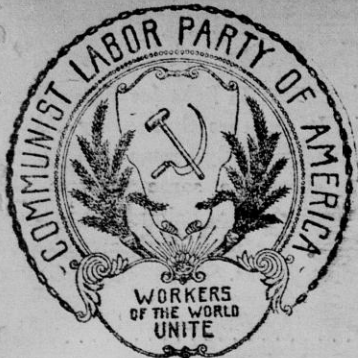




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TRIUMPH OF SOVIET RUSSIA

SOVIET RUSSIA TRIUMPHS OVER ALLIED IMPERIALISM

Baltic States Will Probably Make Peace With the Bolshevik Government Before the New Year Arrives Say Diplomats—Economic Ruin Faces Europe After An Orgy Of War and Persecution.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

Washington. — Soviet Russia has definitely triumphed over the mobilized plutocracy of Europe, Asia and North America. Nothing but the thinnest pretense is now made at Washington that the workers' government of Russia can be destroyed from within.

The victory of the Slav workmen and peasants will shortly be translated into the following concrete achievements, according to candid diplomats here.

Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania (so-called independent Baltic states) will conclude treaties of peace and implied alliance with Moscow before January 1.

Poland, Ukraine and possibly Finland will most likely do the same thing within a brief period.

Great Britain will take the lead among "Allied and associated powers" in striving by open or indirect methods to reach an understanding with the Soviet government.

Blockade Will Fizzle Out. The blockade against Russia, if not formally lifted, will be allowed to sink and be forgotten.

These events are unmistakably foreshadowed by the news from Europe. Soviet Russia has celebrated her second anniversary by a series of brilliant and smashing military victories over the forces commanded by Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch and supplied by the Entente governments. The common people of all Europe, the Near East and of India behold the armies of reaction routed and in flight before the banners of Russia communism.

At Dorpat, Baltic Russia, there began recently a conference of Lettish, Lithuanian and Esthonian officials, which was called to agree upon the terms of peace with Moscow. At that conference Poland, the Ukraine and Finland are "unofficially" represented.

British Intrigue Collapses.

This conference marks the collapse of British intrigue in Baltic Russia; it proclaims the conviction of the little Baltic states that the friendship of the Entente is a fraud or a myth, and that they must make peace with Soviet Russia or perish. It is an event precipitated by the annihilation of the Yudenitch army, which a fatuous bourgeois press declared would capture Petrograd a fortnight ago. In the words of Premier Strandmann of Esthonia:

"We cannot fight indefinitely. Our financial and economic condition will not permit this. Our military supplies are exhausted, those from England having ceased, and Esthonia and the other border states have no reason to fight longer."

In a speech in London few days ago Lloyd George declared that the Allies could not continue mixing in "interminable and dangerous civil wars in Russia." He confessed that Denikin had been "checked" and that the news from Omsk was "not reassuring". Most significant of all, Lloyd George said, "I hope that during the coming winter the Russian people will reconsider the situation and that the powers will have an opportunity to promote peace and concord."

Very well, say diplomats at Washington, the Baltic states are certainly "reconsidering the situation" when they sue for peace with Moscow. The Allies can promote peace and concord by recognizing the treaties about to be signed at Dorpat. Moreover, Col. Malone, M. P., has just brought back from Petrograd, and the Daily Herald has published, the Soviet peace terms, which provide for peace on terms that no honest statesman can reject.

Economic Ruin for Europe.

Behind the collapse of Entente intrigue in Russia stands the specter of approaching economic ruin for all Europe. That the peril is not local here is abundantly proved. Sir George Paish, the most eminent British economist, says: "Indeed it is obvious that the trouble which will arise when Germany goes Communist will extend to France, of Italy and to other nations and that we ourselves will not be outside the limit of revolution." I doubt very much that even England and America can handle this situation altogether successfully, having regard to the immediate needs of Germany, France, Italy and many other countries. It is essential that all the world should come in to assist. And Europe can pay only in part for what it buys; it must receive the rest on credit."

Unhappily for the economic system which Sir George Paish and the others are trying to save, the modern capitalist has been trained in the school of Number One; he has no social vision or consciousness; he does business only for cash or for gilt-edged securities, which is the same thing. And four years of capitalist insanity has knocked the gilt off the best securities.

In British slang, the old order is a "washout."

being made against them; Trade Union premises were closed or ransacked, treasures prosecuted, advocates even held under arrest for a month. In spite of this reign of terror the Trade Unions have survived and have increased both in discipline and membership. They now embrace 200,000 workers, organized on the principles of the Industrial Union.

Trade Unionism in Spain.

The "Populaire," of October 20th, prints an account of meetings held in Madrid on behalf of the Catalan (N. Spanish) workers by the Barcelona Labour leaders, Segui and Pestana. At these meetings it was disclosed that, during the last six months, 45,000 Catalan workers have been imprisoned and subsequently released without any charge



EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH

LABOR WANTS SOVIETS

Paris, Nov. 8.—Declaring that "the incapable bourgeois government makes it necessary to resort to methods in a new manner," the French General Confederation of labor has launched its plans for the creation of a Soviet in France.

The proclamation which gives the French idea for Soviet government, pointing out that financial conditions have not improved though a year has passed since the signing of the armistice, calls for the substitution of the French government by the National Economic Labor Council which was created this week.

Education, Present Plan. The Confederation of Labor will for the present devote itself to educating the people in the merits of the plan. Once established, the confederation plans a worldwide propaganda to bring about the establishment of a similar form of government in all nations.

The proclamation creating the council places the work of creating the new industrial commonwealth in the hands of nine sections, whose duties will be to study and solve the present industrial crisis. These nine sections will work under the control of a committee for the distribution of labor and the central directing committee.

When three sections have worked out the solution of the problems of coal transportation, development of water power, bank reforms and agricultural production, the General Federation of Labor will call on organized labor and citizens generally to take over bourgeois government and supplant it with the labor council's industrial nationalization.

Workers Must Act.

The organizations backing the new Soviet substitute, are the Federation of Co-operatives, the

National Federation, the Functionaries' Union, syndicates of industrial, commercial, agricultural and technical workers, as well as the French General Confederation of Labor.

The proclamation says:

"Our salvation rests only in organization on the basis of an entire production capable of responding to general needs of consumption and which alone is capable of determining the essential transformation of technical methods and methods of exchange. Such an organization can be realized only by appealing to those who themselves participate in the production, namely, workmen and technicians and those who must have the professional role of computing the collective activities of functionaries, and finally those who will represent the interests of the consumers equally with the co-operatives."

MILLIONS BATTLING THOUGH PEACE WAS SIGNED A YEAR AGO

If the Highest Estimates Were Accepted There Might Seem To Be Nearer 3,000,000 Than 2,000,000 men engaged in the Russian Warfare. There Are Weapons Enough For 3,000,000 Exclusive of Material Provided By Allies in the Last Year.

Washington, D. C. — A year ago the world celebrated the event that was to turn swords into plowshares. Today more than 2,000,000 men are still fighting in Europe alone, as many more are bearing arms and ready for trouble, and there is no immediate prospect that the wars and rumors of wars will cease.

The fighting in Russia involves 18 separate and distinct armies on the anti-Soviet side, representing nearly as many different governments. D'Annunzio's private war in Fiume threatens to become public. The depredations of the Turk continue. In Afghanistan and in Egypt there is trouble. India is restive.

Beginning on the Murman coast in what is called the "Archangel situation," the American general staff map of Russian fighting shows a long front against the Soviet armies, which extends east to Vladivostok, where American troops are stationed.

Accurate figures are not available, but it is believed that at least 100,000 men are engaged in the war between the Letts and the "Iron Division," carrying unofficial German war into Russia.

Finn Fight Soviet Troops.

A Finnish army, not supported by its government, is moving south toward Petrograd.

South of Petrograd on the Pskov railway, is the Northwest Army of General Yudenitch. Adjoining it on the south is the Esthonian army, and south again are the Lithuanians. Polish armies have a front along the Dvina eastward and southward.

Rumanian troops are stationed along the Dneister river and at the Hungarian border, as well as in Budapest. The Ukrainian army is next in line, and to the east is Denikin's Cossacks force.

Independent Cossacks are between Denikin's and Kolehak's fronts, and on the Siberian railway the reare Siberians to Irkutsk and then the Japanese, Chinese

are on guard at China's Siberian frontier where the Chinese Eastern railway crosses, and then come more Japanese. Americans are at Vladivostok and east of Lake Baikal.

About 2,000,000 Engaged.

If the highest estimates were accepted there might seem to be nearer 3,000,000 than 2,000,000 men engaged in the Russian warfare. There are weapons enough for 3,000,000 exclusive of material provided by the Allies in the last year.

Soon there are to be troop movements to Upper Silesia for the plebiscite, and to Danzig and to the Allenite, and to Danzig and to the Allenite area of East Prussia for the same reason.

Belgian, British, French and American armies of occupation are still in Germany. Allied occupation of Dalmatia, with American naval forces participating, continues.

Czecho-Slovaks spends most of its time an money maintaining a guard around the borders of its new state.

Italy May Flare Up.

Diplomatic and military means are being considered for dislodging d'Annunzio from Fiume, with a possibility of upheaval in Italy in the background.

Poland is dissatisfied with the peace treaty. The revolutionary threat in Germany is so serious that the Dutch border-guard has been strengthened. Talaat Bey, former Grand Vizier of Turkey, is plotting in Switzerland. Rumania is brooding over an ultimatum demanding the removal of her troops from Hungary.

So the war maps are still on the walls at General Staff Headquarters and the yards of colored yarn, representing hundreds of miles of battle front and death and pillage, are still being moved backward and forward, and armistice day is not a holiday in most of the war departments of the world.

ENTERTAINMENT

WOODMAN HALL, Sunday Nov. 23rd, 1919 8 p. m.

Swedish Dramatic Company will play one act farce

"EN CIGAR"

There will also be a long program of Songs, Recitations and Humorous Stories.

After the program is completed a dance will follow.
Music by Grafsstrom.

Everybody Welcome.

The Modern Inquisition.

"La Feuille," of October 21st, reprints from "Vorwärts" the statement that at Budapest 172 Communist and Socialist works have been ordered to be destroyed in all libraries, bookshops and readingrooms. Amongst them are the works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and Vandervelde.

The Bolsheviks and Opera.

The "Populaire," of October 17th, prints a note from Copenhagen to the effect that the Bolsheviks have conferred the "Order of the Red Banner" (instituted in September 1918), amid circumstances of great pomp, upon the world-famous singer, Chaliapin.

Two Hearts.

The "Populaire," of October 17th, reproduces, from the "Freie Welt," a photograph of Foch and Hindenburg in civilian clothes, walking together, probably at Spa, like old friends.

Italian Solidarity with the Soviets.

According to "La Feuille" (Switzerland) of Oct. 17th, the "Avanti" has announced that all the electoral bulletins of the Italian Socialist Party will be stamped, as the Party symbol, with the coat of arms of the Russian Soviet Republic, which it reproduced in its issue of the 16th.

Learning from Russia.

"La Feuille," of October 21st, reports that in the Zurich Cantonal Council the previous day the Socialist member Huber introduced a motion proposing to extend the principle of requisitioning as a means of combating the housing problems. The Agrarian and Democratic groups pronounced themselves against the motion, because it represented too serious a blow against the rights of property. After a long discussion, the motion was rejected.

FREEDOM'S TORCH BEARERS

SAMUEL CASTLETON.

A rare chapter of bravery in the history of the cause of human freedom is being written in the annals of American history. A band of intrepid men have consecrated themselves to this great cause. In every age history records great spirits who kept the torch of liberty burning, and it is to these that we owe what liberty we possess. History is no respecter of persons or prejudices, and when the frenzied and intolerant attitude of the capitalistic world subsides, then a true and just verdict will be rendered the champions of free thought, free speech, and free assembly.

There can be no dispute that every radical now incarcerated in our American penitentiaries believed that they were exercising their legal rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States; that they earnestly believed that there is an American tradition respecting individual freedom of expression, and that the nation would brook no interference with it. No one disputes that a large part of our population regards the shaping of the severe and harsh laws by Congress as legislation which was contrary to the fundamental law of our land, and that the only reason that there is no concerted resistance to the enforcement of these laws is due to the fact that the people thought this a mere temporary measure, a policy on the part of the Administration to check and prevent criticism of the forces directing our part in the European war. That the majority of the political prisoners in our country are socialists is not strange. That the socialists should have been against the war is not strange, for it has been their doctrine that most wars were capitalistic wars and that the object of the socialist movement was to facilitate the evolution of the capitalistic into the socialistic order.

