable. Even the Socialists of Europe forgot the Standard Oil Wagon, and saw only the Man who held the Light.

What Peel was to the '48 is—or may be—Woodrow Wilson to the '18. Peel saved Toryism by transforming it into Conservatism. Wilson may save Capitalist Imperialism by making it into a benevolent despotism called a League of Nations.

"God's Own Country."

The American Continent and India have been the vast areas of exploitation and development which have made possible the expansion of modern capitalism.

To an extent little understood, except by those of us who have needed to search into the past history of Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow, they contributed the easily won profits which helped to promote the agricultural and transport developments of the 18th and early 19th centuries, to finance cotton manufacture, and to build up banking houses. They gave of their plantation grown tobacco and sugar, of their cotton and their tea, the abundant raw materials and foodstuffs of the Industrial Revolution.

Cannings and Palmerstons, Rinalys and Gladstones, Harfords and Stanleys, merchants and landlords, statesmen and officials owned properties in or drew revenues and salaries from Jamaica, Virginia, and the Gulf lands. One landed class, one social order lived in the Old South and the Old Country. Pennsylvania and Darlington, Massachusetts and Manchester, New York and Liverpool traded and married, sharing a common individualism and a similar child slavery. U. S. State loans were floated in London, and Wall Street became first the Cotton Exchange, and then the Gold Market between Manchester and New York.

Britain's Wealth in Yankee Pockets.

Britain's wealth, the fabulous fortunes of Lancashire and the swelling rent rolls of the nobility financed the North or encouraged the South. They flowed on and over into Vanderbilt's railways. They "built" iron roads to the Pacific, and came to a halt in Gould's fathomless pocket.

The Britishers wearied of this, and certain Dundee capitalists—they are careful in Dundee—sent out to explore the elusive track they had financed.

From 1875 onwards, for a generation, the British and the Dutch entrusted J. P. Morgan with the salvaging of their mortgages and the reorganisation of "their" companies. He took their money and made millions for himself, and more millions for his clients. He was persona grata with Edward VII. They were both connoisseurs of art! With European millions Morgan syndicated the semi-bankrupt properties of a score of industries, and managed the profit syphon-system of several old-established shipping interests. He traded credit. He bought and sold a legal claim to the labour of the international proletariat.

The Patriotism of J. P. Morgan.

J. P. Morgan was—and his firm remained—pro-British. He was a great patriot, financing the U. S. Navy League at the same time that he was reorganising the U. S. Steel Corporation after that penny-in-the-slot meter had collected 200,000,000 pound of cash in exchange for engraved and watermarked paper. He died surrounded by old masters and priceless muniments and crockery. He left millions and a market on to which the Standard Oil wagon was coming, to carry all before it.

Standard Oil used other people's money to develop American industries, and hurled its battering rams at every rival across its path. It conquered gas and electricity at home; electric apparatus manufacture at home, and to some extent, in Britain; tobacco and sugar at home and abroad; copper, contracting farm mortgaging, foodstuffs, and some fifty

thousand miles of railways. It swept into insurance companies, debenture trusts and banks. It moved into Alaska. It pioneered for "Democracy" in Mexico. It spread its expansive hand over the Philippines and Cuba. Standard Oil is "progressive". It is inclined towards Free Trade in theory. It thinks internationally. It has shown a sympathetic interest in the Democrats. J. P. Morgan and Co. "ran" Roosevelt's "Progressives," and then returned with their party into their old Republican machine. Rockefeller's minions crowd around Wilson.

Standard Oil and British Securities.

For a time the war made J. P. Morgan and Co. mightier than ever. They were bankers to Britain. They bought munitions and supplies for Kitchener's Army. But it was Schwab and Bethlehem who won the ear of Kitchener and booked gigantic orders for guns and shells. When Morgans placed their orders they had to deal with Standard Oil's subsidiaries, and to hand over to them the major part of the British securities in which payment was made.

When Britain was paying in stocks and bonds, rather than in valuable commodities, Morgans were paying out to Standard Oil the very rope on which they hung, and whereby they held control—as bankers—of American business. Britain's need was so overwhelming that Standard Oil could exact its price as producer, and it had long shown a disposition to be its own banker, and to dispense with the pontifical intermediary between London and its own land of hope and glory. It had copper—essential to military munitions. It had oil fuel for the Fleet. It had food for the Army. It had sugar. It had timber. It could supply tens of thousands of wagons from its engine shops and electrical plants.

In exchange it became master of credits. It hoarded gold. Then it came forward and founded a great foreign investment trust so that its new gold, stored away in unnecessary volume, now that the passing of the Federal Reserve Act had mobilised money under State control for private security, enterprise and profit, might "go adventuring." The National City Bank of New York, which is the Standard Oil bank, founded the American International Corporation about November, 1915.

The New South.

Besides Standard Oil but, apparently, working harmoniously with it, were certain other financial interests which the vast expansion of American industrialism in more recent years has thrust into prominence. These new forces have come into being not in the old strongholds of the Republican Party, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, but in the West and the South, some of them in areas which have been backward economically and in politics have cherished the old rancours and regrets of that South, beaten by, and then become indebted to, the prosperous North. West Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee have now not only recovered completely from the handicap of slave labour and the ruin of the Civil War, but have developed a prodigious industrial vigour in such vital necessities of capitalism as the mining of bituminous coal and the making of basic steel. Favoured by Nature with vast and readily accessible resources of coal, iron, limestone and phosphates, a most fertile soil and several rivers, navigable from the mining and manufacturing areas to the sea, they are now ready to export coal and to enter the world market with their steel.

McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury from 1913 to 1918, Wilson's son-in-law, was a corporation lawyer and tramways promoter from the very heart of this region.

The Journal of Political Economy (University of Chicago) said: "Come to think of it, Wilson had an asset in his Princeton affiliations, not excepting his close friendship with Cyrus McCormick, who, although a trust magnate in the West, was, after all, a Virginian proud of his pedigree." (Vol. XXV, 1917, P. 279.)

It is this McCormick, of the greatest of all American engineering concerns, the International Harvester Company, whom Wilson has had to advise him in Paris.

That brings us to the Middle West, where, politics aside, certain mighty manufacturing concerns had come to the front. Besides the International Harvester Company Chicago had the "Big Five" meat packers, a colossus which, having come to dominate the foodstuffs market of the United States, had been strengthening immeasurably its sinister hold upon Smithfield and thrusting forward in other directions.

So Standard Oil grouped with itself other interests, including electrical contractors, bankers, and manufacturers of all kinds. The National City Bank of New York began to publish The Americans, a Pan-American monthly, devoted to the trade of South and Central America, where McAdoo was negotiating commercial arrangements with the Latin Republics to trade their coffee, meat, and hides in dollar rather than in the sterling

exchange, which it had become so hard for them to get.

South America Trade Goes to U. S.

South America could no longer obtain machinery and manufactures from Britain, so she turned to New York, and there found Standard Oil eager to do business with her. The American International Corporation secured the Rockefeller shipping lines at San Francisco, and began to replace the British tonnage on the American coasts. It formed, with its allies of the Meat Trust, a refrigeration syndicate to supply the Allies with carcasses from Uruguay. It bought a banking business, the International Banking Corporation, which had done much agency work for the Germans in China and the East, and set to work to transact banking business in London and the Far East, to solicit British and Indian trade as a banker advancing short-date loans and transacting bills, to buy up hides and leather on a great scale in Asia, and to strike its tentacles, through the Russian Corporation, Ltd., deep into that country of fabulous potentialities.

America's "Place on the Ocean."

When the U. S. decided to build a mercantile marine McAdoo was again "the initiator," and the American International Shipbuilding Corporation was formed by the same interests to act as shipbuilders to the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Prior to the Great War, Britain accounted for 47.9 per cent, of the world's ocean-going shipping, whilst the United States had only 4.6 per cent. In 1911-12 less than 9 per cent, of American foreign trade was borne in U.S. ships, and American yards and engine shops only turned out some 200,000 tons of sea-going ships a year under normal conditions. Now all this has been changed almost out of comprehension. In 1915, the American International Corporation, dominated by Standard Oil, acquired the New York Shipbuilding Company to await developments. In 1917, when America entered the war, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, whose profits can be estimated from the fact that it then had 50,000,000 pound of British orders, had also the largest shipbuilding facilities in the States, great plants in New England, on the Delaware, and in California. It laid out several immense new yards, bought a number of independent steel works, and enormously extended its plants for making ship steel. It booked great orders for British shipping.

Wilson's Sea Shuttles.

Then the American International Shipbuilding Corporation was made the shipbuilding agent of the U. S. Government, which had promoted a company in which it held a majority of the shares, and whose purpose was to be to build or acquire ships and to lease them to American subjects to operate. The U. S. Government, meanwhile, took possession, for the period of the war, of all ships building in American yards, regardless of whether they were to American or Allied orders. A monster yard was laid out at Hog Island, below Philadelphia, where fifty parallel slips were built. This was leased to the International Corporation, and in its establishment 7,500 tons of steel are used up day by day. At Boston, on the Gulf of Mexico at Seattle in Oregon, at San Francisco and Alameda in California, at Shanghai in China, and even in Japan, ships by the score and hundred are being built to the order of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation, or of its agent, the International Shipbuilding Corporation. The chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board said quite recently:

Our railroads must no longer stop at the ocean. We are building a merchant fleet of 25,000,000 tons. Vast American passenger and cargo liners will run regularly to every port in Latin America, the Orient, Africa and Australia. ... Once more we shall have a real U. S. merchant fleet under way, backed by far-reaching policies for efficient operation.

The American International Corporation has, meanwhile secured control of the International Mercantile Marine Company, and hence of the White Star, American and Leyland lines. Some of these are under American official control, some have been under British, but the profits on their huge new fleets, value 18,000,000 pound, are dominated in America, and the U. S. Government as yet has declined its consent to the sale of these ships to a British syndicate.

"Charlie is My Darling."

Charles M. Schwab, the "hero" of the Carnegie armourplate frauds, whose operations in the Shipbuilding Trust were compared by the New York Evening Post to the achievements of Whittaker Wright, was, according to a writer in "Syren and Shipping", appointed head of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation at the personal and insistent request of President Wilson. He has since vacated this post to accompany Wilson to the Peace Conference. "Charlie" Schwab was one of Andrew Carnegie's young men at Homestead, where he became manager immediately after the strike.

When the Carnegie Steel Company was absorbed into the U. S. Steel Corporation, Schwab seems to have been the man who got for Carnegie its absurdly inflated purchase price. It is generally held that he over-reached Morgan very badly, but as Morgan always "passed it on" to the "guinea-pigs"—that elegant and appropriate Stock Exchange slang for mere capitalists—he does not seem to have troubled himself. Schwab could not, however, work harmoniously with Standard Oil's head executive officer, H. H. Rogers, so he soon withdrew from the presidency of the Steel Corporation, and took over the Bethlehem Steel Works, near Philadelphia. What he bought it for I do not know, but his "sale" price for it when he formed the U. S. Shipbuilding Company in 1903 was \$9,000,000.

The details of this transaction cannot be told here. Enough to say that the Official Receiver said that "the U. S. Shipbuilding Company" was absolutely at the mercy of Mr. Schwab, "spoke" of the "enormous and unlawful appropriation of stocks and bonds" by Schwab, of "false statements to the public," and of "the easy conscience" of financiers. The whole story may be read in Moody's "Truth About the Trusts." It is one of the worst scandals of even that thieves' kitchen, Wall Street.

Schwab reclaimed from the wreck the properties of several great shipyards on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and built up old John Wharton's sometime Quaker Bethlehem into the world's mightiest ordnance, armour plate and shell plant.

When America entered the war Schwab had added the Maryland and Pennsylvania Steel Companies to his business, and now the war is ended the Bethlehem Steel Company has joined in with several other very big concerns, in the formation of the Consolidated Steel Corporation, and the Board of Trade Journal (13-3-19) says "it is thought that in time the Corporation will represent all the steel manufacturers of importance, excluding the U. S. Steel Corporation." This corporation has been formed to act as selling agents for these steel concerns, and purposes to construct the material framework of the League of Peace.

Only the other week the Iron and Coal Trades Review lugubriously reported that huge orders for rails for France, Italy and Denmark had gone to the U. S. A., where prices were tending to fall as ours showed signs of rising. Sir Adam Nimmo, the great coal-owner, writes in the Compendium for December:

With her large output and low cost of production and her large Mercantile Marine Fleet she will doubtless be able to bring very great pressure to bear upon our European markets in an efforts to displace British coal.