The forces of reaction have failed to understand that the hostile legislation which has been enacted for the purpose of suppressing freedom of speech is conclusively directed towards bringing about the very thing they fear—revolution. Little do they understand the type of men they wish to deter from their work. I have heard the recital of harrowing cruelties which these political prisoners have undergone. One of them was thrust into a state jail for a period of seven months, in a filthy cell without sunlight (not knowing the meaning of sunlight during the entire time.) Only by miracle was he brought to trial and sentenced for fifteen months—actually serving twenty-two months and undergoing all the suffering and tragedy of a prison life. Is he deterred from carrying on his work? No. Immediately upon his release he advised me that he was going to spend his energies and time in behalf of the cause. Henceforth his life is consecrated to the movement for which he suffered. In the crucible of capitalistic punishment his already strong will was transformed into an adamant iron will—the will that knows no defeat. I had another prisoner tell me time and time again, in the presence of the guard, that, though he is thrust in the hole or dungeon, though he is isolated from the other prisoners and placed on bread and water for months, and though he has ten years to serve, no power on earth can prevent him from taking part in the social revolution that will usher in the new order. I have heard him make the statement that if the capitalists so little understood the natural laws of social evolution that they would attack the radicals with mob law, and lynch law, and arms, that he would teach his offspring to defend themselves and resist the violence of capitalism by the same means, and that he would gladly offer his own life and the lives of his children to the cause. Though he knew those expressions might cause him to be thrown in the hole, on a diet of bread and water, with no light coming into the cell he would not be intimidated by the prison authorities or by any other force on the face of the earth. I have heard a young lad, in his early twenties, relate how he has been thrown in the hole or dungeon for months and months on fictitious charges, and the close confinement in the airless dark cell running his health, and the bread and water diet enervating his system, he challenged the prison authorities to break his will. "I know what their purpose is in treating me this way. They want to break me physically and mentally. They might break me physically, they cannot break my will to do the things I think right." Though denied the privilege of communicating with the outside world, though he has contracted asthma while in prison, though he has been

subjected to the humiliation and the goading of the guards, his courage is unflinching. He has learned a lesson of giving his life for the ideals he believes in.—Every influence has been brought to bear, both through prison and outside sources, to make him recant and change his political beliefs but he would rather serve his term to the very end than to prostitute his conscience.

Perhaps it is not so strange that most of the third grade prisoners are radicals. Perhaps it is not strange that the white-slaver and counterfeiter, the moonshiner, the postoffice thief, the narcotic peddler, and the rest of them should be permitted the privilege of playing baseball and having more or less human contact, that they should be permitted to attend the motion picture shows and concerts. Perhaps there is a studied method in denying the political prisoners these privileges. Capitalistic criminals are perhaps entitled to some of the comforts and joys of life, and the fighter for freedom and the new order deserves dark cells, bread and water rations, and a death-like existence in that they are shut them off from the rest of the world. Their mailing privileges are also denied them.

One political told me how a stool pigeon—a criminal type—had worried him for a period of three weeks to pass him some tobacco. After listening to his pleading and being harassed and worried by him, he finally yielded—and for this act was thrown in the hole. I heard another prisoner tell how he was thrown in the hole because he signed a petition protesting against the brutal shooting of a prisoner. I had another tell me of his tubercular condition and the fact that he could find no food to sustain him, that he could not retain the food given him and that he vomited most of the time, that the only food that he could retain were vegetables, that he requested a physician to procure food for him and that the physician referred him to the warden. This prisoner had no way of getting the message to the warden. But even in a dying condition he was just as brave and courageous as those who were younger and more vigorous.

Most of the political prisoners have suffered in the hole. Eugene V. Debs, however, is the exception. Gene is in the hospital and is treated with courtesy, respect and attention. He is denied the right of receiving radical periodicals and journals, but aside from this he is treated as well as could be expected in a capitalistic penal institution.

Every great movement has its heroes. The socialist movement has heroes as brave as in any movement the history of the world affords. Jaures gave his life for the movement protesting against the wrongness of war, Carl Liebknecht gave his for the purification of the socialist cause, Gene Debs, and the rest of the political prisoners in our country, gladly give their liberty for the cause of socialism and the right of free speech. There are millions of radicals the world over who are with them. And the comrades from their holes and dungeons in prison know that there are comrades the world over that are with them in spirit and they know that there are many other comrades ready to give up their liberty that freedom in America may not perish. These comrades in prison know that they do not suffer in vain.

There is a subtle cruelty practiced on the political prisoners—not because they are prisoners and should be treated by the modern cruel discipline but because they are political prisoners and it is felt that specially harsh treatment should be meted out to them. The authorities and their subordinates of our penal institutions are in a dilemma regarding the treatment of political prisoners. They are not men of education and culture who understand the meaning of political prisoners. The one thing the officials have learned is that their brutality has not been able to cow or intimidate these men; that they cannot be broken in spirit; that they are a type of men who can go to the gallows smilingly for their ideals; that death or physical punishment has no terrors for them; that the only thing that counts is their honest and fearless expression of their ideals. They are the torch bearers of freedom, and they know that their cause must triumph. They sense the swift radical and revolutionary changes in the world; they know that their point of view is gradually being impressed on the mind of the people; they know that the ranks of the comrades are growing larger and that soon their opinions will be those of the majority, and they can hear the voice of the majority demanding that the gates of the prison

TAFT AND DEBS

Former President Taft does not want to see Debs out of jail. He thinks that Debs is serving his country very nicely in Atlanta, because of Debs' most pernicious influence that would do a lot of damage if he were free.

At least, that is what he wrote to Mr. T. B. Williams, a Texas business man, who had written to Taft, among a large number of others, urging amnesty for all political prisoners. Williams is President of the North Texas Manufacturing Company of McKinney, Texas.

It will be remembered that Debs ran against Taft for President twice. In 1908, Debs secured 400,000 votes to Taft's 7,000,000. In 1912, Debs had one million to Taft's three million. It is hardly to be wondered at that Taft thinks Debs better off in jail than at large.

Taft's letter in full is as follows:

"New Haven, Conn.
Oct. 29, 1919.

"My dear Sir:

I have your letter in respect to Eugene V. Debs. I don't sympathize with you in your view of Mr. Debs. His is a most pernicious influence in the community. He did advise treason in seeking to paralyze the arm of the Government when it was needed to defend this country in her hour of peril; and not for the purpose of vengeance, but for the purpose of deferring other dangerous fools like him, a proper punishment had to be inflicted. I have no doubt that whenever the object of the punishment is obtained, the Executive will discharge his duty and exercise such clemency as may be proper."

Sincerely yours,
Wm. H. Taft.

Mr. T. B. Williams,
President North Texas Mfg. Co.,
McKinney, Texas.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICANISM

The Communist Labor Party headquarters in Oakland California, were wrecked by a mob of people. As per usual the police arrived upon the scene AFTER the mob had made away.

Just a few more wrecks, just a few more murders and when you have dragged your constitution into the dust and made your laws an object of contempt, masters of America what will say when the mob refuses to do your bidding and decides to take things into its own hands? What will you say when the mob that you urge forward refuses to move at your bidding and turns upon you? In that hour you will have cause to regret your actions of today. Go to it, it is a long road that has't got a turning!

SOLIDARITY

A recent issue of the Berner Tagwacht reports that the Scandinavian trade unions have decided to raise a guarantee fund of ten million kronen. With this sum other necessities of life in Scandinavia at the Scandinavian trade unions will be enabled to buy food and navian value. Sweden is to contribute four million of the loan and Denmark and Norway three million each. The Norwegian workers declare that they have always been treated with kindness by German workers, and therefore want to help them over this difficult time when the purchasing value of the mark has dwindled away.

—Workers' Dreadnought, England.

"DEMOCRACIES" UNMASKED

Romain Rolland writes thus to "Humanite" on the Russian blockade:

The crushing of the Russian Revolution by a coalition of the middle classes of Europe—Allied, German, and neutral—is a detestable offence. But there is nothing surprising about it.

It unmasks the falsity of the so-called democracies of Europe and America. They declared that they were leading a crusade against German autocracy. They themselves are only egoistic and hypocritical oligarchies. The Great War has revealed itself as their war—the war of the plutocratic middle classes against the last bulwarks of the old monarchical regime on the one hand, and against the awakening of the people to their rights on the other.

THREE MILLION SOLD IN RUSSIA

Three million copies of "The Program of the Communist Labor Party of Russia" by N. Bucharin have been sold in Russia.

Lenin calls it the BEST exposition of the Communist Principles and Program that has yet appeared.

An American translation has just been published by the Communist Labor Party of the United States. EVERY Communist should immediately study this volume and help give it an even greater circulation among the workers of this country than it had in Russia.

Single copy 25 cents. Prices for larger quantities on application. Address National Office Communist Labor Party, 208 East 12th Street, New York City.

be opened for their liberation. It is this voice of the majority, the swelling tide of public opinion that the Administration will heed and this alone.

HJALMAR BRANTING AND THE LEFT WING

Hjalmar Branting is accusing the Left Wing of Sweden of being financed by the Bolsheviks, due to the fact that the Left Wing is gaining supporters from the Right Wing.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken mentions on October 7th that P. H. Hansson editor of the Social Demokraten, Branting's organ, is in the pay of the Daily Chronicle, (A British capitalist paper), and acts as correspondent to this capitalist paper. F. D. P. has also learned that Branting's party received 50,000 kronen from the Northern Central Press Bureau when this Bureau, which is financed by the Entente for its own interests, took over the old Social Democrat Press Bureau, a hopeless and bankrupt concern.

Better for a Socialist paper to be financed by the workingclass than the capitalist class!
What do you think Hjalmar?

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

Robert Williams, secretary of the British Transport Federation, referring to the Lords and Dukes who scabbed during the recent British railroad strike stated:—
Lord Tom Noddy

"Last week you saw my Lord Tom Noddy and My Lady Vere de Vere trundling milk cans in Hyde Park. It may be in the near future, if the mine workers withdraw their labour, My Lord Tom Noddy and the young bloods of Piccadilly will have a chance of going down the mines." (Laughter.)

If he had power in drawing up the terms of the settlement of the railwaymen's strike, he would say that not only should there not be any blacklegs on the other side, but those who had volunteered to do some useful work for the first time in their lives should be made to continue in that service. (Applause.) We heard a great deal about increased output, and he was out to increase the number of productive workers. There were already too many parasites on the backs of the workers. (Applause.)

All in favor say AYE?

"ALL THE RESOURCES OF THE STATE"

The labor movement in Spain, a few weeks ago, called a general strike for the release of all political prisoners. The strike was a partial success, because the Government was compelled to agree to the release of all political prisoners. The Syndicalist press immediately commenced to criticize those that talked about capturing the State. Did we not compel the government to act, where is your political organization now?

The Government promised to release all political prisoners, but like all governments refused to keep its promises. They did more than break their word, they arrested over 5,000 leaders of the labor movement and confiscated the funds of the unions. Today the Spanish movement has received a terrible set-back. All the resources of the State were used and the state succeeded in smashing the movement for the time being.

The moral to be drawn is, don't ignore the State, capture it and so prevent the master-class from sabotaging your movement. That is the policy of the Communist Labor Party. We trust the anarcho-syndicalists will analyse the Spanish situation and realise that the State cannot be ignored it must be conquered.

"They All Go The Same Way Home."

We trust that those that went to fight for democracy, will endeavor to find it. It appears that every Allied country is looking for it and nobody seems to discover it. We are inclined to share the same view of the man who said that the soldiers were being kept in Russia, so that they can receive the mail, their sweethearts and mothers sent them last Xmas.

Read this list:—

Deportations	2,000
Armed assaults on unarmed civilians	431
Raids on private houses	5,000
Arrests	5,400
Sentences	2,000
Proclamations and suppressions	222
Newspaper suppressions	51
Court-martials	524

Total 16,556

This is just a sample of what the British Government is doing in Ireland. Of course insofar that the world was made safe for democracy, why should mere trifles like murders, deadly assaults etc. worry us?

The man who said the Irish were always fighting amongst themselves, had better change his tune. Soon there will be no Irish left to fight, that is if the Irish don't take a hand in affairs. We have a kind of idea that the Irish are Irish after all.