The Ford Works is devoting great effort to the turning out of vast fleets of farm tractors, and Henry Ford hopes to do wonders with these in South America and Asia. McCormick, of the Harvester interests, is at Paris with Wilson considering the agricultural regeneration of Central Europe and of Russia. Dun's Review reports: "Formerly London was the rubber centre of the world. ... The war has changed this. ... New York is at present the world's principal rubber market."

Power—Electrical and Financial.

We are hearing to-day a great deal about the electrification of industry and transport. McAdoo, when Director-General of the U. S. Railroads, strongly recommended their electrification. The development of the whole North-West of the U. S. is in the hands of the hydro-electric combines—also predominantly Rockefeller, and the organ of the National City Bank of New York "sees the promise to-day of an enormous development of electrification."

Amongst the various powers which its charter of incorporation has given to it, the American International Corporation may acquire interests in public utilities in foreign countries. This opens out a vista of anything but agreeable possibilities in connection with the electrification projects which are now being discussed in this country, and the American hand may be more subtly concealed on this occasion than it was some years ago in the promotion of the Underground Railways of London.

These Standard Oil—National City Bank interests are very strongly entrenched in this country. In America McAdoo used to be an official of theirs in the underground tunnels of New York. Sir Albert Stanley was their manager in the Public Services Corporation of New Jersey.

Coal, Copper, and Cotton.

Besides the proposed "American Coal" porters Incorporated there are already in existence a new combine of copper producers the Copper Export Association Incorporated and the Textile Alliance Export Corporation and association of the National Cotton Cotton Manufacturers, the Association of Woollen and Worsted Manufacturers, and the National Association of Wool Manufacturers.

The textile workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire will be interested to learn that "at first the Corporation will devote its attention entirely to European countries."

The British interests may, and probably will struggle furiously to escape from the tentacles of the Oil Octopus. If they get free to fight for the recovery of their markets, does not this estimate of America threaten us with an appalling alternative? "It is," says the Compendium (organ of the shipping, iron and colliery interests) "every day becoming clearer that it is America, rather than Germany, which will be our future competitor for world trade."

No More Worlds to Conquer.

In addition to these manufacturers' export associations, to which the Webb-Pomerene Act of 1917 gave sanction, the famous and futile Sherman Anti-Trust Act notwithstanding there are a number of corporation for financing over-seas trade, legalised by the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, which have recently come into being. These bank and discount houses will enormously facilitate the bareback onrush of the American commodity-mongers, seeking to cheat their fate by hurling billions of dollars' worth of products still more to confuse that mad melee in which this demented and degenerate capitalist civilisation feverishly foots its last wild Dance of Death.

There is the Mercantile Bank of the Americas owned by Brown Bros. and Co., Seligman and Co., the Shawmut Bank of Boston, the Guaranty Trust Co., the Central Union Trust Co., and other banking concerns. This Pan-American bank has since promoted the Mercantile Oversea Corporation. Schwab's money-box, the Chase National Bank and some dozen other banks have formed the American Foreign Banking Corporation. Last year the Mercantile Bank of the Americas, the Guaranty Trust Co., the Bankers' Trust Co., and four Pacific Coast banks organised the Asia Banking Corporation to exploit the Northern and Central Provinces of China, Manchuria, and South-Eastern Siberia. I have the best authority for stating that in India and China, as in France and Belgium, American banking interests are displaying an ever-widening influence.

With our premier Trans-Atlantic steamship companies bunkering in American ports with American coal, with our South American markets overrun by U. S. traders and financiers, with our British merchants beset by American bankers and traders to transact their business within the Empire, with orders from Allies and Neutrals pouring past our shops to America, we realise why the President of the National City Bank of New York urges America "as a nation to think internationally." New York has become the new monetary centre of the world. The United States is "a creditor nation."

These forces can be judged as to their economic and political strength when the "Bulletin of the American Chamber of Commerce in London" estimates the loans made by the U. S. Treasury to foreign Governments at the end of November at seven billion dollars. Those borrowings still continue, and must yet become greater by billions.

Comrades, Come Rally!

That is the prospect. That is the future before us under Capitalism, regardless of the party and policy of the ruling class, its Presidents and its Premiers, it is War or else a League of Nations, masking a super-national capitalist despotism. This, dimly foreseen, led me into court three years and more ago. This has come of contracting in the United States for munitions of war. It had to be. Looking back from the present, I say with emphasis it is well that it has been. It has hastened the inevitable collapse of Capitalism, the universal catastrophe which, sooner or later, had to come.

The capitalist system shivers from pole to pole. It is "down and out" over the Old World from the Pacific Ocean to the Rhine. The economic strength and the political power of the Counter-Revolution are in Britain and the United States.

What a challenge to the industrially and politically organised workers of these two great nations! What a trumpet call to the English-speaking proletariat! What an inspiration of solidarity to knit in one working-class movement, in one farflung propaganda, in one mighty fighting force the Socialists of Britain and America! Is it too much to ask that on both sides the Atlantic, and far away to Australasia and United South Africa, my comrades will read and ponder this plea for a closing of the ranks, for a rally of the Socialist forces to march to the aid of our struggling comrades elsewhere, and together to batter down the last and proudest strongholds of Capitalism?

Workers of Britain and America, ours it is to fight the last struggle, so that to-morrow the International shall include the whole human race!

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

London, England.

"Red" Russia Defies Blockade of Allies

By ISAAC DON LEVINE.
Berlin, Germany, Nov. 5. — "Our position regarding peace has not been changed since March when the Bullitt mission arrived here," declared George Tchitcherine, soviet commissar of foreign affairs in an interview given me recently in Moscow.

"We are ready at any time to negotiate peace, provided recognition be given to all the existing governments in the territory of the former Russian empire, the

allied blockade be raised, mutual amnesties be given, and there be a simultaneous demobilization of all armies operating within the limits of the former Russian empire. We are willing to assume the national debt of the empire. "These general terms remain unaltered. There would necessarily be changes in details. Thus, where soviet republics existed in the spring, there are now 'white' guard governments, as in Latvia (Lettland and Lithuania. We neglected the western front because all our energies were concentrated in the east against Admiral Kolchak, whom we nearly destroyed.

Negotiating With Estonia.

"However, we desire peace with the western white governments, and negotiations are already proceeding with Estonia.

"We did not attack the bordering small states, holding the emancipation of their working classes to be their own affair. We did not try to force communism upon anybody. Those soviet republics which existed in the Baltic region were created by their own nationals, who returned home from Russia after the war. We went to their help only when German, British and Swedish aid was invoked by their opponents in order to overthrow soviet rule.

"Peace would give us an opportunity to organize ourselves economically. The blockade is a great wrong, causing much suffering but it cannot strangle us. The Russian masses know how to bear suffering."

When asked how long the soviet government could exist un-

der the present strain, M. Tchitcherine replied:

"I can see no end to our rule. The only apparent reason for the allied blockade is fear that our success will cause a social revolution in western Europe.

Declares Allies' Hope Vain.

"The allies hope to crush us, but they will not succeed, as they send no armies against us but incite little border nationalities which are interested in creating solely an autocratic Russian empire. Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania know full well that the victory of Gen. Denikin and Admiral Kolchak signifies an end to their independence and liberty."

When I asked what guarantees the soviet government would give for noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries by means of propaganda, M. Tchitcherine replied:

"The peace treaty imposes mutual responsibilities. If, for instance, we concluded peace with the United States, we should be willing to guarantee with the whole weight of the covenant that we would not carry on propaganda in America. Our policy is to establish as soon as peace is concluded economic relations with all countries, of which those with the United States would be especially valuable.

Army Gaining Strength.

"We are willing to exchange products with the western countries, but we are not seeking exclusive economical alliances. We are willing to grant concessions to foreign capital on very liberal terms, giving broad privileges.

"The allies, though, ignore these offers preferring to hope for our downfall. This hope is vain. Our army is gaining in strength daily. Forty thousand new 'red' army officers have been turned out this season by our military schools. These officers are mostly proletarians, full of ardor for the cause of the social revolution. This is the first contingent of its kind in the history of the world."

Here the commissar of foreign affairs picked up from his desk an illustrated magazine called "The Red Officer" and pointed out a number of articles and illustrations dealing with the life of "red" army officers.

In view of the swift advance of the soviet forces in Siberia and the expected extension of soviet authority to the far east, I asked M. Tchitcherine what relations the soviet government was ready to assume with Japan.

"We are ready to arrive at an agreement with Japan," he answered. "Of course we would make concessions."

THE WOUNDED SOLDIER

Oft, on some holiday, when Nature, dressed
In all her beauty, does her best to please,
And the cool zephyr rustles thro' the trees,
And man believes himself supremely blessed—
Here, at my window, I recline at rest,
And gaze upon the ever-varying scene.
Ah! war is shorn of all its glorious sheen,
For he who's felt its terrors knows it best.

Deprived of both my legs I helpless lie,
The object of a passing stare or sigh,
Condemned to lie here, lie here, year by year,
And look upon the joy I cannot share.
O God, but twenty years have passed above my head...
But twenty years... and, God... already dead...

Myer Liberman.

"The Socialist" Scotland.

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Communist Labor Party National Executive Com- mittee Holds Important Meeting

ESTABLISHES NEW PAPER TO BE KNOWN AS "COMMUNIST LABOR" ABSORBS "CLASS STRUGGLE" MAGAZINE, "VOICE OF LABOR" AND PUBLISHING BUSINESS OF THE SOCIALIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY

The recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party, held in New York City, will place this new party at the forefront of revolutionary organizations of this nation in the production of educational and propaganda literature. The full committee attended all sessions and consists of Max Bedacht, San Francisco; Alexander Bilan, Cleveland; L. E. Katterfeld, Cleveland; Jack Carney, Duluth, and Edward Lindgren, Brooklyn.

Many important and unanimous decisions were reached, decisions which mean that the Communist Labor Party will from now on be exceptionally well equipped to reach the workers with the message of communism. Plans were perfected for the touring of organizers and lecturers, and at least four national tours by well known speakers will be arranged at once.

"Communist Labor," the new fighting organ for the party, will make its appearance within two weeks. Max Bedacht will edit this periodical, which will be the official expression of the party in matters of current events in the field of the class struggle.

The "Voice of Labor," has also been made an official organ of the party. This paper will continue its agitation for the One Big Union, its advocacy of shop committees, and its present acknowledged usefulness in the industrial battle. John Reed is its editor.

The "Class Struggle," at present the only scientific and theoretical expression of communism in this country, will hereafter be published by the Communist Labor Party as a monthly. Ludwig Lore will continue as its editor, and Jack Carney and A. Raphaeloff have been named associate editors.

The established pamphlet and book business of the Socialist Publication Society was voted the property of the Communist Labor Party at this meeting of the National Executive Committee. This means that such well known pamphlets and books as "The State and Revolution" by Lenin; "From October to Brest Litovsk" by Trotsky; "The Crisis in the German Social-Democracy" by Rosa Luxemburg; "The Old Order in Europe and The New Order in Russia" by Pricco, and many others, will now be issued and sold by the party. What is considered to be the best exposition of communism, a book by Bucharin, educational director of Soviet Russia, is now on the press. Three million of this book were sold in Russia. It is aimed to sell at least a million copies in America.

The national office of the party will, within two or three weeks, be located in New York City. From this citadel of capitalism the Communist Labor Party will do its part in reaching the 30,000,000 American wage slaves with the message of communism. From this city the educational, propaganda and organization activities of the party will be prosecuted from now on with greater efficiency and vigor.

It now devolves upon every party member to become an ever active agent for the party, securing subscriptions, selling literature, assisting in the organization work. Close attention to these duties is imperative. Every spare moment of every day should be given by every comrade to party work. THIS WILL LEAD TO VICTORY!

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DECLARATION ON UNITY

of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party on the question of Unity with the Communist Party.

In view of the fact that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has again refused to accept the Unity invitation extended by the Communist Labor Party on Oct. 13th we issue the following declaration to the membership of both parties.

1 We reaffirm our sincere desire for Communist Unity. We are sure that the invitations that we have extended to the Communist Party to meet with us in Unity Conference are in harmony with the will of the membership, not only of the Communist Labor Party, but of the Communist Party as well. The Communist Comrades in both organizations hope for unity of all true Communist elements in ONE Party.

2 We regret the seeming inability of the officialdom of the Communist Party to sense this desire of their own membership, and we express our firm conviction that in time this membership will enforce its will. The Communist officials that now prevent Unity will be compelled to clear the way, or all real Communist elements will leave the Communist Party just as they left the old Socialist Party when that Party's officialdom refused to obey the mandates of its revolutionary membership.

3 The excuse of the Communist Party officials that they have no power to act in this matter is palpably untrue. The Communist Party's constitution gives their Executive Committee full power to initiate referendums. If they really desired unity and believed that a referendum offered the only means, they could immediately submit the question to referendum and let their membership decide it.

4 In making our unity offer we did not thereby approve of all the elements in the Communist Party. We are not surprised to find unclear and undesirable elements in that Party, opposed to Communist Unity.

Elements that are engaged in dickering with reactionary Socialist Party Locals in an attempt to wrest property from the Communist Labor Party, as the National Executive Secretary of the Communist Party is now doing in Ohio, can not be expected to help bring about unity of all real Communist forces.

Groups of so-called Communist that appeal to the capitalist courts to rob Communist Labor Party Branches of Party property, as some of them are now doing in New York, are surely not desirable elements with whom to unite on an equal basis of Communist Comradeship.

Neither can we place the laurels of 100 per cent Communism upon the brows of those that are rallying the proletarian hosts to the polls for the support of bourgeois wets in the defense of "personal liberty" against the onslaughts of bourgeois drags, as is being done right now by members of the Communist Party and one of their official organs in Cleveland.

5 In spite of the fact that we see these and many other signs of centrism and menshevism in the Communist Party our invitation for a unity conference on a basis of equality still stands. We know that the great mass of the rank and file of the Communist Party is sound and revolutionary. We have absolute faith that if unity is achieved on a PROPER basis, so that the membership has an opportunity to assert itself, these unclear elements will eliminate themselves and a Party of true proletarian Communism will result.

6 The letter of the Communist Party dated Oct. 25th answering our unity invitation contains no proper basis for unity. It contains no unity basis at all. In this they merely ask the officials of the Communist Labor Party to betray their membership. They refuse to consider even a meeting for the purpose of attempting to work out a basis for a unity conference. To call that an offer of unity is rank hypocrisy. We spurn their bribe in the shape of an offer to liquidate our debts.

7 There is a fundamental difference between the two Parties that must be considered by the membership before Unity could be achieved, that difference is in the form or organization. The Communist Party is a loosely federated group of almost independent parties. Because of this very structure or organization their officials have power to break them a part. Where "leaders" have this power, they will inevitably enter into conspiracies and combinations to maintain their control. This

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must eventually destroy the Party, just as it almost wrecked the Left Wing movement last summer. It was one of these very cliques that bolted the left Wing Conference in New York, split the revolutionary movement in two, sent out the call for its separate convention and organized the Third Party, the self-styled Communist Party.

8 It would be futile folly for any one to join the Communist Party with the idea of correcting these fatal errors and ousting this organized clique from control either at the next convention or at any other time. They openly boast that should they lose control they would again bolt, cause another split and organize another new Party. "Boring from within" can therefore not bring unity. It is impossible to achieve a lasting unity of Communist forces unless this clique control is corrected at the very start.

9 It is apparent that the officialdom of the Communist Party is determined to maintain its clique control at all costs, even at the price of another split in their own Party. Upon them rests the heavy responsibility of bringing forth a third Party, since they are the ones that split away from the left Wing organization and started the third organization and the third Party. They are the ones that refused all unity offers before and during the conventions. They are the ones that refuse every unity offer today. We therefore urge upon the membership of the Communist Party as their only recourse that they withhold from their officialdom all support, financial or otherwise, to compel them to change their attitude and agree to unity.

11 We urge upon the Communist Party membership not to permit the unfortunate and biased attitude of their "leaders" to cause them to relax their efforts in Communist propaganda. We invite all branches, Locals, Federation and State organizations of the Communist Party that may be in accord with the platform program and constitution of the Party and co-operate with us in our Communist Labor Party to join our activities to spread the message of Communism among the proletarian masses.

12 The Communist Labor Party stands squarely upon the principles of Communism outlined by the Third International with which we have affiliated.

The tactics of the Communist Labor Party are determined by the revolutionary needs of the class war in America.

Its form of organization meets the revolutionary situation, since it gives the full possibility to organize all Communist elements in this country into one strongly centralized Party.

Its Party machinery is now well established. It is direct contact with the revolutionary workers right in the shops. It was taken over the "Voice of Labor" for shop propaganda and organization and the "Class struggle" for the scientific education of the membership. It has established other national periodicals to supply every need of a great working-class movement. It is already engaged in the publication of numerous timely leaflets, pamphlets and books.

We call upon all class conscious workers, especially upon those now in the Communist Party, to join the Communist Labor Party and work with us to reach America's thirty million wage workers with the message of Communism, to rally them for the struggle against American and World Capitalism, to abolish the Dictatorship of the Capitalist class and to clasp hands across the seas with our Bolshevik and Spartacist Comrades to establish the Dictatorship of the World's Proletariat.

Communist Labor Party
National Executive Committee,
A. Bilan, Max Bedacht,
Jack Carney, L. E. Katterfeld,
Ed. Lindgren,
A. Wagenknecht, Ex. Sec.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM ITS REVOLUTIONARY AIMS AND METHODS

By Wm. PAUL.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

Modern Socialism is a scientific movement based upon the historic evolution of the past and the economic conditions of the present. It is not, therefore, something that has been hatched in the brain of a poet or in the imagination of some idealist philosopher. It is true that many noble and generous souls in the past sought to outline ideal social systems wherein all the inhabitant would be happy and free from poverty and its cruel sting. The distinction between those early idealists and modern Socialism is the difference between Utopianism and Science. For example, Plato in his "Republic," Thomas More in his "Utopia," together with many other scholars, depicted a series of ideal social conditions by drawing upon a fertile and imaginative idealism. They were Utopians. But modern scientific Socialism builds upon reality. It looks upon society as an ever-changing category, and it is able to explain why society has changed in the past and why it must change in the future. The reason why Socialism is able to explain the past and the present and to foreshadow the future is because it establishes itself upon the facts of history and the truths of economic science.

II.

MAN AND TOOLS.

History clearly demonstrates that society is continually changing. It shows that stagnation means, relatively speaking, retrogression. And it shows that human evolution has passed up through Savagery, Barbarism, slavery, Feudalism, and has now reached Capitalism in the higher industrially developed nations. Socialism, therefore, seeks to show that Capitalism is only a passing phase in the development of humanity, and scientifically contends that the next step must be International Socialism. This contention, however, is not made arrogantly or merely assumed; it is based upon historic and economic facts. We know, which no one will deny, that man, in order to perpetuate his species, must supply his material needs in order to live. He is one of the organisms of the planet, and, like them, has to depend upon extracting his means of subsistence from the forces of nature. The progress of man has been determined in the measure that he has perfected the means of production—the tools by which he compels Nature to yield up her wealth. The power to make tools at will for definite processes lifts man above the animal kingdom and the natural laws which govern the evolution of animals. The animal uses its organs which cannot be detached from its body to provide its means of life; these organs cannot be changed at will, and can only be modified after centuries of incessant struggle and adaptation. But man, on the other hand, by making tools, or organs for providing the things necessary for existence, can change them and after them at will. He can add to the organs for procuring food by adding new and better adapted tools to the process of labour. Thus the power to make and devise tools places an abyss between the animal and the human species. It is the tool, or the means of production by which man wins his livelihood from Nature, that is the greatest factor in determining human progress. Hence, in studying prehistoric society the historians have named the various epochs of prehistory in the terms of the materials from which the primitive tools were made. These epochs are called the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages.

Having shown how important a factor the tool is in human development, it is necessary to observe how it has reacted upon and influenced social evolution.

III.

ORIGIN OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND RISE OF STATE.

In primitive society the tools were owned and controlled communally. The longest period of human evolution was spent under primitive communism. Within the clan system of common ownership was developed all the conditions which made civiliza-

tion possible. We cannot outline here the development which led to the origin of private property. Suffice to say that with the advent of private property there grew up economic antagonisms among the propertied interests and a class struggle between the property owners and the propertyless. So long as the means of life were held in common the interests of the community were identical. This was the great bond that linked the members of the clan together as brethren. And, indeed, they were brethren in every sense of the word, because the clan was based upon blood-kinship. But with the appearance of private property kinship was destroyed and replaced by political society based upon a territorial basis, and within which property was the groundwork of social relations. From this period there began that clash of interests between individuals, between classes, and between nations, of which history is but the record.

With the destruction of primitive communism and the rise of private property there took place new social relations among men, and new social institutions were originated. In other words, new economic conditions created new social institutions. Due to the ferocity of the class antagonism, which now existed in society between the wealthy class and the propertyless inhabitants, it seemed as though society was going to be rent in pieces. The first conditions of social progress is social order. Society presupposes organization, and the latter involves social discipline. This, indeed, is the function of government. But neither government nor social discipline need mean tyranny or despotism. A captain of a football team is no more tyrannical than the conductor of an orchestra. They are both necessary in order to prevent chaos and to achieve that unity of effort which makes social co-operation so much greater in its results than mere individual effort. In consequence of the fierce class struggle produced by the antagonism of interests between rich and poor the property-holding class decided to enforce social order in its class interest. It thereupon used its economic power and made private property the basis of political power. This was done by throwing open the powers of government to property holders only. Thus by using its economic power to capture the control of government the property holders raised themselves to the status of the ruling class. Once in that position the propertied interests organized the armed forces of the community, which were placed at the disposal of the ruling class as a means of enforcing its will upon society. With the rise of a governing and property-holding power able to enforce its decrees by armed might we get the origin of the Political State. And with such a sovereign power in its hand the master class soon created social order by intimidating the propertyless by means of the state.

Thus was social order created. But it was social order in the interest of the ruling class. From that time to this the State has been the weapon of the ruling class by means of which it has maintained its economic power and enforced its will upon the subject and the enslaved class. Consequently the function of government, ever since the rise of private property and the State has not been to organize society on behalf of the community but to govern society in the interests of property. Whether we examine Greece or Rome, the State was the power upon which the ruling class depended to maintain its supremacy over the slaves and its other opponents. Under Feudalism the Crown and the barons held back the growing merchant class in the town and held down the serfs in the country. And within Capitalism the State is the weapon by means of which the work-ers are held in subjection—the army and navy always being at the disposal of the propertied interests in their conflict with labour. Thus the origin of the State begins with the revolt of the propertyless after the dissolution of primitive communism its function, under different rul-

ing classes, has always been the same—to intimidate and hold down the subject class and thus preserve and enforce the interests and aims of the property-holding class.

IV.

FUNCTION OF REVOLUTION.

It may seem strange that, despite the many revolutions which have taken place in the past, class struggles should continue. And it is sometimes claimed that, since past revolutions have failed to modify the clash of classes, the social revolution as advocated by Socialism may not abolish the struggles of classes.

While all revolutions in the past have been socially necessary it is quite true that they in no way abolished class conflict. But all revolutions of the past have been property revolutions. The driving force in each was a struggle between propertied classes. The Cromwellian revolution in this country and the French Revolution (1789) were necessary in order to enable the rising capitalist class to win political freedom and control of the State. In each case the capitalist and merchant class boldly attacked the political privileges of a semi-feudal monarchy and aristocracy entrenched behind the powers of State. The landed aristocrats and the king used their political power to conserve their interests and sought to perpetuate a social system which was acting as a fetter upon the expanding industrial forces. King Charles and the aristocracy in this country, and King Louis and the French landlords, used the State, not to facilitate commerce or protect the trading interests, but rather to bleed the merchants and to restrain economic expansion. The conflict was fundamentally a struggle between economic forces. There was the hide-bound, patriarchal system of semi-feudalism with its restrictions upon trade, on the one hand, and there was, on the other hand, the new commercial system seeking to remove all barriers against trade, and to launch upon a world-wide activity. But all economic struggles become class struggles. That is because interests become personified. The interested persons realize that they must combine with those whose interests are identical with their own in order to preserve or extend their interests against those who are opposed to them. When these individuals are bound together by the identity of their economic interests, we get a class. In this way opposing economic forces and interests reveal themselves politically as class struggles. The monarchy and the landed aristocracy sought to hamper the free development of the forces of wealth production by reinforcing their own obsolete social system. They attempted to do this through their control of the political machinery of the State. They refused to voluntarily surrender their political power to the rising revolutionary capitalist class which represented the new expanding economic forces. Nowhere in history is there any record of a dominant class voluntarily standing aside to enable a subject class to assume political power, economically and politically. Thus, in order to secure power, it was necessary for the capitalist class to sweep aside the "divine" power of the king and the political dominance of the aristocracy. This class struggle culminated in the "glorious" revolution of England and the "great" revolution of France.