A few more murders etc. and the nations of the world will all go the same way home. You know where that place is. They do not have to take fur coats with them.

We trust our readers will respond to the following appeal:—

Help Irish Socialists

The Socialist Party of Ireland appeals to all class-conscious workers in Britain, and especially to those Irishmen who are domiciled in America through economic circumstances, for funds to enable us to carry on the work begun by James Connolly. We are in some financial straits, and unless help is forthcoming we will be unable to carry on as we should during the winter. We know that many calls are being made upon the workers, yet we feel confident our appeal will not be in vain.

The difficulties before the Socialist Party of Ireland have never seemed so insurmountable on the one hand we have the military despotism preventing us from even holding lectures, and on the other the hostility of the various bourgeois political groups, who see in the party a menace to the exploitation of the workers, who labour under the delusion that the only enemy they have is the British Government. In spite of everything, we are determined to win. Since Easter, 1916, the S. P. I. has been re-organised, and as proof of the fighting spirit in the class-conscious Irish worker—many of those who held responsible commands in the fighting of "Easter Week," are now in the fore-front of the fight for International Socialism and the triumph of the workers' cause; and the first step forward has been made by affiliating to the Moscow International.

Seary McLoughlin, President.

M. J. O'Leary, Treasurer.

Remittances can be sent to either of the above comrades at 42, North Great Georges-street, Dublin.

FULL OF GOOD THINGS

The November Issue of the Class Struggle is better than ever. Just cast your eye over this table of contents, order a bundle by next mail and SUBSCRIBE for a year. Every issue will beat the one before: Hands Off Russia—Communist Labor Party.

Two Years of Soviet Russia—Lore. Work, Discipline and Order—Trotsky. Invincible Power of Russian Revolution—Sachs.

Oh! How German is the Revolution—Luxemburg.

Convention Impressions—Bross.

Lloyd. Concerning the Jewish Question—Marx.

The Twilight of Leadership—Bilan.

Military Program of Proletarian Revolution—Lenin.

Rosa Luxemburg—Clara Zetkin.

Bolshevik Propaganda Leaflets.

Agrarian Program of C. P. of Germany.

Editorials:—The Communist Labor Party: The Dynamic Class Struggle; One Year of German Revolution; Democracy—Dictatorship of Capitalism.

(25¢ a copy—Bundles at 20¢ a copy—per year \$3.00).

FREE FRANCE

In the "Populaire" of October 20th comrade Rappoport publishes an appeal to French citizens on the subject of thousands of Russian soldiers at the present moment dying of starvation and ill-treatment in French concentration camps. He points out that, owing to the continuance of the censorship, no mention could be made of the terrible facts until now; but hundreds of documents are in his possession. The Russian revolutionary colony in France volunteered and died by thousands in the Foreign Legion at the outbreak of the war—even Bolsheviks like Dr. Davidoff, and their only crime is that,

after the Revolution of March, 1917, they demanded repatriation to their free mother country. The reactionary Russian officers placed over them interfered in every possible way with the fulfillment of this legitimate demand; finally provoking mutinies, crushed first by massacres, and then by the present atrocity. It is now even stated that, as a final blow they are about to be handed over to Denikin.

The Growing Italian Revolution.

In the course of an article in the "Populaire" of October 18th, describing his recent visit to Italy, Paul Faure writes: "When I arrived at Turin my first visit was to the office of 'Avanti!' where I received a warm and fraternal welcome. 'Last week,' I was told, 'you would have seen a fine demonstration. The Government wanted to prohibit it, but we beat them. A crowd of 30,000 people took possession of the streets—not without unfortunate consequences for the police. Shots were engaged. Officers and soldiers were mowing with us.' 'What about the discharged soldiers?' 'As a body they are coming over to our side. One War Veterans' League, numbering about 300,000 members, and increasing daily, has adhered en bloc to the revolutionary programme of the Party, and to the General Confederation of Labour.' 'And the peasant?' 'With us more and more, on the side of the workers. We count them by hundreds of thousands in Piedmont, Emilia, Sicily. In many places they have seized uncultivated land and are tilling it. The landlords, naturally, will not accept this attack on the rights of property, and pitched battles take place. The bankrupt and mischievousness of the capitalist regime are becoming clear to all eyes. Everywhere they are talking of the conquest of power by the Socialist Party, of the dictatorship of the proletariat...."

GERMANY TO REFUSE

From Our Special Correspondent, M. Phillips Price

Berlin, October 27.—I hear the German Government has not yet come to a final decision over the reply to the Entente Note, demanding a blockade of Soviet Russia, but that the attitude of the Cabinet is hostile to acceptance of the Allied demands.

An article in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" which speaks for the Government, suggests that Germany

will adopt a waiting attitude on the Russian question, and I believe the reply to the Entente will be on this line.

On the other hand, as I have more than once pointed out, the Prussian militarists and Russian reactionaries here are running their own policy. These gentry are now speculating that if Yudenitch's offensive against Petrograd breaks down, they will be called in by the Entente to fill in the gap on the anti-Bolshevik front in the Baltic, and so ensure an advance into the interior of Soviet Russia.

CONCERT

BY

ELLI SUOKAS-STEINBACK

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

FINNISH WAR ORPHANS' 25,000 WAR ORPHANS IN FINLAND

SUPERIOR, NOVEMBER 28
Swedish Mission Church

West Duluth 29

COFFIN'S ACADEMY, 18 Lake Ave. No. Duluth
Thanksgiving, November 27, 8 p. m.

PROGRAM

- a) Quella fiamma Marcella
- b) My heart as thy sweet voice Saint Sions
- c) "I am Titania" op. "Mignon" A. H. ...
- d) Mäen lasku Ilmari Hannikainen
- e) Marjatta laulu Toivo Kuus
- f) Joulun laulu Selim Palmgren
- g) Laisa Erkki ...
- h) Men min ängel Pete
- i) Solveig's song Jean Sibelius
- j) När jag blif sjutton år Edvard ...
- k) Kaiku laulu Ekert
- l) To you Olo Speake
- m) Morning Olo Speake
- n) Wouldst that be queer Mrs. H. H. Beach
- o) The Winds in the South J. P. Scott

AF 75c

CHIL DREN 25c

Deportation of Speaker Threatened

Ragnar Johanson Held as "Undesirable Alien" by U. S. Agent.

The government will make every effort to deport Ragnar Johanson as an "undesirable alien," a secret service operative announced Tuesday morning, while investigating Johanson's possessions at police headquarters.

Johanson was arrested Monday night, after he had delivered an address in the Labor Temple auditorium in commemoration of the second anniversary of the Russian Soviet republic. He was lodged in the city jail on an open charge and Ralph Pierce, attorney, was refused permission to see him. Pierce will institute habeas corpus proceedings Wednesday, when the courts open.

Johanson is a collector for the International Defense fund for the benefit of political prisoners. He was recently released from the Leavenworth federal penitentiary on bail.

THE FIRST PROCLAMATION BY THE PETROGRAD SOVIET ON THE SEIZURE OF POWER.

"From the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

"To the Citizens of Russia:

"The provisional government has been overthrown. The state authority has passed to the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people has been fighting the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of landlord proprietorship of the land, workers' control over production, the establishment of a Soviet government, all these have been guaranteed.

"Long Live the Revolution of the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!"

(Signed)
The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

LEVINE'S LAST SPEECH

The "Populaire" of October 9th takes from a Berlin paper, the following account of the last speech of Levine, the Bavarian Communist, before his judges.

In deciding, on the eve of his execution, to speak before his judges, Levine's intention was to address himself to the Bavarian workers, and show them that he was worthy of their confidence. He did not believe that a Soviet Republic would prove durable in Bavaria alone, on account of the country's inability to stand alone economically.

Lack of unity was the cause of the arrest of the Revolution; but the working class are not yet sufficiently clear as to the meaning of the word "unity". It had let itself be persuaded too easily that it was possible to realise unity between the Spartacists, Independents, and Social-Democrats by means of unimportant mutual concessions. Such is not the unity that will make the proletariat invincible.

The terror had been provoked by the resistance of the bourgeoisie. It was necessary to arm the proletariat and organize the Red Army in face of the desperate struggle of the privileged classes. Does not history teach us how, in all ages and countries, they have been able to unite in armed defence of their privileges?

His opinions had justified Levine, though a Russian Jew, in accepting the power entrusted him by the Bavarian Workers' Councils, and in putting his faculties at the disposal of the proletariat. In agreement with his colleague he had voted for the general strike, seeing in it a means of impressing opinion by manifesting to all the world the mighty solidarity of the proletariat. What right has the capitalist also, which sways public class using the means at its disposal to reach the public?

"I am reproached," he cried, "with having disturbed civil peace! As long as Socialism is a word that exists only on paper, no civil peace is possible. As long as there are shareholders whose shares are increased in value by war, general peace is impossible. Civil war will last as long as there remain in power Governments labelled as Socialist, but in reality more capitalist than the older capitalist governments."

And Still They Come

Every mail brings news of Locals and branches affiliating with the matter of those that have joined the C. L. P. during the last two weeks are a number of branches that had at first affiliated with the Communist Party. Many more are now considering the matter of leaving the Communist Party and affiliating with the Communist Labor Party because of the refusal of the officials of the Communist Party to accept the invitation for Unity.

A few of the Locals applying for charters in the Communist Labor Party during the last few days are: Worcester, Mass., English Branch. Worcester, Mass., Finnish Branch. Philadelphia, Lettish Branch. Philadelphia, First Russian Branch. San Francisco, English. Oakland, Calif., English. Berkeley, Calif., English.

Breezy Hill, Kans. 80 coal miners. St. Louis, Karl Liebknecht Branch. Allentown, Pa., German Branch. Reading, Pa., German Branch. Dover, N. J., Russian Branch. Salt Lake City, Utah, English. Baltimore, Md., German Branch. Camden, N. J., Russian.

Johnstown, N. Y., English. Gloversville, N. Y., English. Gloversville, N. Y., German. Hartford, Conn., German. Jacksonville, Fla., English. Tampa, Fla., English. Baltimore, Md., German. Chicago, Greek Branch.

State organizations have recently been formed in Illinois and Minnesota.

MILITARISM v. SOCIALISM IN ITALY

By our Special Correspondent
Italy is a poor country, made poorer by the war. The Italian Government is short of money; it cannot pay its debts. On every hand one encounters unpleasant and harmful economies imposed by necessity. The telegraph offices on the railway platforms are no longer open for public use. The railway tracks are neglected; great weeds grow there; the ground has become uneven, and stones and soil threaten to cover the rails, which seem, in places, to have sunk from their proper level; paint and repairs are lacking; one sees splendid old buildings decaying for this reason; in all public offices queues of people wait for hours because of the shortage of officials. But on one thing Government expenditure is lavish: soldiers through the streets and the number of officers is extraordinary. It is said that more than 60,000 officers are attached to a body of troops with which the normal staff of officers would be 11,000. These officers are splendidly dressed in diverse gay garments, brilliantly coloured, fantastically cut, blue combined with scarlet, orange with black, and so on; the clothing of operative soldiers, but all of the finest cloth, and perfectly new, immaculately tailored. The officers swagger about all day and into the small hours of the morning, idling in the cafes, marching with overbearing airs through the streets.

Much in evidence too are the Arditi, a force first enlisted during the war. The Arditi are dressed in the grey-green that takes the place of British khaki; their distinctive marks are a black collar, a pointed worn in front, and a general bearing of indiscipline, an untidiness in their dress, a something slovenly, something almost insolent in their gait. During the Socialist Congress at Bologna, the Mayor, a Socialist at the head of a Socialist majority in the Municipal Council, invited the delegates to spend an evening with him in the magnificent Town Hall, the Palazzo Comunale, as it is called.

In the great square before this municipal palace a great crowd of people waited to see the Socialist delegates enter. The palace was prepared with lavish hospitality. Near the entrance was an enormous long, long table spread with cakes and fruits and wine, and decorated with red flowers. Upstairs were gorgeous apartments, gilded chairs, an sofas upholstered in red broad-satin, wonderful red carpets with thick soft pile, pictures by Guido Reni and other famous painters, statuary and mosaics. In almost every room were tables spread with refreshments.

Presently a message came that the people of Bologna were waiting outside and wished to enter; so the way was thrown open, and the people poured into the palace, singing the 'Internationale' and a number of Italian Socialist songs. Perhaps the invasion was not very good for the rich Turkish carpets, but carpets are for use, and if at the end of the

evening they seemed a little the worse for wear, that was a minor matter. Those of the people who could not find room in the place stayed in the courtyard. A band played there and speeches were delivered from the windows.