These revolutions were socially imperative because the political supremacy of the king and the aristocracy enabled them to maintain a social system which was decadent. We know that a social system has entered its period of decadence when its preservation is only possible by hampering the expanding economic forces. Therefore, the capitalist class, by destroying the feudal restrictions, which were acting as a fetter upon industrial evolution, performed a mission which was historically necessary. Thus the destruction of the feudal regime made possible the advent of Capitalism, a higher and more complex economic system. The act of destroying an old system in order to create the new one is a revolution.

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The revolution in England and France, while necessary, brought into being a new ruling class—the capitalists. This ruling class, like its predecessors, was economically dominant, and in order to preserve its interests and enforce its will, it, too, used its political power to subject class—the wage-workers.

The Russian revolution was welcomed by the capitalist class in this country so long as the propertied interests in Russia were politically dominant. But a howl of rage and slander greeted the political triumph of Russian Labour. This incident demonstrates that it was not the revolution that won the enthusiasm of the imperialists of Europe: it was rather the hope that the revolution would mean the political supremacy of the Russian capitalist class.

For the first time in history a propertyless class, the modern wage-workers, steps forth as a revolutionary force. The propertyless class in the past has revolted against its rulers, but it never sought to overthrow them and to inaugurate a social system based upon the social ownership of the means of production. Until the advent of modern international social production, such a thing was economically and historically impossible. Another distinction of the modern revolutionary movements is that there is no subject or lower class beneath the class seeking emancipation. Thus, when the workers' revolution overthrows the present rulers, it will mean the abolition of all classes and consequently of all class struggles. This is due to the fact that all past revolutions had for their aim the establishment of a certain propertied system—e.g., the overthrow of landed feudalism and the rise of the capitalist system. The social revolution, on the other hand, sets out to destroy private property in the means of wealth production and to establish social ownership. Socialism, therefore, means the end of class rule. It will have no use for the instrument of class domination—the State. That institution, the emblem of class hatred, will pass away. It was used by the ruling class as the instrument which attended to the administration of men. It will be replaced by an industrial executive committee which will attend to the administration of industry.

Such a system of society is possible. The essential conditions of its realization are inherent within the present system of Capitalism. Indeed Capitalism is pregnant and is awaiting the revolutionary midwife of Socialism to usher in the new system. The horrors and problems of Capitalism are immediate effects caused by the contradictions which the system has developed. Thus reforms, palliatives, and patches will not rid Capitalism of its problems. It must be replaced with the new system of Socialism. Socialism is, therefore, not a reform movement. It means a transition from Capitalism to a higher system. And that is a revolution.

(To be Continued.)

Karl Liebknecht: The man, his work, and message

By Wm. Paul

(Continued.)

Events proved Liebknecht to be correct. Every day in its passing produced some crisis or other which vindicated his policy. The Governmental-Socialists, like Scheidemann and Ebert, who criticised Liebknecht's attitude at the beginning of the war, together with those who chided him upon the futility of his supporters, found their own rank and file slipping away and joining the more extreme Independent Social Democratic Party, which rapidly passed from being a minority to a powerful majority. While Liebknecht and the Spartacists were powerful majority. While Liebknecht and the Spartacists were more extreme than the Independent party, nevertheless, the growth and strength of the Independents showed how the German workers were rapidly moving towards a more revolutionary policy. The Governmental-Socialists, led by the opportunists like Scheidemann and Ebert, approached ever more closely to the policy of the Government and the financiers. The day came when Scheidemann was given a post in the Government—the hall-mark which stamps the betrayal of the working class. The day came when even the Kaiser invited those safe Socialists to meet him. The world knows what a weakness the German Monarch had for meeting and dining with tame Labour men! But just as Scheidemann and Ebert and their party were losing supporters among the masses, so they were being "strengthened" from a new source—from the middle class, and the financiers, who saw in these safe "Labour leaders" ambitious tools who might be used at a critical moment against the revolutionary working class.

The overthrow of Tsarism had a far reaching effect upon the German masses. The triumph of Lenin's policy and the success of the Russian Soviet Republic thrilled them. Throughout the peace negotiations between the Bolsheviks and the German Imperialists there were genuine rumblings of revolt in the ranks of the working class in favour of the Russian Republic. These threatened uprisings of German Labour brought the master class more and more in contact with the Governmental-Socialists, headed by the two arch opportunists. Not even the marvellous military success of the German armies in 1918 sufficed to retard the revolutionary agitation going on throughout the industrial centres of Prussia. And when the hurricane burst forth and the workers of Germany stopped the war; when the masses swept forward towards their emancipation, the financiers and middle class rallied their forces for one brief moment to see how best they could save capitalism. They quickly decided upon their policy. They handed over control to Scheidemann and Ebert!

Meanwhile the Kaiser fled. And Liebknecht, who had stood alone at the beginning of the war and cast his solitary vote against it in the Reichstag, was now escorted from his prison cell and joyously conducted to an open carriage covered with flowers. There he delivered a speech. This speech marked the end of his war campaign, but it marked the beginning of a new campaign—a campaign directed against the Socialist middleclass Government of Scheidemann and Ebert, which now stood in the way of the workers' Industrial Republic. The revolution which provoked the overthrow of the Kaiser, like the one that deposed the Tsar, was a mere political revolution. Scheidemann and Ebert in the German political revolution are playing the same part as Kerensky played in Russia—the part of staving off the Social Revolution. Liebknecht plunged into the new agitation to achieve the Social Revolution! The daring Spartacists gained strength every day. The bold energy of Liebknecht and of Rosa Luxembourg showed the capitalists the danger of the political revolution, which had only changed political relations, becoming of social revolution, which would fundamentally

change social relations. That is why they murdered Liebknecht and the dauntless "Red Rosa."

Liebknecht and Lenin.

Many people have been impressed with the courageous and determined will of Liebknecht. They have also noticed a close resemblance between his tactics and those formulated by Lenin. There is indeed a close relation in their revolutionary tactics—just as there is an underlying relation, despite slight modifications due to local peculiarities, between the tactics adopted by all bona fide revolutionary organisations who adhere to the Third International. In Britain, where revolutionary phrases generally take the place of revolutionary activity, certain parties seek to cover their cowardice of action—just as they cover their revolutionary principles by their affiliation to Henderson's Labour Party—by "reasoning" that conditions are so much different in this country as compared with Germany and Russia. The essence of Lenin's tactics, and Liebknecht's policy, are applicable to every one of the modern capitalist-imperialist nations. That essence consists in adopting every means, of an uncompromising nature, to fight capitalism; to work up a revolutionary ferment in the minds of the workers; and to establish the industrial domination of the proletariat. That essence also implies the scrapping of any tactic, or organisation, which impedes revolutionary activity and the speedy transition to new tactics, new methods, and new organisations. Lenin, in a brilliant passage, compares Labour's army to a modern army on the battlefield, and he says:—

We must set up a revolutionary organisation, for both the changed historical situation and the era of revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat demand it. But such a transition is possible only over the heads of the old leaders who strangled revolutionary energy; over the head of the old party, and along the path of its destruction.

Take the army of to-day. It is a model of good organisation. And this organisation is good solely because it is flexible and at the same time able to imbue millions of men with a single will. To-day these millions are in their homes in various parts of the country. On the morrow the order is given to mobilise, and they assemble at given points. To-day they lie in trenches where they may possibly remain for months. To-morrow, in different order, they go into the attack. To-day they work miracles in evading bullets and shrapnel. To-morrow they do wonders in open fights. Today their advanced detachments lay mines underground. To-morrow they advance over dozen of miles as directed by aviators. This is what is called organization—when enthused by a single aim and animated by one will, millions of men change their mode of intercourse and action; change the place and the methods of their activity; change their instruments and tools—in accordance with a change in circumstances and the requirements of the struggle.

The same relates to the struggles of the working class with the bourgeoisie. If no revolutionary situation is in existence to-day, of conditions which breed discontent amongst the masses and increase their activity; if to-day are handed a voting paper, take it and organise so that you may beat enemy, but do not use it for the purpose of sending men to Parliament for the sake of soft jobs, at which they clutch, for fear they may be sent to prison. (Quoted from "Downfall of Second International," Price 25 cents S. L. Press.)

Karl Liebknecht, no less than Lenin, realised the need for continually-revising the revolutionary methods of attacking the capitalist system. We have already seen him working enthusiastically in the Young People's Socialist

organisations and amongst the women and soldiers. We have seen him, prior to the war, exposing the world-wide ramifications of the international armament trust, and thus preparing the minds of Labour for a world-wide war. We have seen him energetically denouncing the Statesmen of German imperialism inside the "sacred" precincts of Capital's national legislative chambers, and this part of his work also compelled him to attack the Socialist Party for its revolutionary inertia. We have seen him conducting a vigorous literary agitation by addressing a series of leaflets, the famous Spartacus letters, to the German masses; these leaflets were secretly and, therefore, illegally distributed, but the revolutionary needs of the moment made such a policy imperative. We have seen him seeking to create a revolutionary industrial organisation in opposition to the inactive trade unions whose policy was determined by reactionary jingoes like Carl Legien. And when the imperialist Powers, acting through their Labour Statesmen, Ebert and Scheidemann attempted to smash the revolutionary movement by crushing it violently in the streets, Liebknecht at once swung the revolutionary masses into the streets to meet the new conditions: this was possible due to the number of returned armed soldiers who thronged to the banner of the Spartacists. Thus we see that Liebknecht speedily cast aside methods and organisations whenever these failed to meet new and rapidly-changing situations. He was taunted by many in the German Socialist Party—who had failed to perceive that a revolutionary movement is much more than a mere theoretical dialectical association—for being intolerant and for seeking to draft a ready-made scheme for achieving Socialism. Strangely enough the very same stupid objection was but forward at a recent Socialist Conference in opposition to the S.L.P.

There was much whining by the Pacifist Socialist movement in this country when Liebknecht and the Spartacists were compelled to defend the revolutionary movement by carrying the class war into the streets. The favourite argument put forward by such papers as the "Labour Leader" was a depreciation of the use of force. The function and roll of force in history may be defined as any organised method adopted by any section of society to enforce its will upon the community. Every political organisation, no matter how peaceful, which intends to enforce its policy upon society, adopts the weapon of force. Thus Lloyd George aptly described the demands of the miners—backed up by a determined, though peaceful, organisation—as a pistol held up to the head of the State. Indeed the joint action of the miners, railwaymen, transport workers, engineers, etc., would be an element of force as brutal to the minds of the capitalists and as powerful as armed force. There is a tendency to confuse force with violence. Violence plays, indeed, a very small part in the social role of force. But it is sometimes absolutely necessary as the culminating point in a long series of agitational measures. Socialists believe in the efficacy of force because the intensity of force at any given period in history is merely the indication, on the social plane, of the intensity of economic conflict. In the measure that society is rent with opposing economic interests, so in the same measure does force appear as the class reflex of these economic conflicts. And so long as society breeds economic antagonism, just so long will force exist as the medium through which all economic strife must manifest itself. But while the capitalist class uses force to maintain the present social system with all its economic conflicts, the revolutionary Socialists, on the other hand, use force to destroy the power of capital and to usher in—perchance through a proletarian dictatorship—the Socialist Republic wherein all

economic conflicts are destroyed and from which alone can a true democracy. This was exactly the position adopted by Liebknecht and the Spartacists, and it is also the tactic enforced by Lenin.

The Final Phase.

When the news first reached this country that Liebknecht had been killed, the press attempted to show that he was shot from behind in attempting to run away from his captors. It was not until a few weeks later that the "Daily News" published the following facts regarding the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg:—

When in my message describing the scene at Liebknecht's grave I tried to give you a hint of some deeper horror which was accountable for the extreme nervous tension among the mourners, and which had a very close connection with the deaths of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, I had only the thinnest thread on which to found my suspicion that behind two deaths there was being deliberately hidden a terrible truth which must ultimately come out.

An hour ago I chanced on one who has given me what in all solemnity he assures me is the story of what actually took place. Apart from the fate of the two victims, it has a very grave bearing on the wider question of the true condition of Germany, and the relative power of the old military regime and the present Government.

My informant claims to have been an eye-witness of the incidents which he describes. He was staying, he says, at the Eden Hotel, where the horrible affair took place, and he returned there, on the night of the tragedy, at 1030 to find an armed sentry guarding the door. This sentry told him that Liebknecht had been arrested and that it was intended to beat him to death.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the hotel nobody was to be seen. Thus the story circulated in the official report about the "infuriated crowds" was false, and the crowd existed only in the imagination of the military authorities who spread the report.