Whilst all this enthusiastic enjoyment was going forward, the Arditi began to gather in the square outside, and presently 200 of them, under the orders of an officer, formed up in line before the entrance to the palace, whilst others attempted to force an entry. The people resisted this invasion; blows were exchanged; one of the Socialists, Comrade Altobelli, was knocked senseless and removed to hospital.

The Mayor came out to discover the cause of the trouble, and calling the comrades to accompany him, marched to the centre of the square, and took his stand under the great equestrian statue of Victor Emanuel.

A man with a great voice then shouted: "Now speaks the first citizen of Bologna," and the Mayor announced that he and his guests would neither re-enter the palace nor leave the place where they stood until the troops were withdrawn from the palace, the last refuge of civic liberty.

This message was taken to the military authorities, who finally decided to withdraw the Arditi, whereupon the Mayor and the people re-entered the palace in triumph.

The Arditi had withdrawn, but well on into the night companies of them were to be seen marching, in a loose slouching way, up and down the streets, passing and re-passing the same spot. Each company was

Thirdly there are the Carabinieri, who form a semi-military police force, working under its own chief and maintained by the Government. The Carabinieri wear cocked hats and a uniform of Napoleonic character. They are armed with a sword and pistol, the weapons they carry as a rule. They also have rifles and bayonets, and handcuffs of course. Their business is to arrest criminals on warrant or those caught red-handed.

Like all the other police, they charge the people at times.

But this is not all; the Prefetto, or sheriff of the country, may, at his own discretion, withdraw all the local soldiers from military control and place them under the civil authorities for use against the people. This is tantamount to declaring Martial law, and the sheriff has the right to do this, if and when he thinks it advisable. The only protest the public can make against such an order is to get a question asked in Parliament, which the Government is not compelled to answer—so much for popular liberty under a democratic Parliament.

Matching the quiet, orderly people following their peaceful work or day life, and seeing these enormous numbers of soldier and armed policemen, keeping guard over them, one realises that all this force is kept up to maintain the capitalist system, to keep the workers to their labours and to prevent them getting more of the things they make than the master class wishes. It is an extraordinary picture—more vividly staged in Italy than in Britain—but the same thing

The Red Army of Turin

On September 24th, the Socialist Party of Turin had decided to hold an open air demonstration to protest against war on the question of Fiume.

On the eve of the demonstration it was forbidden by the police. The local edition of the "Avanti," (which is printed in the town and has a daily circulation of 80,000 in the province of Turin), announced on the morning of the 24th, that the Committees of the Socialist Party, the Socialist clubs, the Young Socialists, the Co-operative Alliance and the Trade Unions, as well as workshops' delegates, would meet that evening in the Camera del Lavoro to decide what to do.

5,000 delegates from these organisations met in the great Hall of the Camera that evening. They had to stand as there was not room to seat so many people, and for hours they stood discussing what to do. Finally it was decided to hold the meeting on October 2nd. The police prohibition remained, but 40,000 people assembled. The crowd was too vast for the police and military to attempt to disperse, at least so it seemed, for the meeting was allowed to proceed.

Presently however a small organised gang of men tried to cause disorder by pushing their way roughly through the crowd.

Then the soldiers and police began to beat the people, and the soldiers fired. The shots were

realised will be used against them. They are not content to "wait and see" what will happen when the revolution breaks out, they are preparing now. What are we going to do in this country?

The following is their appeal to the delegates at the Socialist Congress. An outline of their organisation of Red Scouts and Cyclists is appended.

IMPORTANT.

For the United Organisations of Red Scouts and Cyclists.

To the Comrade Delegates to the XVI Socialist Congress!

We respectfully beg your Sections to draw the attention of the comrades to the urgent necessity of creating, as soon as possible, the first nucleus of our militia for propaganda and action, so that the whole of the Italian territory may be covered with I solid network of Cyclists of Red Scouts and Cyclists, for the initial purposes which are stated below.

For further particulars apply to the Federation of Red Scouts and Cyclists of the Province of Milan. Via Silvio Pellico 8, Milan, which has taken the initiative in forming groups of such squadrons, which later on will constitute the National Confederation.

The Executive Committee of Fed. R. S. and C., Prov. of Milan.

The Parliamentary Objects of the Organisation of R. S. and C.

Red Scouts are composed of the members of the Socialist Party, and their object is to garrison effectively the proletarian institutions (Socialist Societies, Leagues, Co-operative Societies, Red printing presses, etc.) against enemy attack. This task—which should be absolutely organic, disciplined, and continuous—is entirely under the control of the various Socialist Societies or Federations.

Red Cyclists constitute the mobile department of the Red Scouts. Their activities are divided into two different periods.

In the normal period of propaganda they maintain a close contact with the various provincial Socialist Societies, conveying orders, communication, etc., from headquarters. They take part in Socialist demonstrations held in their districts. They protect speakers when necessary. They form advance guards to carry the Socialist doctrines into localities where our propaganda is unknown, etc.

In periods of agitation they give every assistance to the Red Scouts, acting as dispatch riders, or protectors, as the case may require.

THE POLISH WORKERS AGAINST THE WAR

The Supreme Council of the Polish Social-Democratic Party has issued a proclamation to the workers. This is the text, which we take from the "Avanti!"—

"The bloody war shows no signs of coming to an end. The number of dead and wounded continues to grow. The Polish troops advance eastwards; they occupy territories which are not Polish, they force their way to the Dvina and the Dneiper. The Polish workers must protest and demand the cessation of this war.

"The bourgeoisie and its hired assassins excite the people because the war does not end. The landed classes aim at further conquests and possession in the east. They try to retake the lost lands, to expropriate the peasants and to re-establish old privileges.

"The war in Poland is at the same time a move of the reactionaries to impede social reforms and the regeneration of the working-class. Our country has need of peace. A hundred thousand youths have been torn from productive work to engage in war—the evil work of destruction. An entire railway system is at the service of the military, while it could be used for the transport of the necessities of life. Winter is nearing, and the Polish working class families are menaced by famine. A catastrophe is inevitable. The just and remarkable demands of the workers are always denied. In the villages, injustice rules, speculation and monopolisation continue. Two-thirds of the imports are being devoted to the war. Unemployment, misery, and famine prostrate the people. But the people no longer wish to be the slaves of imperialism. Po-

lenise will be used against them. They are not content to "wait and see" what will happen when the revolution breaks out, they are preparing now. What are we going to do in this country?

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In periods of agitation they give every assistance to the Red Scouts, acting as dispatch riders, or protectors, as the case may require.

To Our Readers

On December 2nd, we are holding a bazaar, for the sole purpose of raising funds for the carrying on of TRUTH. We have carried on Truth, amidst the bitterest opposition and so far we have weathered the storm. We have no fears as to the future. But we are desirous of enlarging our paper and so we are calling upon readers to help us out.

We want you to send in any articles that you have to spare. It does not matter what they are, so long as they can be used. Books, household commodities etc. will be gladly received, so that the proceeds of same can be used to carry on Truth. If you are a farmer you can send us in anything that is produced on your farm, whether it be a pound of butter or a cow, we accept all things that come our way.

Send in your donation at once to:—

JACK CARNEY, Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn.

Go through your library and send us the books that you have read. Go through your bank-roll and send us the dollars that are lying idle. Go through your whole house and if you have a piano or a phonograph to spare, let us know and we will CALL FOR THEM.

WHO HE GIVES QUICKLY GIVES TWICE!!!

in charge of an officer. The Arditi, who are paid much more highly than other soldiers, get an extra bonus when they are sent out on such adventures.

From such interference of the Arditi in civilian affairs, it might be thought that Italy lacks police. On the contrary there are three distinct kinds of police, who are present in large numbers, for the purpose of keeping in order the civilian population, or, to speak the actual truth, the working-class.

First there are the Guardia Municipale, the Municipal police, paid by the Municipality. They regulate the traffic and keep general order. Secondly there is a police force paid by the Government, the Guardia di Pubblica Sicurezza. This is not called a military force, but its members are armed with a pistol, a sword and handcuffs. Attached to this uniformed force, is the plain-clothes force, the "quadra mobile." This body of police works under the Questore, a political civil authority, of which there is one for each province. The head of each Questore holds his position at the will of the Home Secretary, and in practice these officials are frequently changed at his orders.

obtains everywhere. If the workers should wake up to the fact that all these guards, for whose upkeep they toll, are there to keep them enslaved, surely they would sweep the whole system away in a passion of protest.

.Workers Dreadnought.

AN ECHO OF THE STEEL STRIKE.

The other day in Braddock, Pa., a mill superintendent stopped an oldtimer on the street. "Aren't you working?" he asked.

"No, I am not working; I'm on strike; I'm taking a holiday. I am paying myself back those 20 Christmases I worked for the company," said the man.

That has been the situation with the mill workers. No Sundays, no Christmas. Work that took it out a man so that he was old at 40. Work that left him so tired at the end of the day that he wasn't a human being any more. And now these people are willing to sacrifice to change this sort of thing, for themselves, for their children and for the workers of all time.—Butte Bulletin.

You tried the rest Now eat the best

MAMA BREAD

MADE AT

Duluth, BJORLIN'S BAKERY Minn.

SLAVERY OR SOCIALISM?

By TOM QUELCH.

To-day we stand at the cross roads.

There are two sign-posts pointing forward. One points to the continuation of the old order. It stretches far into the distant years. It is an era of hustling capitalism, of "speeding-up," of "increased production."

There are, of course, the old horrors of capitalism. The land is a land of smoky industrial infernos: in the twilight of every dawn and in the twilight of every evening, the helots march to and from the workshops, mines and mills. Their lives are still twilight lives, obscure, narrow, depressed. Unemployment is rife amongst them: and misery and degradation.

But capitalism has made "improvements."

In the factories—by the lathes and benches—there are scientific machines which record the heart beats and the muscle movements of the wage slaves.

Every day each slave must give to his master the requisite number of heart beats, the pound of flesh and the proper amount of energy, if he is to receive in return the means of life. Otherwise there are gradations of starvation awaiting him, dark recesses of misery and suffering.

The farther we peer into the distance where the sign-post of capitalism is pointing the darker becomes the prospect. And there are bloody streaks along the horizon which tell of wars, class wars and race wars and international conflagrations. And always the workers are used to maim and kill each other.

Sometimes, in the black countries, there flashes the vision—like a gray café brilliantly lit—of a capitalists' pleasure city. For that do the helots labour.

The other sign-post points to Socialism—to Communism.

It points to the intelligent organisation of industry for the benefit of all. The most is made of science, of invention, of discovery. The land is made to yield of its best. The best is the only kind good enough for the people: the best houses, the best clothes, the best food; there are no slums or jerry-built houses, no shoddy clothes, no nauseous "substitutes" for wholesome food.

The people live freely and openly. Their lives are clean and sane and wholesome. They possess equal citizen-rights. They have economic equality. They all render service to the community. The children are cared for and well educated.

A chance is given to the creative impulses of mankind. A glorious renaissance takes place. A new, and a nobler, civilization is called into being.

Down the years we visualise the rise of cities fair and beautiful, of splendid republics, of happy people, of the human race living in kindly intelligence, wisely making the most of life.

But now our Trade Union leaders are beating the tom-toms, and bidding us to march in the direction in which the signpost is pointing to increased production, capitalism and despair.

"The London Call."

Lenin's Message to Western Workers

In the "Populaire," of October 20th, Paul Faure states that an official envoy of Lenin gave him (he is not at liberty to say when and where) the following message from our great Russian comrade: "We at Moscow can, relying on our own resources, face all the difficulties of restoring order in Russia. We do not fear Yudenitch, Kolchak, or Denikin, but this only on condition that the blockade is stopped, and that your Governments cease to assist those who are attacking us in money, munitions, tanks, guns, machine guns. If the French and English workers cannot prevent that, we shall be beaten."

land is being used to police Europe. The workers must act so that these things cease. All the international workers are united in opposing imperialism.

"Down with the war! Long live the international solidarity of the workers!"

IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET RUSSIA

DENIAL OF ALLEGED ATTACKS UPON THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND COUNTER CHARGES PREFERRED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

New York. — Objections have been made by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in this city to certain statements made by William Phillips, Assistant United States Secretary of State, in reply to an inquiry by James W. Wadsworth — R. (N.), Senator from New York, about the Russian policy of the United States Government. In a letter to Senator Wadsworth, L. A. Martens, representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, has stated these objections and has undertaken to correct assertions of Mr. Phillips which, it is alleged, are based on misinformation. The letter of Mr. Martens, is given below.

November 5, 1919.

Honorable James W. Wadsworth Jr., United States Senate, Washington, D. C.—Sir: My attention has been called to the published letter alleged to have been written to you by the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Phillips, in explanation of the policy of the Government of the United States toward the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. In the published letter Mr. Phillips is represented as saying that "as far as the United States is concerned no blockade of Petrograd exists," but that it is the present policy of the United States "to refuse export licenses for shipments to Russian territory under Bolshevik control and to refuse clearance papers to American vessels seeking to depart for Petrograd." The reason given for this policy are: (1) that the Russian Soviet Government "has availed itself of every opportunity to initiate in the United States a propaganda aimed to bring about forcible overthrow of the present form of government in the United States," and that gold brought into the United States from Russia through commercial transaction would be used to sustain such propaganda; and (2) that because of the nationalization of the foreign trade in Russia, and because food allegedly is being distributed according to class lines for the purposes of the maintenance of the Bolsheviks in power, trade with Soviet Russia would become a medium of "sustaining the Bolsheviks and their program of political oppression."

It is to be regretted that the Department of State apparently is very much misinformed as to the true situation.

First of all, I wish most emphatically to deny the allegation that the Russian Soviet Government is engaged in efforts to overthrow, forcibly or otherwise, the existing form of government in the United States. The Russian Soviet Government has scrupulously refrained from any interference whatsoever with the internal affairs of this country. As the representatives of that government in the United States, I myself and my office have strictly observed every rule of propriety in this respect. While the activities of my bureau have been subject to the closest possible scrutiny by the American authorities, nothing has been disclosed which might be interpreted as "propaganda to overthrow" your government, or other interference in the affairs of the United States.

Charges Against United States.

The same cannot be said of the allied governments, including the Government of the United States, in their attitude toward the government which I have the honor to represent. For the past two years the allied and associated governments have been actively engaged in direct and indirect efforts violently to overthrow the present Russian Government. These efforts have taken the form of widely organized propaganda within Russia, many allied governments fomenting plots against my government, distributing funds to elements in Russia plotting against it materially and morally supporting every group of Russian counter-revolutionary elements in their civil war against Soviet Russia, and actually organizing such groups.

Without a declaration of war against Soviet Russia, and without stating either the reasons for their attacks or terms on which such attacks would cease, the allied and associated governments have been employing armed forces against Soviet Russia, thereby compelling the Russian people to carry on a defensive war, which prevents them from concentrating their efforts on the economic rehabilitation of the country. These governments and their agents also are inciting neighbors of Soviet Russia to attacks, and actively plot against conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia on the part of such neighbor states who ardently desire an end to the present hostilities.

It is quite conceivable that such unprovoked attacks, coupled with a blockade of Russian ports, which causes untold suffering to the people, have created deep resentment in Soviet Russia against the aggressors—and that this resentment has often taken the form of appeals to the peoples of various countries, urging them to protest against the efforts of their governments to strangle the working people of Russia. At no time, however, has the Russian Soviet Government embarked upon a policy of interference with the internal politics of any allied country and especially in the affairs of the United States. It is an undeniable fact that Soviet Russia's attitude toward the United States, in spite of the implied hostility of the latter toward Soviet Russia—so much at variance with the promises of its good will—has been one of extreme patience and a desire of conciliation.

On various occasions the Russian Soviet Governments has expressed a readiness to offer the United States great economic advantages in preference to all other countries. While hundreds of citizens of Soviet Russia in the United States have been arrested and maltreated, in many instances for no other reason than that they have expressed their sympathy with the efforts of their home government to institute in Russia a system of economic and social freedom, American Citizens in Russia have been courteously treated in every respect, even in cases where their active hostility against the Russian Soviet Government was proven beyond doubt.

In only one case, concerning an American citizen, that of one Mr. Kalamatiano, in Moscow, was serious punishment resorted to, and that only because the said person was convicted of participation in plots directly aiming at the assassination of officials of the Russian Government and in a very serious concerted attempt forcibly to overthrow the Government of Soviet Russia. Prisoners taken in the struggles on the northern front in which American troops have participated have been treated exceptionally well, enjoying full liberty in the city of Moscow and being permitted at every feasible opportunity to leave the country without reciprocities. The property of American citizens in Russia who comply with the laws of the country, has not been molested and in every case where some complications have arisen in respect to such property the Soviet Government stands ready to recognize and restore all rights of American Citizens.

Ready to Come to Terms

On many occasions the Russian Soviet Governments has offered every honorable means to coming to terms with the United States Government, and is still ready to do so. It has repeatedly expressed its willingness to assume the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire toward other countries, and it is ready to enter into such agreements as effectively would safeguard the interests of the United States. It stands to reason that the desire on the necessity of Soviet Russia to maintain economic intercourse with this country in itself would be a sufficient guarantee for the fulfillment of such agreements, inasmuch as economic relations again might be severed in case of non-compliance with the agreements.

Mr. Phillips' statement that the establishment of trade rela-



tions with Soviet Russia would sustain the bolsheviks and their policy of political oppression seems to be quite a novel departure in international politics, inasmuch as it undertakes to determine what kind of government the people of Russia may establish.

By making this statement, the State Department is guilty of that very interference in the internal politics of another country of which it accuses the Russian Soviet Republic. It would be quite an analogous case if some country would refuse trade intercourse with the United States because the government of that country did not like the dominant political party in the United States.

Causes of Food Shortage

The implication that food and other material which may be bought by the Russian Soviet Government would be unfairly distributed among the population in Russia is entirely unfounded. While it is true that at the present time an acute shortage of food exists in Russia, as in all other European countries, partly due to the disorganization caused by the war, but mainly a result of the necessity to employ about 75 per cent of all constructive forces in the defense of the country against unprovoked attacks, and that this food shortage necessitates a strict rationing of food according to the social usefulness of each and every group of the Russian people, it is clear that such measures are the direct outcome of the policy of blockade and intervention, and that as soon as peace is restored with outside countries, the artificial food shortage will disappear and a free distribution of food and other supplies will be established. The alleged policy of "political oppression" on the part of the Russian Soviet Government also is ill suited as a basis for a denial of trade intercourse with Soviet Russia. An impartial investigation would show that the government of Soviet Russia affords an unusual degree of democratic control. Whatever restrictions of civil activities may be in force in Russia are again due to the fact that the country is compelled to conduct a defensive war on many fronts, and is threatened with disorder and plots deliberately fomented from the outside. For its safety's sake

it must maintain a degree of martial law, as would be the case in any other country in the world under similar circumstances.

Mr. Phillips' statement that the plan to supply Russia with food through the medium of the so-called Nansen Commission, failed because of unreasonable conditions made by the Soviet Government is entirely misrepresenting the facts. The testimony before the United States Senate Committee by Mr. Bullitt, who was an active party to these negotiations, places the blame for the failure squarely upon the Allies.

Alleged Lack of Information

It is unspeakably tragic that the policy of a great country like that of the United States, having a direct and vital bearing upon the lives of millions of men, women, and children, should be based upon such lack of information and misconception of the actual situation as are displayed in the statement of the State Department. It is also to be regretted that whatever inquiries have been made by official bodies in the United States into the conditions in Russia have been based mostly upon hearsay by highly prejudiced people, and have been just as inductive to a policy damaging all parties concerned.

There is nothing whatsoever in the conditions in Soviet Russia or in the activities of the Russian Government and its representatives abroad which we would not be ready to place before the closest scrutiny, and I feel confident that if such investigations are made in a spirit of real inquiry rather than pre-conceived hostility, there would be no thought of adopting such a policy toward Soviet Russia as suggested in the letter of the State Department. While Soviet Russia for her own material interests is anxious to establish economic relations with the United States, it is just as obvious that a very vital economic interest of the United States would demand the bringing about of peaceful and friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

May I also suggest that now that the Russian Soviet Government has been in existence for two years in the face of tremendous external opposition and great internal economic problems, and as at the end of these two years all expectations of a downfall of that government are more

utopian than ever before, the stability of my government has been fully demonstrated, as has been fully demonstrated the fact that it enjoys a more general support on the part of the Russian people than ever has been accorded any other government in that country.

I shall readily furnish whatever other information you may desire, and beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,

L. A. MARTENS,
Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

RELEASED

The C. L. P. officials, arrested in Cleveland and charged with violating the criminal syndicalist law while organizing a local of the party, were released, the judge holding that the evidence was insufficient to bind the defendants over to the grand jury.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The international news that is published in TRUTH is received from the Socialist Press of Great Britain and Ireland. If you care to subscribe to any of these papers, and if you can afford you should most certainly do so, below you will find their names, addresses and subscription price.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT PETROGRAD

The Feeling in Petrograd.

Captain Pettit, who was of the party which went to Russia with Mr. Bullitt, describes Petrograd as he saw it in March. The perusal of his description does not bear out the news paper harangues on the joy which the inhabitants feel at the approach of the armies of "liberation."

Report of Capt. W. W. Pettit. I left Petrograd on March 31st. During the past three weeks I have crossed the Finnish border six times and have been approximately two weeks in Petrograd. I have met Tchitcherin, Litvinov, and most of the important personages in the Communist Government of Petrograd (including Bill Shatov, chief of police).

Briefly, my opinion of the Russian situation is as follows: In Petrograd I presume the present Communist Government has a majority of the workingmen behind it, but probably less than half of the total population are members of the Communist party. However, my conclusions are based on conversations with not only Communists but also many opponents of the Communist Government, members of the aristocracy, business men, and foreigners, and I am persuaded that a large majority of the population of Petrograd if given a choice between the present Government and the two alternatives, revolution or foreign intervention, would without hesitation, take the present Government. Foreign intervention would unite the population in opposition and would tend to greatly emphasize the present nationalist spirit. Revolution would result in chaos. (There is nowhere a group of Russians in whom the people I have talked with have confidence. Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Trepov, the despicable hordes of Russian emigres who haunt the Grand Hotel, Stockholm; the Scythians House, Helsingfors; the offices of the peace commission in Paris; and squabble among themselves as to how the Russian situation shall be solved; all equally fail to find many supporters in Petrograd). Those with whom I have talked recognize that revolution did succeed in developing a strong Government, would result in a white terror comparable with that of Finland. In Finland our consul has a record of 12,500 executions in some 50 districts, out of something like 500 districts, by the White Guard. In Petrograd I have been repeatedly assured that the total Red executions in Petrograd and Moscow and other cities was at a maximum 3,200.

It may seem somewhat inconsistent for the Russian bourgeoisie to oppose Allied intervention, and at the same time fail to give wholehearted support to the present Government. They justify this attitude on the grounds that when the two great problems of food and peace are solved the whole population can turn itself to assisting the present regime in developing a stable efficient Government. They point to the numerous changes which have already been introduced by the present Communist Government, to the acknowledgement that mistakes have been made, to the case of securing introduction of constructive ideas under the present regime. All these facts have persuaded many of the thinking people with whom I have talked to look to the present Government in possibly a somewhat modified form as the salvation of Russia.

At present the situation is bad. Russia is straining every nerve to raise an army to oppose the encircling White Guards. That the army is efficient is demonstrated by the present location of Soviet forces who have contended with the Russian White Guard supported by enormous sums of money, munitions, and even soldiers from the Allies. Naturally, transportation is inefficient; it was horrible in the last year of the Czar's regime. Absolute separation from the rest of the world, combined with the chaotic conditions which Russia has passed through since the 1917 revolution, plus the sabotage, which until recently was quite general among the intelligent classes, including engineers, has resulted in a decrease in rolling stock. The transportation of the enormous army which has been raised limits the number of cars which can be used for food. The cutting off of Siberia, Finland, the Baltic Provinces, and until recently the Ukraine, made it

necessary to establish new lines of food transportation. Consequently there has been great suffering in Petrograd. Of the population of a million 200,000 are reported by the board of health to be ill, 100,000 seriously ill in hospitals or at home, and another 100,000 with swollen limbs still able to go to the food kitchens. However, the reports of people dying in the streets are not true. Whatever food exists is fairly well distributed and there are food kitchens where anyone can get a fairly good dinner for 3.50 roubles.