When he entered the hotel he found a group of eight military officers and half a dozen civilians. There was an air of expectancy about them, and in about fifteen minutes Rosa Luxembourg appeared accompanied by the "Kriminal Wachtmeister." A few minutes later Liebknecht came downstairs, after having been questioned by the military. He was guarded by armed soldiers.

At the moment Liebknecht was passing the narrator of this affair an officer of the Guards Cavalry suddenly sprang towards him, shouting, "Is that fellow still alive?"

The officer then joined the military escort, which left the hotel with both prisoners. In about fifteen minutes he returned and said that Liebknecht had been beaten to death with the butt-ends of rifles. The blows were struck from behind, and at the second blow Liebknecht collapsed.

Again, the story circulated about Liebknecht's attempt to escape appears to have been invented by the authorities concerned and to be sheer falsehood. According to a statement made by one of the sentries, Liebknecht was deliberately murdered by the soldiers, who were encouraged to this by their officers.

The next step taken was to compel all civilians to leave the hall of the hotel while the military and hotel employees were assembled alone. These employees afterwards declared, quite independently of each other, that Rosa Luxembourg had also been beaten down at the entrance to the hotel by soldiers and officers. There was no sign of any enraged crowd.

Liebknecht's life and message, and the very death he died, should inspire all of us. He was one who refused to compromise and who was the foe of opportunism. He fought and died manfully. "He dared, ever dared, ever dared, and dared again." The Kaiser's prisons did not prevent his principles from spreading, nor will the murderers' deed prevent Liebknecht's principles from triumphing. His life's work was but the embodiment of Dante's famous line, "Hold to your course and let the people talk."

HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA

The imperialists of the world are continuing their infamous armed intervention in Soviet Russia. The counter-revolutionary czarist generals, backed up by allied troops, allied ammunition and allied money continues shedding the blood of the Russian workers and devastating the territory of the proletarian Republic. Moreover, the allies are tightening the iron ring of the blockade around Soviet Russia, thus dooming millions of women and children to unheard of misery, starvation and disease.

All this is being done because the workers and peasants of Russia have cast off the yoke of exploitation and oppression and have devoted themselves to the task of reconstructing their life on such foundations as will eliminate all oppression of the poor by the rich, all exploitation of the toilers by the capitalists. This is why the capitalist countries, where all the power is concentrated in the hands of the big commercial and financial interests, are waging this predatory war against Soviet Russia. Defending their class in Russia they are thereby protecting their own interests, for they know that the example set by the Russian workers will inevitably be followed by the workers in their own countries.

Hence, America's participation in this war against Russia!

American troops are still on Russian territory, and American ammunition and money are still being used for the purpose of strangling the only proletarian Republic in the world.

America's intervention in Russia is frequently referred to as President Wilson's private war. This is correct only insofar as the formalities required for the waging of this war have not been complied with. It is being carried on without the consent of Congress. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is not altogether President Wilson's private war. It is rather the class war of the American plutocracy, the class war of the international money bags. American capital is vitally interested in crushing Soviet Russia and it does not stop at mere technicalities, even if it means the violation of laws of its own creation. In waging this war, President Wilson plays the part of the faithful servant of the American plutocracy.

AMERICAN WORKERS, YOU MUST REALIZE THIS AND BEAR IT FIRMLY IN MIND. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world—those brigands of the international highways. You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun, which is being sent from the United States to Russia means DEATH for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers of the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

WORKERS OF AMERICA—it is not sufficient to know and to bear this in mind. YOU MUST ACT ACCORDINGLY! Your slogan must be: NOT A SOLDIER FOR WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA, NOT A CENT, NOT A RIFLE TO HELP WAGE THIS WAR.

This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, in France and Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the foes of Soviet Russia. The soldiers ARE REFUSING to go to the Russian fronts!!

American Workers—YOU MUST FOLLOW THEIR EXAMPLE! To every invitation to play the part of Cain towards your Russian brothers, to every request of the American government to enlist for active service in Russia, or to load ships for the blood-stained Russian White Army, THERE MUST BE ONE ANSWER—"HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA".

The Communist Labor Party of America.

Bodies of Murdered Mark Denikin Wake

Correspondent Learns of Killing of Jews and Communists.

By Isaac Don Levine.

Copenhagen, Denmark, Nov. 8.—Murder, torture and devastation are Gen. Denikin's methods of saving Russia. The evidence of the Denikin atrocities is overwhelming. I made a trip in the zone lying before Gen. Denikin's Ukrainian and Polish fronts. At one point, the station of Kalinovitch, I approached within several miles of the front.

The bolshevist foreign department refused to obtain permission for me to leave Moscow and opposed my trip on the ground that some of the local leaders were bound to arrest me. Nobody can depart from the soviet capital without two special permits—one from the extraordinary commission and the other from the soviet.

I succeeded in getting a commission from a certain institution, and with this I obtained the necessary permits and left Moscow in spite of the warning. I was absent ten days, traveling on crowded trains and sleeping on the floors of stations beside soldiers and peasants. I found no hatred for Americans, although the feeling against Great Britain and France was bitter.

Soldiers Hate Bureaucracy. The soldiers, especially those coming from Moscow, felt a deep

hatred for the communist bureaucracy.

"What about Gen. Denikin?" I would ask them. "Don't you think he will take Moscow?"

"No, we will defeat Gen. Denikin," they answered confidently. "Then we will take care of the communists."

The reason for the attitude was found at almost every station, where eyewitnesses refugees and victims of Gen. Denikin's deeds were present. People respond to such testimony, even if they are antibolsheviks.

Across from me in a train were a man and his wife, both aged about 45, who went all the way from Moscow to Brinsk. They belonged to the middle class, having through years of thrift and labor built a home in the town of Konotop, which passed for several days into the hands of a Denikin band. Their home was completely wrecked by the invaders and all the furniture and household articles were broken or sold in the market.

This couple was neither Jewish nor communist. I could watch the effect of their story on their fellow passengers.

Child's Arms Cut Off.

In the town of Kozlov, where Gen. Mamontoff's cavalry passed, there lies in the hospital a 7 year girl with her arms cut off. Any commission of Gen. Denikin's friends investigating the case will discover the following facts:

The little girl was walking in the street with her mother when a cossack patrol swept by. Somebody pointed out the mother as a communist, and the cossacks pushed toward the unfortunate woman. The little daughter tried to protect her mother and placed her arms around her neck. The child's arms were severed off, after which the mother was killed. Altogether twenty children between 2 and 5 years were mutilated and murdered in Kozlov.

More than 120 Jews were atrociously massacred. Among the victims was one family consisting of a wife and 10 years old daughter. The daughter was attacked and

mutilated. Her mother, went insane and was killed. On the following day the girl was also murdered.

The Shapiro family, in which there was one blind son and one mentally defective, was wiped out. Felga Klug, 72 years old, was sabered to pieces. In the Felfer family the mother was killed and her three daughters, aged 18, 16 and 14, respectively, were cut to pieces.

Savlov, down with spotted typhus, was driven from his bed into the street and killed with his wife. Krasenko, aged 56 and blind, was murdered. Ten peasants and about twenty workmen were also killed. Of the total number of victims only eight were communists.

Couple Buried Alive. The city of Tambov, which was visited by the Mamontoff cossacks, suffered almost as much as Kozlov. The list of Tambov victims includes Tikhonov, for protesting against looting; Finkelstein, who suffered torture, losing one eye, and the Weiner couple, both of whom were buried alive.

Villages in the neighborhood of Tambov were looted by the cossacks. Horses were carried away, food supplies confiscated and the peasants flogged.

The city of Voronezh was for several days in the possession of the Mamontoff horsemen. Here is an extract from a letter written from that place to a soldier son:

"When ours again entered the city there were many dead horses on the streets, but more corpses. The cossacks advancing sabered many."

The town to Yalozel fell into the hands of Mamontoff Aug. 31. The cossacks hunted the fugitives in the highways and byways and at the same time searched the city, killing on the spot without inquiry. Long afterward the suburbs of Yalozel were strewn with bodies of persons shot and sabered.

Cossacks Fire Town. Not only communists and Jews were murdered, but scores of the poor. Some were killed for not wearing the cross around their necks, or for using the wrong word.

After the orgy of loot and murder the center of the town was set on fire and the honest houses were burned. The two railway stations of Yalozel were laid in ashes. The railway workshops, employing 5,000 men, were fired. Before their basty retreat the cossacks destroyed large stocks of kerosene, salt, sugar and butter.

A certain group of the population co-operated with the cossacks in the pillaging. It was discovered that the local monastery had been turned into a warehouse for the plunderers, the monks having taken part in the looting. The chapel was filled with articles of all descriptions, ranging from samovars, saddles and horse collars to petticoats.

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The father of Zarkina, a 16 year old girl communist, who got away, was flogged terribly but was allowed to go the first time. On the following day the cossacks returned and carried him off. A week later his body was found, being recognized only by the clothes.

After the wrecking of the home of the Jew Feldman, the latter and his 4 year old son were led away. Later his wife found their mutilated corpses.

The communist Zelukovski was under the knout until he lost consciousness. His wife was attacked and his 7 year old daughter's teeth were knocked out.

On the evening of the same day a Jewish physician in the tuberculosis sanitarium was imprisoned and then hanged in the neighboring forest.

Several cossacks, billeted in a village thirty-five verst (twenty-three miles) from Yalozel, caught a peasant woman, mistreated her and then strangled her.

Burying the dead was not permitted, and only on Sept. 7, when the cossacks retreated, did funerals take place. In the Jewish cemetery alone fifty-three corpses were buried. Altogether 200 persons were missing. Disfigured bodies were found in the woods and ravines, on the river banks and even in wells.

On Sept. 25 a detachment of cossacks made an onslaught on the village of Sukotnovka. After plundering the communist Psechnikov, they killed him, although his wife was ill with typhoid. His daughter, aged 9, went insane.

On the day of the departure of the cossacks, they broke into the house of the Jew Zeliglin, took away his son, aged 6, and murdered him in the Jewish cemetery.

These are a few facts which will give some idea of the deeds of Gen. Denikin's leading man, Gen. Mamontoff. I could go on reciting atrocities, giving names, dates and addresses, but many of the cases are too horrible for publication.

TOM MANN ELECTED

Career of New A. S. E. Secretary.

Mr. Tom Mann's election as secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is now certain. Ballot papers have yet to come in from one or two remote centres, but they cannot counter the majority already shown by the figures in hand.

In the preliminary ballot Tom Mann received over 9,000 votes, J. Kaylor 5,000 odd, and the third on the list was W. H. Hutchinson, chairman of the National Labour Party, who polled about 4,000.

The final ballot lay between Mann and Kaylor.

Tom Mann has had a long and varied experience of the Trade Union Movement in Britain and abroad.

Born in 1856, he worked on a farm from the age of nine years to 11. For three years he worked in a mine, and later served seven years in the engineering trade. He settled in London in 1877, joining in 1881 the society of which he now becomes the secretary.

He has done enormous work in the way of organizing the workers. He is an uncompromising fighter, and has the merit of causing extra-special shudders in "respectable" circles whenever his name is mentioned.

Some years ago he migrated to Austria, and did much good work there. Returning to England, he led a less active life for some time owing to broken health, but is now restored to much of his earlier vigour.

In 1912, as a result of the famous "Don't Shoot" leaflet, he was sentenced and imprisoned, together with Guy Bowman and the brothers Buck.

During the war he was active among the workers in the port of Liverpool, and only recently, during the police strike there, he emerged from his retirement on a poultry farm in Kent in answer to an appeal from the Liverpool Strike Committee.

GERMAN RECRUITING IN 1919

"ALL YOUNG MEN NEEDED" TO DEFEND THE RICH MEN.

M. PHILIPS PRICE.

Munich, October 12. — Bavaria is essentially a country of small peasants. Of the 670,000 agricultural holdings, roughly 240,000 are under five acres and 250,000 between 12 and 50 acres. In the whole State there are not more than 535 holdings over 250 each.

And yet the presence of these small holdings does not seem to have done much to solve the social problem.

There are throughout Central Europe two economically opposing elements among the working population. The small Bavarian peasant, with his cottage, ten acres and a cow, interested in selling his produce at the market square at his own price, is an example of the one. The hungry urban proletariat needing fixed food prices to guarantee its starvation rations is an example of the other.

Peasant Distrust of Food Officialism.

The smaller peasants here suspect that the larger peasants and landlords all over Germany, and particularly in Prussia, are escaping their share of the burden of supplying the towns at fixed prices by their influence upon the State and local food administration.