For money one can still obtain many of the luxuries of life. The children, some 50,000 of whom have been provided with homes, are splendidly taken care of, and except for the absence of milk have little to complain of. In the public schools free lunches are given the children, and one sees in the faces of the younger generation little of the suffering which some of the older people have undergone and are undergoing. Food conditions have improved recently, due to the suspension of passenger traffic and the re-taking of the Ukraine, where food is plentiful. From 60 to 100 carloads of food have arrived in Petrograd each day since February 18th.

It is needless for me to tell you that most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, immorality, are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors, or Stockholm. The horrible massacres planned for last November were first learned of in Petrograd from the Helsingfors papers. That anybody could even for a moment believe in the rationalization of women seems impossible to any one in Petrograd. To-day Petrograd is an orderly city—probably the only city of the world of its size without police. Bill Shatov, chief of police, and I were at the opera the other night to hear hallapine sing in Boris Gudnov. He excused himself early because he said there had been a robbery the previous night, in which a man had lost 5,000 roubles, that this was the first robbery in several weeks, and that he had an idea who had done it, and was going to get the men that night. I feel personally that Petrograd is safer than Paris. At night there are automobiles, sleighs, and people on the streets at 12 o'clock to a much greater extent than was true in Paris when I left five weeks ago.

Most wonderful of all, the great crowd of prostitutes has disappeared. I have seen not a disreputable woman since I went to Petrograd, and foreigners who have been there for the last three months report the same. The policy of the present Government has resulted in eliminating throughout Russia, I am told, this horrible outgrowth of modern civilization.

Begging has decreased. I have asked to be taken to the poorest part of the city to see how the people in the slums live and both the Communists and bourgeoisie have held up their hands, and said, "But you fail to understand there are no such places." There is poverty but it is scattered and exists among those of the former poor or of the former rich who have been unable to adapt themselves to the conditions which require everyone to do something.

Terrorism has ended. For months there have been no executions. I am told and certainly people go to the theatre and church and out on the streets as much as they would in any city of the world.

Still Serene

By George Str.

I've been laughed at, sneered at, jeered at, But I've answered with a smile. I've been scoffed at, snobbed at, stared at, But kept smiling all the while.

Sometimes my blood boiled in me, But I just cooled down and smiled; And many's the time I've hummed a tune,

To show I wasn't riled. Some taunts hurt more than others, And many I just passed by; But some cut keenly like a knife, Yet all I did was sigh.

I've never been discouraged, And I hope I never will; Tho' the sneers are deeply cutting, I believe in the Great Cause still.

And many a time these scoffs and snobs Have pierced me like a dart, And I thought I could hardly contain the sobs,

For they went clear through my heart.

REVOLUTION

The following striking article is taken from 'La Nouvelle Internationale' of September 27th. The paper is the organ of the Geneva Left Socialists (Communists), and in every way accepts the principles of the Bolshevik Revolution:

A proletarian revolution is not the work of a party but of the whole world of labour. That is why, when the opportunists tell us we are too few to inaugurate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the Revolution, they are affording us one proof more of their stupidity as far as social movements are concerned.

The formidable crisis through which we are still passing—it began in August 1914—is becoming more serious from day to day. For it is beyond all doubt a crisis, arising from the numerous antagonisms which rend society under the capitalist regime.

For about a century, periodically, crises of over-production have shaken the world's markets, and have had disastrous effects both amongst the capitalist classes and amongst the workers. At first these crises were very feeble, compared with what they became later; but as commerce and industry are developed, they become more important, and even imperiled the life of the whole of humanity.

The last crisis, and the most colossal, was that of 1914, which, as has been said, is not yet over; in fact, from day to day it becomes more serious. The powerless capitalist class cannot overcome the difficulties of the situation. Although Peace is signed, yet the nations do not resume commercial relations. It is sufficient to examine the rates of exchange in order to convince oneself: they are falling continuously. We are approaching at full speed the precipice which will swallow up all.

But then we are lost, you say. No, no, take heart, good people; there is a saviour—the proletariat. Millions of men do not let themselves perish so easily. These millions will one day—which may be very near desire to have done with the capitalist regime. Their instinct of self-preservation will drive them to rise against their capitalist oppressors. The latter are not able to establish a new social order, because their interests as a ruling class do not allow them to do so; all their privileges would be lost at a blow. It would be suicide. Yet a new social order has become imperatively necessary. The proletariat will install it, because it has no class interests to hold it back. It has no privilege to safeguard, but, on the contrary, a yoke to break.

The proletariat—millions of men—one day, and may be very soon, will come out into the street to make clear its will to have done with the capitalist regime, to manifest its will to live. This will be the Revolution. The communist will have the task of directing the movement. It will guide the Revolution, but it will not make it. Do you not feel all the stupidity of the Social-patriots when they declare that we are not numerous enough to inaugurate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the Revolution.

G. H.



BLAME THE I. W. W.

WAGE-CUTTING IN GERMANY

Capital Playing the Same Game There.

METAL WORKERS' FIGHT.

M. PHILIPS PRICE. Berlin, Oct. 18th. — The metal workers' strike in Berlin, which has been going on now for four weeks, and has affected over 100,000 workers, has some similarity with the British railway strike, for both were fought over the question of whether the big Capitalist interests shall entrench their after-war financial position by the systematic reduction of the workers' wages.

On the other hand, the strike affects only the Berlin area, and, in this respect, shows a certain backwardness of the German proletariat in comparison with our British comrades, in failing to make the movement general.

The Berlin metal workers only decided on a strike with great reluctance, and after realising that the tactics of the metal industrialists was to divide the ranks of the workers and isolate Berlin, which is the most progressive centre.

Wrangling over an Agreement.

Metal workers of the capital secured from the employers on August 21 the acceptance of a

new wage agreement, according to which five classes were established, with pay varying from 3 down to 2 marks per hour. But the metal industrialists, in order to nullify this agreement, began to re-classify workers, putting highly skilled men who had been hitherto in the first class down to the third class. Thus the moulders were reduced from a class where they had 2 marks 60 pfennings, and the same thing occurred with the pattern-makers and nearly every other grade.

The secretary of the Berlin Metal Workers' Union informed me last night that the union has now secured the co-operation of other sections of Labour, and can reckon on a long, determined struggle if the negotiations which began yesterday, under the auspices of the Labour Minister, break down.

The engineers and firemen, who have a separate union, are coming out in sympathy today, although they are not directly affected.

Soviet's Work in Factories.

Yesterday I saw a telegram from the German Metal Workers' Congress to the Strike Committee here promising the Berlin workers support which will ensure increased strike pay. This congress that met in Stuttgart, and shows a majority for the revolutionary elements. Thus the Metal Workers are the first German trade union to cut loose

Three Parties are right now seeking your support. Your support means added power. Each Party wants more power. To which party are you going to add strength?

You realize that alone you are helpless before the organized strength of the capitalist class. You know that you must join with your fellow workers to achieve your emancipation. You feel that ALL TOGETHER the workers are strong.

Which one of the three parties is your party? Which one is the best instrument for the expression of the principals and tactics you believe in? WHICH Party can you depend upon not to support the capitalist State and betray you when

the crisis comes? WHICH Party has the form of organization that gives YOU the best opportunity to express yourself and to function for your class? WHICH Party has the proper tactic to avoid becoming a mere sect under the control of a clique of leaders? WHICH Party has a policy that will result in a great workingclass movement, competent to achieve victory?

HERE THEY ARE—MAKE YOUR CHOICE

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY:

Accepts the principles of Communism. Affiliates with the Third International. Holds that employing class and workingclass have nothing in common.

Considers existing political state a rulingclass instrument, whose sham democracies are useless to the workingclass. Teaches that workers must develop their own power, abolish the existing political State and under their own dictatorship work out their problems.

Deems ballot box campaigns for this purpose of secondary importance. Makes the great industrial struggles its major campaigns.

Participates in political campaigns for purpose of propaganda. Has only ONE demand.—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. ONE slogan:—ALL power to the workers.

Propagandizes Industrial Unionism. Points out its revolutionary nature. Organizes shop committees. Actively helps to build the one big union.

Is the logical outgrowth of the revolutionary Left Wing Movement. Was started in obedience of the decisions of the Left Wing Conference and the mandates of the Old Party's revolutionary membership.

Starts without machine politics or clique control. Permits no autonomous Federations or groups. Develops highly centralized organization, capable of united action. Organizes its membership as ONE homogeneous mass, competent to meet the revolutionary situation.

Has a policy of INCLUSION. Constantly offers unity to all organizations that agree on the fundamental principles of Communism.

Has a nationwide organization, steadily growing in membership and power.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

Agrees with the Communist Labor Party on fundamental principles. (Not even the most orthodox C. P. member has yet denied this).

Different from the Communist Labor Party in ORIGIN, FORM OF ORGANIZATION AND POLICY.

Originated when the National Left Wing Conference refused to surrender itself to the complete domination of the Central Executive Committees of a few language groups.

Is the logical product of those that bolted from the Left Wing. Started as a THIRD Party by the Russian-Michigan group in violation of the decisions of the Left Wing Conference.

Began as a compromise between three political machines—the Michigan machine, the Russian Federation machine and the Fraima, Ferguson, Ruthenberg machine—under absolute clique control of "leaders".

Has practically autonomous Federations, each a complete Party within itself, whose Executive have power any time they please to split their federation away from the Party without action from rank and file.

Has no centralized organization, capable of meeting the revolutionary situation, but TWO heads, an Executive already at loggerheads with each other.

Builds its membership, not as one homogeneous mass, but as a loosely federated group of parties with nationalistic antagonisms, which must inevitably break apart.

Has a policy of EXCLUSION. Constantly refuses Unity Conference, since its officials are determined to perpetuate their clique control.

Can not now show one third of the membership of which it once boasted.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY:

Rejects the principles of Communism. Refuses to affiliate with the Third International.

Holds that employingclass and workingclass have some common interest in establishing "Freedom" and "Democracy".

Considers existing political State as a fit instrument through which the workingclass can emancipate itself. Teaches workers to place their faith in election of politicians, to secure "reforms" through the political State and establish Industrial Democracy by making a motion.

Deems political machinery all sufficient. Supports industrial organizations only to garner votes.

Has a multitude of "immediate demands." Continues its vote chasing tactics. Favors co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Balks at the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Antagonizes the I. W. W. Denies the revolutionary significance of Industrial Unionism. Caters to reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom.

Will inevitably dicker, deal and compromise with Liberal organizations, Labor Parties and Non Partisan Leagues for political pie.

Is controlled by reactionary leaders, who called the Chicago police to their support at the national convention, and who still pull the controlling wires that move the puppets with new names.

Has officials that openly voice hope that the Russian Revolution will not succeed, because it did not come by the "ballot box route".

Is the counterpart of the Kerenskys of Russia and the Scheidemanns of Germany, who turned the machine guns upon our Bolshevik and Spartacan Comrades.

Has lost nine tenths of its membership since last May.

DECIDE!!

If you still have faith in the palaver of politicians and distrust the workers on the job,—if you actually believe that the co-operative Commonwealth will spring full orbed from the ballot box,—if you are afraid to join hands openly with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International,—then stay where you belong—in the old Socialist Party.

If you are the kind of Communist that blindly follows leaders, organized in a little clique for Party control,—

if you are willing to waste your energies building a Party that has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction, if you are opposed to unity of all true Communist forces, then you should join the Communist Party, until experience teaches you its costly lesson.

But if you want a Party that is solidly based on Communist principles,—if you want a Party that is uncompromising in its revolutionary tactics and that at the same time has a form or organization and a policy that makes possible

the developing of a workingclass organization, militant and victorious,—then you should at once join the Communist Labor Party.

Do not delay. The laggard is lost. The compromiser is shoved aside. Make your choice. Take your stand NOW with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International. Become a member of the Communist Labor Party, and GET BUSY on the job among your fellow workers. That is the road to workers' power.

HOW DAN CAME OUT

By Arthur Siffleet.

Though but a railway porter, and not entitled to finer feelings, as Dan Marlow neared the station he hung his head. For once in his life he felt thoroughly ashamed.

Around the station gates stood groups of men, and above each group hung a cloud of tobacco smoke mingling with the sharp morning air. Hands in pockets and clattering their heels the men sucked their pipes and talked. Some argued loudly and occasionally a derisive laugh rang out, but most were serious and stared at the entrances with a moody and apprehensive air.

A loud cheer broke forth as some pickets wearing scarlet armbands stopped a would-be black-leg, who, after a short parley, turned aside with shamed faces into the growing crowd. Near the gates where men were being stopped the air was electric. The pickets were tactful and restrained, but round them surged excited men who glared with undisguised hate toward any who tried to enter.

"What cheer Dan?" The speaker was a jovial red-faced engine driver, who suddenly altered his expression. For he had seen Dan's bag, and said: "Why—you're—you're not going in?" Dan acknowledged the question with a nod and a smile, but would not argue. There was no need. Instead, he shouldered his way to the gate, where the picket, visibly surprised, said, "What you Dan?"

As they stood talking a low

murmur passed through the crowd. The strikers pressed closer, and at Dan's unflinching attitude the murmur swelled to a roar through which came shouts of "Play the game, Marlow." The faces of the two men moved as if in argument, but not a word could be heard above the din which rose to a crescendo of execration as Dan finally pushed through the gates. Through the bars, peeped enraptured men, yelling, "Scab! Dirty Dog! Black-leg!"

He paced along the platform, his eyes filling with tears. He felt within him a blind importunate frenzy against the whole world. His life had been one unending struggle with poverty. On a porter's pittance he had acquired his little home with arduous care; one thing at a time, now a chair, a blanket, or a carpet, now this article, now that.

For months past his youngest child had been ailing. Oils, tonics, patent-foods had swallowed an incredible number of precious quarters, but had failed to arrest the little one's decline. The old doctor shook his head and advised sadly, as doctors do when tendering their impossible advice to the poor (advice that is often a death-warrant) a complete change of air. So the child had grown frailer every day, fading away like a delicate flower too fragile to live.

Then came the attempt to cut wages, the threat of a strike, then the strike itself with the prospect of a few dollars strike-pay, perhaps for weeks. Dan had long foreseen and deeded a possible dispute, praying it might be averted, with the terrible alternatives it would present: his child or his class.

The day passed he knew not how. In his ears still rang the hoarse contemptuous cries of his mates. But far worse was the recollection of those in the crowd who had remained silent, merely fixing upon him glances of sad reproach.

The next day were waiting for him. All violence to black-

legs had been forbidden, but the strikers were bitter, for in these critical hours the welfare of a thousand poor homes was at stake. From a knot of youths came a well aimed stone, striking the side of Dan's cap; and a big fellow stepped out and struck him full on the jaw. To everybody's surprise Dan did not retaliate but walked to the gate, a thin stream of blood dropping in jerks down his face and disappearing down his neck. A man held up his hand and the desperate crowd fell back. He pointed to a crape band on Dan's sleeve and there went round the subdued crowd a whisper, "His kid's dead."

In silence, his heart almost bursting, he passed into work. Stupified with grief he could think of nothing, remember nothing, do nothing. The hours stole by swiftly and it was not till the afternoon that he came to himself by hearing a band. The strikers were demonstrating in the Square near by and, headed by a band, marched rhythmically in the autumn sun. The blue and red banners dipped and rose again, their simple mottoes in gold and silver blazing like lewises. Dan looked upon the strikers, his eyes dimmed with tears. At their steady tramp, tramp, tramp, he felt a glow, a sudden wave of emotion, of identity with his class; it rose up and overwhelmed him.

The men started to sing—the Red Flag.

"The people's flag is deepest red."

It shrouded off our martyred dead—"And in a flash he thought of the dead child at home—martyred if child ever was. With a living wage the child could have been saved. Poverty had murdered his boy—the poverty against which his comrades were fighting. At the refrain, "Then raise the scarlet standard high."

Beneath its shade we'll live and die," he could stand it no longer, and picked up his coat and walked out. "The London Call."

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Scientific Socialism

ITS REVOLUTIONARY AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

by WILLIAM PAUL.

(Continued.)

II.

Merchandise Not Men.

The Passing of Capitalism.

Capitalism is a social system based upon the private ownership of the means of wealth production. The means of production, while individually owned, are socially operated by the working class. Capitalism is solely a profit-making system. The great machinery of wealth production is utilised to produce commodities which are sold for profit. When profit is not forthcoming production ceases. The capitalist has no interest in the useful quality of the goods produced in his factory; the only thing that interests him is their selling quality, because profit is only realised after commodities are sold. Thus it matters nothing to the capitalist what the nature is of the commodity his capital is producing, or in what part of the world it is produced. The first and last essential of modern production is profit. Lord Rotherham, in discussing his financial affairs recently (Vide "Manchester Guardian," Oct. 31, 1917), stated that he had capital invested in England, Wales, France, Africa, Russia, Canada, Manchuria, and Japan. And the "Sunday Chronicle" (April 14, 1907) showed with what readiness British capital is prepared to assist German capital in its fight the German workers by providing English blacklegs.

Dunning has shown to what extent Capital is prepared to go in its endeavour to get profit. He says:—"Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit Capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent. will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent. will produce eagerness; 50 per cent. positive audacity 100 per cent. will make it readily trample on all human laws; 300 per cent. and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both." The function of Capital is to produce goods for profit. Capital will eagerly undertake to adulterate goods no matter how fatal such a procedure may be to the people who consume them. Adulteration is a legitimate method of competition according to free traders of the Cobden and Bright school. Many of the military expeditions of the British State have been undertaken at the behest of the profitmakers. The South African War was due to the profit lust of industrial magnates, like Cecil Rhodes, using the Chamberlains and Milners for their material interests. And statesmen readily promise the use of the whole power of the British State to back up the interests of Capital at home and abroad. The "secret treaties" of the European Imperialist States, published by the Russian Socialists, clearly show that the capitalist nations are fighting to extend the power of high finance and the interests of the large capitalists connected with the iron and mineral industries. We see, therefore, that Capitalism is organized in every channel of activity to maintain its existence as a profitmaking system. It will be peaceful and warlike; it will encourage free trade establish protection; it will municipalise, nationalize and trustify undertakings; it will institute "welfare" schemes and inaugurate an era of "social reconstruction"; it will do anything and everything in order to perpetuate profit-making. Goods are destroyed and harvests have been burned to keep up profits.

ANNOUNCEMENT

To the Western part of the City

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DULUTH, MINN.

George threatened to attack the "trade" and referred to drink as an enemy equally as dangerous as Germany, the political party of the liquor interests very soon quitted him.

Labour, it is true, has an economic organisation—the trades unions—to assist it to maintain the price of labour-power (wages). It also has a political body—the Labour Party—which, it is alleged, represents the interests of the workers. But whereas the political and economic organisations of the capitalist class have maintained and even increased profits, the trades unions and the Labour Party treacherously accepted the Munitions Acts and the various other legal enactments which prevented Labour from taking advantage of the law of supply to demand an increase in wages in keeping with rising prices. Thus while merchants were able to withhold goods from the market in order to force up prices the workers could not withhold their commodity (labour-power) from the market in order to raise its price. Where strikes took place on a large scale the leaders were arrested and deported, and they were insulted by the capitalist press.

It will be seen that anything that Labour gets, so far as the wealth of the Empire is concerned, can only be wrested from the grip of Capital by the power of organization. This is due, as our brief analysis has shown, to the fact that the wage-worker is not a free unit living in a free society. He is a wage slave. He is a commodity; a piece of merchandise bought and sold; in the factory he is known by a number; and he is generally referred to as a "hand".

III.

The Source of Profits.

When the worker enters the factory he creates values. He has no control over the wealth he produces. The worker is paid the price of his labour power (wages), and the commodities produced belong to the capitalist class. The worker has no more share in the goods he produces than the coal in the furnace or the machine that helped to make them. What the worker creates for himself are his wages. His wages are not determined by the price that the product of his labour realises when sold on the market. Indeed, the commodity produced by him may not be exchanged for months after he has received his wages. Here again we observe that there is no direct connection between what Labour receives in wages and the value of the commodities which Labour creates.

The capitalist class, however, gets wealthier every year. The surplus which is annually created is not created in exchange as many economists assert. One capitalist may swindle another capitalist, what the one gains the other loses. But that does not add to the value of the wealth in society. Besides, the capitalist class, as a class, cannot swindle itself. Swindling does not produce wealth. The continually swelling volume of wealth can only proceed from the source of all economic wealth—the application of labour to the resources of nature. Labour alone creates value. All surplus value, from which comes interest, and profit, represents the difference between what Labour receives in wages and what Labour actually produces. Every effort that the workers make to increase their wages means a decrease in the capitalist's surplus value. And every effort that the capitalists make to lower wages, lengthen the working day, or speed up production, are attempts at lowering the relative wages of Labour. The cheaper Capital can buy Labour the higher its profit; the higher Labour can push its price (wages) the lower profits. Thus between profits and wages there is an antagonism which in its turn produces the class struggle between Capital and Labour.

In order to maintain its profits, and thus safeguard its best interests, the capitalist class has organised itself economically in richly endowed masters' federations; it has control of the poli-

tical machine and dominates the State thus having the armed force of the nation at its service in order to keep the workers in subjection. Through its press and its educational institutions the capitalist class seeks to mould the opinions of the workers and to implant in their minds ideas which will make for the perpetuation of wage slavery and exploitation. We will show later how the workers must organise in order to combat the power of the capitalist class. The organisation of Labour will have to operate to cover the following avenues of activity:—(1) political, (2) industrial, (3) education and the press.

IV.

Social Defence.

Capitalism has entered its period of decadence. Every social system, like every organism, sets in motion the elements of its own destruction. Social systems pass into the stage of dissolution the moment they breed contradictions which hamper economic evolution. By that test modern Capitalism is doomed. It is now a system socially perverted. And every new phase it passes into adds to the contradictory elements which are breaking it up.

In producing wealth men and women work in a co-operative and social way. The production of the most elementary commodity requires the social labour of continents. An ordinary breakfast table contains the products of the two hemispheres. So interlocked is the Labour of the various nations that isolation spells destruction. This alone demonstrates the social character of the modern process of wealth production. But while wealth is socially produced it is individually appropriated. Here, then, is the most glaring contradiction inherent within Capitalism. Capitalism is transforming the world in its own image. China and many so-called "backward" countries are speedily coming within the vortex of Capitalism. This development shows that modern industry is fundamentally international in character. But while the economic process is international, Capitalism, due to its competitive nature, breeds the narrow and intolerant spirit of nationalism. This is caused by the fact that the capitalist class of the various nations, in seeking profits in foreign markets, have to depend upon their national States with its force of arms, to back them up. While each State swears by its own nation, the contradictory nature of Capitalism asserts itself by revealing that each of the nations, through imperialism, try to function internationally. The imperialist aim of Germany, Britain, America, etc., is for their particular nation to become a world-wide nation—that is, to have an international empire which will exclude all other nations. It is a sheer contradiction to attempt at having an international nation or a national international. The dynamic power behind imperialism is the class interests of each group of nationalist capitalists trying to capture the international trade routes, and to dominate the international iron and mineral resources. But all this only proves that the international nature of the economic forces is breaking up the present national basis of political society. And in the measure that Capitalism tends to become more international; in the measure that "backward" nations become capitalised and intensify competition in the same measures will the nations develop a fanatical nationalism in order to meet world-wide competition. This imperialist tendency within each of the nations will strengthen the despotic role of the State, which will become more powerful as a weapon of militarism to guard the nation's profits abroad and to control the nation's workers at home. Thus Militarism is the buttress of Capitalism. All this is implied in the sinister language adopted by capitalist diplomats when they refer to the capitalist states as—Pow-

ers.

The contradictory aspect of Capitalism is obvious in the many commercial crises which take

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place. Due to the phenomenal productive power of international social labour, wealth is produced much faster than society can consume it. This is because the workers receive only a portion of the wealth they create in the shape of wages. In the ratio that machinery is introduced and the quicker wealth is produced, so in the same ratio the workers are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. Machinery is never introduced unless it is cheaper than the labour it displaces. But with the introduction of machinery a greater number of commodities must be produced. Thus the tendency within Capitalism is for the production of greater and ever greater quantities of wealth to take the place side by side with a decreasing number of workers. In other words, greater production due to the improvements of industrial technique, creates an increased number of unemployed. Hence, as machinery produces greater quantities of commodities the capitalist class requires ever more purchasers. But just because machinery has displaced workers who cannot purchase, the markets get glutted and the workers starve. In this way over abundance causes hunger and privation.