They have therefore organized a Bavaria "Bauern Bund" (Peasants Union)—in its way a form of Soviet or economic council with a political programme.

The Bauern Bund is the middle party in the Bavarian village. To the right and left of it to two bitterly hostile groups are mobilising themselves—the Independent Socialists and the Clericals—the Red and the Black Internationalist forces.

"Your Country Needs You!"

The Black International in the Bavarian villages, of course, has concluded a Holy Alliance with Noske. In most villages you can see posters calling upon the youth to enlist for the "Reichswehr," a euphemistic term for the White Guard.

"All young men urgently needed," I read on the walls of the post office in Immanstadt last week. "Particularly required are those who have served in the war and are ready to give a long term of service to the Fatherland. Conditions—absolute discipline and obedience to superiors."

The young generation is sceptical about these "inducements," but the same cannot be said for the older men, who go into the "burgerwehr" with readiness.

The arms that 18 months ago were being used to promote Hohenzollern domination in Europe are now being used to promote the domination in Europe are now being used to promote the domination of German Capitalism within its own borders.

THE FEAR OF HUNGER

Ideals are very nice in their way. Nothing is nicer than to meet in a fine restaurant and talk over our splendid ideals, especially after a good meal. But it is surprising how few, with all their gush about beautiful ideals, really do get down to the things that count.

The fear of hunger is the greatest driving force in ordinary life. From the slum child, when it grows old enough to understand the gnawing pain in its stomach, to the well-kroomed business man who goes to his office in the vicinity of the Mansion House, all are goaded on by the same whip.

Some, the poorest, frequently stumble; they cannot move quickly enough and they get closely acquainted with hunger; but, however close or far away people may be, life resolves itself to-day into a race away from that dread thing which lurks ever in the background.

And so men and women main themselves intellectually and physically, acquire mean characteristics, break friendship, get outlooks under the stress of that fear which guides and controls them.

And we are not supposed to mention these things in polite society.

Let us have done with all humbug and realise the truth. This fear of hunger will dominate men and women, cripple

TO WOODROW WILSON

By Covington Ami.

(Written on hearing that he and Debs were dying)

You are dying on a silken couch and Debs within a cell,
But the Victim is the Victor, this the pen of Time will tell;
For the boys you called to battle by the thousands seek the light.

And the cellroom of the Victim is the center of the fight.

You have played with human longings as the siren plays with souls;
You have led us up the mountains and then blocked us from the goals;
You have filled the World with promises you had not strength to keep,
And the Victim wears the laurel that the Victor thought to reap.

Words are things of might and power, living spirit of the deed,

And the truths your lips have uttered yet the Bourbon host shall heed;

Yeat in your dissolution, when your soul shall quit its shell,
You shall see the Victim leading where the faithless Victor fell.

You shall hear the rifles silenced, and shall know the "acid test"

Has burned away the blinding that on Labor's eyes did rest;

For the boys you called to freedom still by thousands seek the light,
And the cellroom of the Victim is the center of the fight.

THE CALL

By ARTHUR SIFFLEET.

Crushing the newspaper and flinging his cigarette end into the long yellow grass, he stared ahead like a man pondering a gloomy subject. His young wife lolled beside him, and watching him from the corner of her eye, said, "What's the matter? What's worrying you now?" and, after a moment, "Is it money?"

He lit a fresh cigarette, and, rolling it slowly between finger and thumb, replied, "No, it's not money."

With a gesture of impatience the girl lapsed into her book, leaving the man to his reverie, lulled by the soft rustle of grass, the zip! zip! of grasshoppers, the mellow music of sheep bells borne on the breeze from neighbouring fields. From time to time he looked about eagerly sniffing up the pure air heavy with changing odours of honeysuckle, sheep-wool, brambles, and warm hay; or, hand to brow, and with puckered face, he would search the blue sky, entranced by the tremulous notes of the lark.

Then, chin on knees, he sat gazing fixedly ahead. Deep in thought, his expressions changed in a manner almost comic. One moment, quite unconsciously, he glowered with hate, his jaw set, a menacing gleam in the eye; the next, a look of pain crossed his face, as though he were mentally witnessing some terrible accident; or again, with eyes wide open and aglow, he bore the ecstatic look of the zealot who sees glories to other eyes.

"You've done little sketching," said his wife, eyeing him closely, "what prettier than the cottage yonder under the elms with the red cows in the foreground?"

"I'm off sketching just now."

"Why?"

He shrugged his shoulders and glanced up. From above came a droning, and presently there appeared a grey shape, a huge triplane, oscillating gently and gleaming like silver in the sun. It glided on majestically, lost finally in the haze. As if the spectacle had started a train of thought, he took from his sketching bag a pink pamphlet, and commenced to read. Occasionally he would stare over the pamphlet before him, read again, and so on.

At last, he murmured more to himself than anything, God! If they can only hold on!

"Hold on! Who?" asked the girl, then, seeing the pamphlet, she said indifferently, "The Russians—oh, yes!"

"Here is an account," he said, "of the Red Army; it tells of the

their lives, and prevent their full, proper and healthy development while the insecurity of life caused by the present industrial system continue.

Till then wolfishness, greed and meanness will be at a premium and generosity and nobility at a discount.

We must overthrow capitalism and make life secure for all before humanity will have a chance really to live and grow.

R. M. FOX.

Workers Dreadnought.

soldiers, standing barefoot in freezing slush, ragged, hungry, tired, yet splendid in simple devotion to human solidarity. Their suffering and sacrifice is terrible. They are calling to workers the world over to spring to their aid; calling to men rotten with selfishness, false pride and bemused with lies. It's horrible, horrible!"

"Of course," said the woman placidly, "what do you expect from capitalists but lies; what do you expect from workers but blind credulity?"

Visibly piqued by this response, he surveyed his wife from head to toe. In the sun, laying at full length comely of figure, with a healthy complexion, and a mass of fair hair, adorned at neck and wrists by delicate lace, she was a fine specimen of womanhood. And yet she irritated him, disappointed him.

"But women," he continued, "women in their prime like you—children—children of our class, shelled, bombed, and starved by these Christian scoundrels—fathers tortured and shot, because they would be done with capitalist tyrants. Why that aeroplane was probably training pilots—"

"It's all very terrible, of course. But what can you do? Can you stop it? This is your first holiday for four years, and instead of worrying about these things, you might forget them for a while."

He made no answer, but sat regarding her for a while, with head slightly to one side, as though examining a strange animal. After a short time, he said gently, "I shall be glad to get back."

It was evening. An oppressing fog hung over all. The street lamp cast a dirty yellow glare upon a silent grey crowd. A man was speaking on a red platform. As one became accustomed to the dusk, faces could be kicked out; faces coarse and grotesque with toil faces bloated and stupid with drink; faces dull and weary with unvarying care. There were men with eyes blank and expressionless like cows; others had the simple gaze of sheep; yet others had the keen, quick glance of the habitual prowler and sharp. But here and there in the crowd were young men and women, with eyes glistening, mouths tense with emotion, expression of kindling hatred and revolt, as the speaker, with skinny, outstretched arm, thundered, "Comrades, there they wait behind their barrier of ice and snow, foodless, clothless, burying their hallowed dead, slain for you. They have grappled with their despots, fought them low, set them to useful toil. In the final battle on earth, the struggle for Internationalism, first blood to the Russian Soviet Republic! But they cannot, must not, fight alone. With their hearts' blood they are crimsoning the white snow. Westward, to you, are turned the eyes of our brave comrades, and beneath their fluttering banners, hand to mouth, they are calling! Calling! Cannot you hear?"

—"London Call"

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BOLSHEVISM v INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

By George Andreytchine (13101)

(Reprinted from the Industrial Worker.)
 "To argue is to grow!" (An Arabian Proverb.)

Since the advent of the Bolshevik party as the controlling power of the Soviets in Russia some two years ago, much ink has flown and much foam has been spouted against it by all the combined forces of the exploiters of the working masses, as well as by their dupes, the yellow socialists, "yellow anarchists" and yellow syndicalists.

The Industrial Workers of the World knows too well the effects of the calumnies, insinuations and perfidious lies sent broadcast against its organization, tactics and principles. In spite of all these bitter lessons we have learned in our turbulent existence, we are resorting to the methods of our sworn enemies in dealing with the new scape-goat of the plutocrats—the Bolsheviks of Russia, Hungary and Germany. A perusal of the pages of the One Big Union Monthly will convince the curious reader that we are not very good friends of the Bolsheviks.

Here is the latest panegyric of its editor. This is from the October number, headed "Communism in Hungary":

"The Bela Kun government was Communist only in name. Not as if the members of this government and the party standing behind it could rightly be accused of sailing under a false flag. Unquestionably their intention was, if they had been left in peace, to gradually substitute for private ownership and control of property, ownership and control by the people. And there is no reason to believe that they would have succeeded worse or better than the Bolsheviks of Russia. If the Allied powers had not attacked them and laid obstacles in their way they would in all probability have established a firm dictatorship and gradually educated and organized the people to the level of industrial organization by means of which they would have taken over and carried on production. In a few years Communism might have been a reality in Hungary.

"As it was, Communism in Hungary limited itself to a few proclamations on paper and a few experimental compulsory measures which under the circumstances worked for dissolution and weakness, rather than for order and strength. They no doubt did the best they could, but what was to be done? Only that government can survive which has it in its power to satisfy the people's needs of food, clothing and shelter and the other necessities of life. During the prevailing state of war the so-called Communist government could not do this. For this reason they lost the support of the starving masses. It was found more practical to go back to old methods, at least in part." (Bold-face mine, G. A.)

"It is in regard to Hungary and the Bela Kun administration. In other numbers we have read similar remarks slung at the Bolsheviks of Russia. They have provoked much comment in the ranks of our own membership, particularly the boys in the Leavenworth Prison, who indignantly greeted the much more sympathetic words of Robert Minor. I have questioned carefully more than 100 members of the I. W. W. and recorded them all as opposed to the attitude of Fellow Worker Sandgren. As for our adversaries, of the Communist Party, Communists Labor Party, etc., we cannot answer them when they ask "On which side of the barricade are you?"

Yes, on which side of the barricade are we! The statement in blackface above puts much doubt in the mind of the revolutionary worker who has learned to turn every day towards the great East and inspiringly say: "Hold fast, toiling masses of Red Russia, we are coming to your rescue! Your struggle is our struggle, your victory our victory and your noble ideal our ideal!"

We have championed the cause of all oppressed, persecuted and bleeding workers under the lash of Moloch Capital. And now

when all the revolutionary proletariat is bent on averting a bloody invasion of the territory of the Russia of the Soviets, we are occupied in seconding the long heralded lie... that Bolshevism is a failure.

Far from being a new convert to Bolshevism which could be said of many of the present leaders of the hysterical political chapels, who alone represent the only teachings of Communism, we are aping Lening to absurdity. I still remain a partisan of industrial unionism and syndicalism, as opposed to political "Communism" of the brand represented by the Michigan Messiahs. What I urge Fellow Worker Sandgren and his partisans to do is to abandon the mud-slinging tactics which some day will bring us before the revolutionary tribunal of the proletariat of the world, in case the Russian Revolution is drowned in the martyr's blood of peasants and toiling masses and capitalism triumphs anew, under an indictment reading: "What have you done to avert the downfall of the glorious achievement of the Russian proletariat?"

We must beware of the tactics that Jouhaux, Legien, Branting, Henderson and their cohorts have pursued, veiling them with a red scarf. European Syndicalism completely capitulated before the imperialists and served them dog-like while the war lasted and now they use it as smoke-screen, as harage fire, in attacking Soviet Russia.

The old idols of the French working class, Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Bourderon and Merheim, the last two delegates to the famous Zimmerwald Conference, ex-enemies of the capitalist system, during the last congress of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) were leagued with the bandits who are seeking the overthrow of the Bolshevik government, which inevitably will lead to the Czar, with his Siberia, gibbet rope, prisons, programs, and which Sandgren calls "more practical, at least in part" than Bolshevik State Communism.

We must remember the shrewd defense that the yellow syndicalists used against revolution, which I regret to say resembles very much the wise sayings of Fellow Worker Sandgren. Here is what the ex-anarchist Jouhaux said, announcing for the treacherous abandonment of the general strike, set by himself and his colleagues for July 21st, to save the Russian and Hungarian Revolutions:

"In our opinion the C.G.T. should aim at practical results beyond those commonly conveyed by the word Revolution with a big, well-rolled R! It is justly said that revolution is a mere word since for the majority of us there is nothing behind it. But what should it stand for? It is the catastrophic act which determines the collapse of a system? Or is it the long evolutionary process which little by little penetrates the system, the action which has seen a regime and developed within the regime itself the new organism which is to succeed it? That is revolution, as the C. G. T. understands it. I have remained faithful to the old idea of Proudhon: "The workshop will displace government." We will replace the direction of persons by the administration of things. But this is not to be done by mere street fighting, by barricades, even by the general strike! One must have a clear conception, ready to apply and well understood by those who are to apply it, of the new organization which is to be erected, of the possibility of development into an increase of well-being and not into a famine. For we shall do well to realize very clearly that revolution which ends in famine is not revolution but the destruction of revolution."

Two days after this pompous pronouncement of the pontiff, Jouhaux, the Bela Kun government was overthrown with the shameless cooperation of the labor unions, headed by men of Hillquit's and Berger's type—Garauni and Weitner. Does Sandgren

mean endorsement of this ignoble coup d'etat?

Much has been said against the Bolshevik policy towards labor unions and much of this criticism may be legitimate. They were not organizing industrial unions, not because they were opposed to them, which is denied by Lenin's statement to Minor "The Industrial Union is the basic unit of the future order of society," but because it was a physical impossibility to do so. Also it is true that most of the unions in Russia today have been organized by members of the I. W. W. who returned to their native land after the March Revolution. Robert Minor and John Reed say that the coal miner's industrial union of the Donetz region had 60,000 members, all carrying I. W. W. cards and endorsing our preamble. Then, Minor says the Germans came and with the aid of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie shot most of the militant members of the union, closed their halls, suppressed their papers, bulletins, in one word smashed the whole magnificent achievement of the valiant members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Under the Bolsheviks they were left unmolested, nay, received co-operation of the people's commissaries.

Bill Shatov, once a member of the I. W. W. in America, and now an ardent worker for the Soviets, said to Arthur Ransome, the correspondent of the London Daily News: "We are willing to starve another year for the revolution" and as soon as the Bolsheviks are left alone by the Allied bandits "I will be the first to null them down!"

We are not blind to the fact that Russia is ruled by a political party rather than industrial unions, and this is, to my humble opinion, the cause of all opposition at home and abroad. But the labor unions are co-operating with the Bolsheviks and the only phase of the revolution so far has been the marvelous reorganization of the system of production. The mechanism of Russian industry was dislocated and sabotaged long before the Bolsheviks assumed the helm of state power. Nay, since then the reactionaries and wild visionaries from the left have contributed much to its demoralization. Under such conditions it is doubtful whether any single political or industrial group could make a dazzling success.

For the whole years the revolution has survived the vicious attacks of the imperialist mercenaries from outside and counter-revolutionary obstruction from inside. To a remarkable degree the new regime has overcome the handicaps of the abnormal state of affairs and now can safely boast of its singular victory over capitalism.

And if the Bolshevik government is willing to make concessions to the Allied plunderers, it is the fault of the revolutionary workers of the strongholds of capitalism, America, England, Japan and France. We have failed to live through the struggle of the toiling masses of Russia; we have even gone so far as to smear at their mistakes in the gigantic task—the overthrow of capitalist exploitation which they assumed upon themselves. Their idealism and devotion to the common cause of the working class has failed to inspire us with the lofty vision capable of obliterating the petty frontiers of dogmatic differences.

Those of us who remember the heroic struggles of the militants of the General Confederation of Labor in France about 1906, the most revolutionary epoch of its picturesque history, will recall the fateful words of the arch-démagogue Clemenceau, then prime minister, who was trying to crush the C. G. T. Being reminded of his revolutionary past, (having taken part in the Paris Commune), by a delegation from the labor unions, he arrogantly replied: "Gentlemen, do not forget that I am on the other side of the barricade!"

The Russian Revolution has crystallized a new alignment in the revolutionary labor movement. There is no middle ground, there is only one alternative—either with the Bolsheviks against capitalism and yellow Socialism, or with Imperialism, with its masked defenders, hiding behind red screens, Syndicalists, Socialists and Anarchists.

It will be a painful blow to our Communist friends the world over to hear that the Industrial Workers of the World are not with them in the most critical and trying moments in the history of the class struggle.

The revolution is our only creed, our only principle. Let us extend our hand of solidarity and fellowship to our Russian fellow workers and join them in the heroic struggle against the exploiters of mankind.

THE OLD UMBRELLA MENDER

By EUGENE DEBS

It was on a cold morning late in November last, just after the national election, and I was walking briskly toward my office. A stiff wind was blowing and a drizzling rain was falling. The threads in one of the ribs of my umbrella snapped asunder and the cover flew upward, as it has a way of doing, and I was about to lower my disabled shower-stick when I ran slapdash into an old itinerant umbrella mender with his outfit slung across his back and shuffling along in the opposite direction. He had noticed the ill-behavior of my umbrella. It snapped from its bearing even as he had his eyes upon it. Perhaps it understood. Anyway, he had not a cent in his pocket and he had not yet breakfasted that cold and wet November morning.

He was about 65. His clothes had evidently weathered many a storm and being worn and shabby were too light for that season. Overcoat he had none. Nor gloves, nor overshoes. Mine embarrassed me. His hat had been brushed to a standstill. His shoes were making their last stand and a protruding toe, red with the cold, seemed to have been shoved out as a signal of distress. The outfit of the old fellow, carried on his back, was sorry enough to fit his general makeup, and if he had offered himself for sale just as he stood, including his earthly belongings and his immortal soul, he would have found no bidder nor brought a cent.

The face of the old umbrella mender lighted up with a kindly smile as he commented on the strange conduct of my umbrella in slipping a cog just as he happened to come along. I asked him by what evil magic he did the trick and he laughed in a half-hearted way just to be polite, but it was plain that he had long since forgotten how to laugh.

As we stepped into the shelter of an adjoining store he sat down on the steps and drawing a threaded needle from beneath the lapel of his thin and faded coat, he began to sew the cover back into its proper place. His fingers were red and numb. A discolored nail partly hid a badly bruised thumb.

He had difficulty in doing this bit of sewing, and it plainly distressed him. His eyesight was failing and his fingers were stiff in the joints. Yet he strove eagerly and intently to master their dumb protest. And he hoped, as he remarked, that he would be able to make an extra bit of money to provide himself with a pair of spectacles, now that favorable weather had set in for his trade.

Poor humsa soul, I thought to myself, as I looked down upon the

weatherbeaten brother at my feet! A vagabond dog among his kind would fare better than this worn-out old umbrella mender in a civilized human community.

The warm clothes I had on made me uncomfortable as I saw him sitting there in rags mending my umbrella. The overcoat I wore made me ashamed of myself. Every time the umbrella mender looked up out of his rags I winced.

What crime had he committed that condemned him to go through the world in tatters to be lashed by the merciless blasts of winter and tormented by hunger-pangs, and of what rare virtue was I possessed that entitled me to wear the best of clothes and eat the choicest food?

Dared I call him brother? And could I call him brother without insulting him?

These were the reflections that agitated my mind and troubled my heart.

"Good morning!" was the cheery greeting of a man who passed on the sidewalk, calling me by name.

The old umbrella mender fairly started at the mention of my name. He had just completed his bit of sewing and the threaded needle fell from his fingers.

"Excuse me!" he said timidly, "Is this Mr. Debs?"

"Yes," I answered.

"Eugene V. Debs?"

"Yes, brother."

"Thank God," exclaimed the old umbrella mender as he fairly bounded to his feet and seized my extended hand with both of his. There were tears in his eyes and his face was flushed.

"Of course I know you now," he went on. "This is your home and I have often seen your picture. But this is the first time I have ever seen you and if it hadn't been for your umbrella snapping just as I came along, I would have passed you by and the chances are that I never would have seen you. God must have tipped off your umbrella to give me a stop-signal."

"Say, Gene," he continued, still holding me with both hands, "I am pretty well down, ain't I? About all in and making my stand before shuffling off."

"But say, Gene, I never scabbled. Look at these hands! I'm an old rail and I followed the business for twenty-seven years. I broke and ran a freight train most of that time. Never got a passenger run because I was too active on grievance committees and called a firebrand by the officials. I wouldn't stand for any of their dirty work. If I'd been like some of 'em I'd had a passenger train years ago and been saved lots of grief. But I'd rather be a broken down old umbrella-fixer without a friend than to be a scab and worth a million."

A gleam of triumph lighted up his seamed and weatherbeaten countenance.

"Did you belong to the A. R. U.?" I asked.

"Did I?" he answered with peculiar and assuring emphasis. "I was the first man on our division to sign the list, and my name was first on the charter. Look it up and you'll find me there. My card I lost in Ohio where I was run in as a vag. The deputy that caught me at the jail took my card from my pocket and I never saw it again. It was all I had left. I raised a row about it and they threatened to lock me up again. I was told afterwards that the deputy had scabbled in the A. R. U. strike."

"Did I belong to the A. R. U.?" Well I should say I did and I'm proud of it even if they did put me on the hammer and pull me down to where I am today. But I never scabbled. And when I cross the big divide I can walk straight up to the bar of judgement and look God in the face without a flicker."

"We had the railroads whipped to a standstill," he said, warming up, "but the soldiers, the courts and the army of deputy United States marshals that scabbled our jobs were too much for us. It was the government and not the railroads that put us out, and it was a sorry day for the railroad men of this country. Mark what I tell you, the time will come when they will have to re-organize the A. R. U. It was the only union that all could join and in which all got a square deal, and it was the only union the railroad managers ever feared."

And then he told me the melancholy story of his own persecution and suffering after the strike. His job was gone and his name was on the blacklist. Five jobs he secured

under assumed names were lost to him as soon as he was found out. Poverty began to harass him. He picked up odd jobs and when he managed to get a dollar ahead he sent it to his family. His aged mother died of privation and worry and his wife soon followed her to the grave. Two boys were left, but whatever became of them and whether they are now alive or dead, he could never learn.

The old fellow grew serious and a melancholy sigh escaped him. But he was not bitter. He bore no malice toward any one. He had suffered much, but he had kept the faith and his regrets were at least free from reproach.

He was a broken down old veteran of the industrial army. He had paid the penalties of his protest against privately owned industry and the slavery of his class, and now in his old age he was shuffling along in his rags toward a nameless grave in the potter's field.

Had he been an obedient corporate lackey; had he scabbled on his fellow-workers; had he been mean

and selfish and sold-blooded, he would have been promoted instead of blacklisted by the corporation and honored instead of hounded by society. His manhood and self-respect cost him dearly, but he paid the price to the last farthing. His right to work and live, his home, his family and his friends were all swept away because he refused to scab on his fellowmen.

The old umbrella mender stood before me proud and erect and looked me straight in the eyes as he finished his pathetic story.

The shabby clothes he wore were to him capitalist society's reward of manhood and badge of honor.

There was something peculiarly grand about the scarred old veteran of the industrial battlefield. His shabbiness was all on the outside, and he seemed transfigured to me and clad in garments of glory. He loomed before me like a forest-monarch the tempests had riven and denuded of its foliage but could not lay low.

HE HAD KEPT THE FAITH AND HAD NEVER SCABBED!

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2009 W. Superior St.
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SHOES FOR ALL

A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused.

Our Shoes are selected from the best makers and efforts, and the man who shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you trade. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer — We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes.



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TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

Address all communications and make out all checks to

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

Business hours 2 to 4 p. m.

Editor responsible for all unsigned articles.

EDITORIALS

THE CALLOUSNESS OF CAPITALISM

The country reels under the shock of the killing of four soldiers in the Armistice Day Parade, at Centralia, Washington. No sane person will find justification for that cold-blooded affair. It was the work of a perverted maniac or an agent-provocateur.

The blame has been placed upon the shoulders of the I. W. W. and already one of their members has been lynched and from what we can gather, others will share the same fate. Any person who takes the trouble to study the history of the I. W. W., its philosophy etc. must come to the conclusion, that is, if he is not biased, that the I. W. W. do NOT believe in the shedding of human blood, neither are their members of a revengeful nature. If the members of the I. W. W. were of such a nature, as stated by the kept press, then they would have before this, most certainly have launched out on a campaign of revenge, because they have had cause to take on that spirit. But the I. W. W. believes, and rightly believes, that an educated and organized workingclass can achieve its freedom, not by the shedding of blood, but by the spreading of enlightenment and knowledge. **IN THIS HOUR WE STAND BY THE I. W. W. AND FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD-BLOODED AFFAIR THAT TOOK PLACE IN CENTRALIA, WASHINGTON, LAST TUESDAY.**

The local "pay-tribes" have organized a gang, whose purpose is, "avenge" the deaths of those that died last Tuesday. They have made known the object of their organization. Let us state here and now, for the benefit of those concerned, that idle threats will not deter us. We believe that the time has arrived when the system under which we live cannot any longer function and is the reason for the wide-spread social unrest. We further believe that the workingclass is destined to take charge of society and upon the ruins of Imperialism erect the new social order. We shall go on with our propaganda of education and organization. It may be that in this city of Duluth, the forces of reaction may triumph. But rest assured members of the Commercial Club and the Kitchi Gammi Club, that even though you may swing us over the side of some lonely railroad trestle, the cause for which we stand, will still go on. Death has no fears for the revolutionary worker. We realise, with Thomas Jefferson: "That the tree of liberty is watered with the blood of the martyrs." We realise also, that the task we have pledged ourselves to is no light task and so we buckle to, spurred on by your threats. We cannot stop now, even if we wanted to. We are gripped by the social passion that can only be silenced, when the evils that aroused it have all been wiped away. Can you satisfy the cravings of the hungry child? Can you satisfy the desire of the scarlet woman to get away from her sordid life? Can you offer hope to the worn-out human wreck that finds every workshop door barred to him? Can you even carry on the system, that you support? You know that you cannot answer these questions. We are the only people that can satisfactorily answer the above questions and answer we shall.

Comrades in this hour, do not allow your forces to be stampeded. Stand erect and let the red blood flow quicker through your veins. Today capitalism seeks to drown our movement in seas of blood. But they will fail in the attempt. Let us come together and with one solid force of labor we will march triumphant out of the wilderness of capitalism into the new society—the Co-operative Commonwealth.

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURE

On Sunday there will be an illustrated lecture in the Woodman Hall. Slides will be shown depicting scenes in the Russian, Hungarian and German Revolutions. The Duluth Scandinavian Band will also play. The orchestra will play the funeral song of the Russian revolutionists. When the picture of the Red Funeral was shown in Chicago, a group of Russian children sang the funeral song of the Russian Revolutionists. The chorus runs as follows:—

"Weep not, my com-rades, re-member, ye brave,
The prison is stronger by far than the grave;
Death can not hold me, still will I follow, do not despair;
Upon that day of Freedom yet will I be there."

As the red coffins were seen in the graves, and behind the curtain could be heard the tender voices of the Russian—well we have witnessed some sights, but never have we seen an audience so moved as the Chicago audience was. Women broke down and strong men just quivered. It was a scene that will never be forgot by those that witnessed it. You are advised to come early on Sunday evening. We can only guarantee seats to about a thousand and these pictures will only be shown once in this city.

DO NOT FORGET THE DATE—SUNDAY NOVEMBER 16TH 8. P. M.

COMRADE NIGHT

Tuesday Nov. 18th. will be comrade night at the Woodman Hall. There will be refreshments, dancing etc. Everybody invited. **DO NOT FORGET THE ILLUSTRATED LECTURE SUNDAY EVENING.**

BOLSHEVISM

At the present moment the interest of the people is centered upon the issue of Bolshevism. People are being told that Bolshevism is murder, rape etc. Is it? Come to the

WOODMAN HALL

SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 16th

and see pictures of the

RUSSIAN—GERMAN and HUNGARIAN REVALUTIONS

see how the

AMERICAN WORKERS HAVE MET IN MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

to shew their sympathy with Russia.

DULUTH SCANDINAVIAN BAND and AN ORCHESTRA

will render music suitable to the occasion.

ERITOR of TRUTH will deliver a short address

When these pictures were shown in Chicago, last week, women wept and were carried out, unable to control themselves. Strong men cried. These pictures will be here Sunday for the first and only time. Make sure that you attend on Sunday Eve. Nov. 16th. Come early to secure a seat.

ADMISSION 15 cents and 35 cents.

Refreshments provided

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Despite the glowing reports that have been received from certain quarters, the coal strike has collapsed. As far as we can learn the steel strike is going to be a long drawn out struggle and in such a struggle the workers do not come out on top. The temporary failures of these strikes compel us to review our own position as Communists. We must not sit back and say, "I told you so". We must jump into the fight and point out to the workers their mistakes. So long as the other fellow does not know any better, it will not serve you in good stead to stand up and crow about what you know. **WE MUST EDUCATE THE OTHER FELLOW.**

In the first place we have got to study the forces of the master-class, the master-class have the best form of organization. In the capitalist organization, they combine organization and knowledge. Like a solid phalanx stand the forces of capitalism. Let one member of the workingclass, or a thousand, make an attack upon the existing order and you will see all forces of capitalism rally to the defence of capitalism. In this organization there is discipline. Every officer obeys his instructions and above all things he remains true to his class instincts. Let a member of any Chamber of Commerce or Commercial Club shew any sign of sympathy with the workingclass, then immediately the forces of the capitalist class will be brought to bear and either that recalcitrant member is rebuked in such a manner that will not require repetition or he takes his place amidst the ranks of those that "failed in business". That is discipline and it is most essential. In the coal miners' strike we witness the lack of discipline. There is no unity of purpose. One official says one thing and another official says another. How can we hope to effectively function as a labor organization, if we have not got discipline? It is no wonder that the few capitalists can rule the many workers!

But despite these facts, changes are constantly bringing about a more unified form of industrial organization. The exigencies of Imperialism demand the elimination of all waste, whether it is in the factory or in the market. Consequently all unnecessary industries, unnecessary insofar as other industries supply their particular needs, are being scrapped and smaller industries are being incorporated into larger industries. Since the war the capitalists of the various countries realise that from a business point of view they must act together, in order that they might obtain the world's trade. With the coming together of the various sections of the capitalist class we see the hopelessness of craft unionism. Furthermore the gigantic combinations of employers present a spectacle to the worker that is not failing to drive home a few lessons in the method of obtaining a more scientific form of organization. The economic development of capitalism compels the capitalist class to come closer together and likewise it also compels the workingclass to do likewise.

The ultimate aim of the advanced section of the workingclass is the **CONTROL OF INDUSTRY**. That necessitates on the part of the workingclass, the conquering of the organized force of the capitalist class, the State, and the establishment of the supremacy of the workingclass. With the increasing development of industry, we find that production is carried on by the wage-workers, the concentrated forms of capital prevent the various capitalists from taking a part in industry and so they are compelled to delegate their power to a paid representative. With the rapid development of industry and the bringing of all small firms into one

huge trust, it has been an easy matter for the workers to stop the wheels of a whole industry. As for example, the steel strike and the recent stockyards strike. The mere fact that these men have come out on strike does not prove anything. But it does shew that the need of hour is the education of the workingclass to a thorough understanding of their class position in society. The workingclass must be made class-conscious i. e., clearly recognise the clash of interests between themselves and the capitalists. Furthermore they must become more than class conscious, they must also understand the most effective methods of carrying on the struggle of their everyday lives and reject the wrong ones. Therefore the greatest weapon that we possess today, is the distribution of knowledge. Secondly, we must discover means to turn that knowledge into deeds, and intelligence into action. We cannot do these things by simply wishing them on to the workingclass, we must have an organization to function through. The organization must be a disciplined one. There must not be any independent groups within the organization. As Anton Pannekoek points out:—

"...we need an organization in which the powers of the individual are joined in a single will and thereby fused into a common social force. The outer form of organization is not the main thing, but the spirit which holds the organization together. Just as the grains of sand are held together by a cement and thus the mass of them becomes a heavy stone, so must the individuals be cemented together so that the organization will not fly sunder at the first opposition, but rather will conquer all opposition like a mighty mass. This spiritual cement is the discipline which leads the individual to subordinate his own will to that of the whole and to place his entire strength at the disposal of the community. It is not the giving up of one's views, but the recognition of the fact that united action is necessary and that the minority cannot expect the majority to conform to its notions—a recognition which has become a powerful motive for action."

So the unions must first, understand their class position, second they must be possessed of knowledge and thirdly, they must understand how to translate their knowledge into deeds and their intelligence into action. All our striving must be towards the accomplishment of the above aims; to improve the knowledge, the class-consciousness, the organization, the discipline, of the workingclass. Unless these are sufficiently developed, we will be un able to conquer the most powerful weapon in the hands of the capitalist class, the state.

CARD OF THANKS

The Scandinavian Local Sewing Society wishes to thank Mrs. Carney for her assistance in making our package social such a financial success.

THE COMMITTEE.

Why not congratulate the editor upon his remarkable foresight and wisdom in marrying Mrs. Carney. Ed.

TOM LEWIS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO COME BEFORE DECEMBER 10TH.

THANK YOU!

The Scandinavian Local of Superior donated \$20.05 to the wife of Comrade Hicks who is now serving a twenty years' sentence in Leavenworth Penitentiary. Other comrades are asked to forward donations to this fund. The need is urgent. Remember \$4.00 per week and four children.

LARKIN AND GITLOW ARRESTED

Jim Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow were arrested last weekend, for advocating the "overthrow of the government". Their bail was placed at \$15,000. They are at present confined to the Tombs Prison New York City. Hundreds of others were also arrested.

"They whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad."

DOUBLY ENSLAVED

Though whipt, though shackled, though in bondage pent,

No slave is he who struggles to be free;

But slave indeed—aye, twice enslaved is he—

Who bears his servitude in dull content!

"WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE!"

Last week the press was full of accounts of the "daring" raids that were made upon the "reds". How the populace must have shuddered, when they read the lurid accounts of those raids and how they must have admired the heroism and bravery of one hundred policemen rushing into a room and holding up men and women and smashing them in the jaw. Gosh it is great stuff!

The financial system is in a very precarious condition. The day of reckoning is at hand and the average business man knows it. With all the vast war profits that have been made, there are not one per cent of the business men of America who feel satisfied with things as they are. A kind of a mysterious fear grips them and consequently they become easy prey for the parasitical detective agencies that are flooding the country today. If you desire to become prosperous these days, all that you require to do, it to form a league. Call it what name you like, so long as it is anti-red, but be sure to name it an American league. Then whisper into the ears of the leisure class some story about awful and t-t-terrible doings of the Bolsheviki. Tell how women are compelled to give themselves up to men. How an old man of one hundred, living in Moscow, has discarded ten wives in as many weeks. Then tell of how all the women of this country will be treated in like manner. Sprinkle a little dynamite in your story and then introduce your prospectus of your new league and hey presto, good-bye coffee and doughnuts. It is a good game, especially when we know that the brains of the capitalist are responsible for his superior position in society.

Today a wave of hysteria has swept over the country. Innocent men and women are arrested and cast into prison. For what? Does anybody know? After the public has been scared, the arrested persons are released quietly, without any hope of obtaining any redress for their arrest. It is the manner in which the government officials work, that breeds the contempt, that is now held by the workers, for the government. How can people be expected to respect the government and its institutions, when the government has no respect for the people? The numerous arrests that are taking place are but manifestations of the fear that grips the hearts and minds of the capitalist class. They realise their end is near and they seek to perpetuate their power by arresting leaders of movements. The present industrial unrest goes down to the very roots of society and unless you are prepared to radically transform society, you must be content to witness more strikes and more industrial disturbances.

The charge has been levelled against radicals that they are busy in every strikes. Of course we are. Every fight that the worker engages in, is OUR fight and it is the duty of every section of the workingclass to assist the workingclass at all times. We must get into each and every struggle and point out to the workers the limitations of their form of organizations and do it in such manner, that we assist and strengthen the forces of the strikers and not seek to disrupt them for the sake of obtaining strength for our own particular party. When the worker accepts the challenge of the ruling class, then immediately we drop our partisanship and we enter into the struggle as workers. We shall utilise every strike as a means of bringing about solidarity within the ranks of workingclass. That is our policy and will remain our policy, even if hell freezes over.

THE BATTLE IS ON.

Awake! Look around you! Listen! The battle is on.

Would you sleep

While the march of the people is shaking old earth to its deepest deep.

* * *

Never before was a battle like this on land or sea.

On one side gold and the lust of power,

on the other the will to be free.

* * *

Free from the fear of hunger, from cringing for charity's doles,

Free from the fear of worldly scorn,

from having to sell our souls.

* * *

For man has last awakened from ages of hypnotic sleep. Already the army is moving, embracing the world in its sweep.

* * *

Not nation arrayed against nation, nor race against race in blind strife,

But the few that have harnessed the millions 'gainst those millions grown conscious of life.

* * *

Hark to the song of battle, 'tis a paean of joy in the strife. 'Tis a song of the dawn of to-morrow, not the music of death but of LIFE.