And the more rapidly Capitalism expands, the greater the productivity of the world's workers aided by a continually improving industrial technique, the faster will commercial crises follow each other. Capitalism is, indeed, rushing towards a chronic crisis. Commercial crises prove that the product of social labour is so great that it is strangling society. Therefore Capitalism is being destroyed by the logical development of its own economic forces.

Revolutionary Socialism, realising that Labour creates all economic wealth, contends that the only solution for the social problem is to be found in the reorganisation of society upon the basis of the social ownership of the means of wealth production. This plan is neither based upon emotion nor sentiment. It is based upon economic necessity. It is a scientific proposition. Since wealth is socially owned and controlled. Until that is done Capitalism will stagger from one contradiction to another; from one crisis to a worse one; from one conflict to an ever fiercer one. Labour as the creator of all



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economic wealth demands the control of its product. To facilitate this end, Revolutionary Socialism has outlined the ways and means whereby the International Republic of Labour may be inaugurated. The importance of outlining the tactics and policy of Socialism has not been sufficiently emphasised in the past.

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DEAD AUSTRIA

The Summer of 1919—A Journey To Vienna

By Madeleine Z. Doty
"We are done for. It makes no difference whether we sign the peace treaty or not."
These are the words uttered on every hand by rich and poor, radical and conservative, in city and country of Austria.

The moment the Soviet frontier is crossed the tragedy is visible. There are but two fast trains a week. A desperate hungry mob hurries to Switzerland, and is hurriedly shipped back. The bi-weekly trains are packed, first class as well as third. I sat on my luggage in the train corridor. Hundreds were going the same. To move in or out was impossible. At 8 p. m., after an all day's journey, we reached Innsbruck.

Innsbruck was under Italian military control. Yet the Austrians didn't hate the Italians. The Italians brought a little food. The hotel porter said: "I don't care who is in control, as long as we have food, and it isn't the Prussians."

In the morning my breakfast consisted of imitation coffee and imitation marmalade. There was no sugar, no bread, no butter, and no other food to be had until noon. At one o'clock the way train left for Salzburg. On the way to the station a transured box of cigarettes was stolen. Everybody steals food and tobacco.

The "personen zug" did not reach Salzburg until nine in the evening. The plush had been cut off the seats for clothes. The leather straps were gone from the windows. There was no way to open them. Opposite me was a man from Germany. He told me conditions were worse in Austria than in Germany. "If you have enough money you can buy anything," he said, "but the working people are starving."

The Boy and the Chocolate
At the stations barefooted children crowded under the train window. They begged, not for pennies, but bread. "Brot," "Bitte brot," was the cry. One of the few pieces of Swiss chocolate I was allowed to bring through I gave to a small boy. He grabbed it quickly, gave a swift look, and hid it furtively in his blouse. He didn't thank me, he didn't look at me; he moved off and tried to appear unconscious, his hand clasped over his shirt front. When he thought no one was looking he put a tiny crumb in his mouth. Yes, it was the real thing. It was as though I had given him a gold piece instead of a penny, and he feared I would discover my mistake. He glanced at me once out of the corner of his eye. He couldn't believe his luck. Then he turned and ran, ran with abandon and recklessness, his hand still clasped over the treasure.

At nine the train pulled into Salzburg. The streets were empty, only a few lights glimmered. A hollow-cheeked concierge greeted me at the hotel. Next morning, early I threw open my blinds. A thin stream of people was moving across the bridge over the river, children on their way to school, women with little baskets on their arms. The children didn't hop or run. They emaciated little legs moved listlessly. They smiled at each other and talked in soft low voices. The women were shabby and angular. Many were

mothers, but they had neither hips nor breasts. They had given their nourishment to the children...

Skeletons at Play
I walked out through the streets. Thin streams of people moved about like sick flies. Children released from school tried to play, but rickety legs wouldn't hold them up. They ran a few steps and panted for breath. One small boy climbed a tree. There was no flesh on him. I could see the skin bones and knee caps. I had the weird sensation a skeleton had escaped from a museum. The bones dug into the tree. Other children paused with pallid faces and racking coughs.

On the way back to the hotel I stopped at a couple of cafes. Sunken-eyed men and women sat huddled over glasses of water. They had crawled out to see life. Pitifully they gulped down imitation tea, coffee, and chocolate. It eased the inside ache. Then they sat on at the little tables sipping water. The cool water bloated the stomach, and for a minute there was relief.

At the hotel the concierge gave me the food allowance. It was one ounce of bread a day, four ounces of meat a week, one pound of sugar a month. But the poor frequently couldn't afford their rations. They sold their portion to hotel proprietors, who, in turn, sold to the rich.

There was no train from Salzburg that day, but there was an Allied express that dashed through Austria on its way to Rumania. It reached Salzburg at 3 a. m. After considerable difficulty I succeeded in boarding it...

At six we reached Linz. Like Innsbruck and Salzburg it was utterly dreary. My breakfast consisted of imitation tea and a piece of lemon. The lemon came from Italy...

At nine o'clock I started on an all-day's trip on the Danube to Vienna. It was Sunday; the little "Dampshiff" was crowded. At every stop more people came on board. They all carried rucksacks. But they were not walking parties or holiday seekers. Each man, woman, and child had a deadly purpose. They were out in search of food. At every farm they halted. Maybe an extra egg had been laid, or a cow had given a little more milk than usual, or a pig had been slaughtered. It was on such a chance that the starving city people had come into the country...

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Vienna
It was growing dark when we reached Vienna. All the hotels were full of rich Hungarians and Austrians. The hotels ere in touch with smugglers. For enormous prices one could live in them with some comfort. After a long search I got a room in a third-rate hotel called the "Goldnes Lamb."

In the morning I was ravenously hungry. When my breakfast came it consisted of imitation bread. I say imitation bread for it was made from a field flower called kokles, which has little or no nourishment. In a few hours this bread grows as hard as a stone, and is utterly impossible to eat. I remembered my Swiss chocolate, and ordered some hot water. With the warmth of a cup of chocolate I felt better. I had hardly finished when a young American journalist came to call. She literally tottered across the room and flopped upon the bed. "I've been in this town five days," she said, "and I get weaker every day. I can hardly crawl around." Her face was white; there was no mistaking the effect of lack of food. Braced by a little chocolate, we started forth. But I had forgotten my umbrella and turned back. As I opened the door I saw the servant maid was leaning over my breakfast tray. She had poured the hot water into my cup and was mixing it with a few remaining grains of chocolate sediment. She drank this ravenously. I turned away. I didn't want her to see me. But all Vienna was in the same plight...

For Austria has been dismembered and squeezed and crushed. Statistics in the Mayor's office show that of a population of 500,000 children, 400,000 are badly underfed. For three months America was to give aid, but those three months are past. Much of the food sent was seized by gamblers and speculators and sold to the rich. Now there is nothing. Children, whose bones are only rubber, cease to walk, then to crawl, and at last lie panting upon the bed. So a nation dies, and the world goes on, and we talk of great deeds.

Stricken Child-Visitors to Switzerland
The arrival in Switzerland of the famished Austrian children is described by a correspondent in the following message—
The station platform at Lausanne was shining with moisture, the air as it blew from the mountains was raw and cold.
Suddenly a long train appeared, as if it were from out of space, and drew into the station. One or two women with the Red Cross on their uniforms sprang briskly out.
After them, slowly and languidly, flowed a wave of almost phantom little ones—Switzerland's child visitors from Vienna.

A tiny toddler was weeping with fatigue. An elder girl—she might have been eight or ten years old—was comforting her, bending towards the whimpering face lined and sunken like the face of a weary old woman. Finding this consolation unavailing, she attempted to pick the little creature up in her match-life arms, but the effort was too much, and she set her down, shaken by a gust of coughing.
Before the Confectioners
The little army formed itself up and marched silently and painfully out of the station into the street flanked by well-filled shops. Presently they passed a confectioner, from which a smell of baking emerged, and whose windows were gay with sugared dainties.
With one accord they stopped and gazed, their eyes hungry and yet sad, like the eyes of a dog that has been constantly beaten.

Census Shows Transport Federation Has Passed 110,000 Mark—Food Producers Join.

Dublin, Nov. 17.—Any one who reads the inspiring report of a census just completed by the Irish Transport Workers' Union cannot fail to observe that this powerful federation of workers, while technically a union merely of laborers in the transport business, is virtually becoming the One Big Union of Ireland.

The census reveals the fact that the union has already surpassed the 110,000 member mark, and that it embraces not only the 17,198 transport and fuel workers, but also 28,911 men and women in the industries, 58,940 workers engaged in one way or another in the production of food, and 5,703 miscellaneous workers, the latter including clerks, school teachers, shop assistants, civil servants, theater employees, etc.

In fact, the number of laborers engaged in the production of food which have joined the transport workers is far in excess of any other class of workers, outnumbering even the transport workers themselves by a ratio of three to one.

These food laborers include agricultural workers, gardeners, seedsmen, dairy workers, herders, drovers, bakers, factory employees, butchers, jam makers, grocers, bakers, hotel workers, brewery workers, etc.

Among the industries represented in this great union are the building trades (3,259 members), timber mills (2,800), ironworkers and foundries (1,112), manure workers (1,039), casual laborers (7,039), tradesmen (1,773), besides many whose total membership affiliated with this union falls short of the 1,000 mark, such as quarrymen, stone cutters, textile workers, bottle makers, tanners, printers, gas workers, carpet makers, glove makers, etc.

Kolchak Government Rushes Transfer of Center To Irkutsk

Official Bureaus Abandon Omsk as Soviet Army Advances Unchecked.

London, Nov. 10.—The government of Admiral Kolchak is rushing the transfer of its headquarters from Omsk to Irkutsk, according to reports received here from Vladivostok.

Many of the government bureaus are on their way already, the reports say. The general staff has decided to stick to Omsk till the last minute. The population of the city does not seem to be perturbed by the change in governments.

The advance of the Russian Soviet republic forces toward Omsk continues unchecked, the Soviet forces having occupied Petropavlovsk after a brisk encounter with Siberian forces.

The Soviet troops have occupied Fastoff, near Kiev, according to a Soviet report sent out from Moscow by wireless, indicating an advance upon Kiev from both sides of the Ukraine.

FROM "GAY VIENNA"

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POLAND'S DISGUST

Words, But No Cash, From Allies

From a Correspondent
Warsaw, October 21.—The movement for the liquidation of all petty wars and towards internal consolidation is gaining ground.

After the declarations of Bilinski and Paderewski that the Entente while insisting on Poland continuing the war with the Soviet does not financially assist the Polish Treasury, which is spending on this folly the appalling sum of half a milliard marks monthly—after this revelation even the hottest protagonists of the Russian war began to cool down.

Paderewski arrived here from Paris the other day, and will soon have to confront an expectant House which he cannot but disappoint. Rumour has it that he was not able to do anything with the "statesmen" in Paris and London, whose perfect ignorance and helplessness in face of the whole Eastern question is destroying any civilization there is left between the Vistula and the Urals.

One salutary effect, as far as Poland is concerned, these tergiversations of Paris will certainly have: the country, thrown back on its own resources, will speedily put an end to war and try to arrange its disputes with its neighbors.

Soviet's New Peace Offer
I hear that Tchitcherine, the Soviet Foreign Minister, has made a new offer of peace, and of this I had confirmation the other day from a well-informed person, who stated that the Military Committee of the Seyn has already appointed a sub-committee to prepare armistice conditions with a view of opening up peace negotiations with Soviet Russia.

That will certainly influence the Baltic States, with whom Poland seems to be in a kind of unofficial alliance, to act speedily after her example.

And there is at least the possibility that Poland by an alliance with the Baltic States—of which much talk is going on here—and into which Ukraine might be invited, will be able to bring the whole "block" into peaceful relation with Russia, be it even a Soviet one.

London Daily Herald.

WHAT IF LENIN GOES DOWN?

Only the Beginning of Fresh and Worse Troubles

MR. GOODE'S CONCLUSIONS

Mr. W. T. Goode's account of Bolshevik Russia—the fullest and the most dispassionate that has yet been published—has been brought to an end in the "Manchester Guardian."

All competent observers (writes Mr. Goode in reviewing his conclusions) must have seen that a spirit has been abroad in the world for many years which both threatened and promised much. In Russia this has taken since the revolution the form of Bolshevism, which seems to me a purely experimental effort, but a very remarkable one.

The Bolsheviks have not succeeded in establishing Communism, because circumstances have proved too strong for them, but it does not follow that any other form of government, imposed of Russia from the outside, would be more successful.

"And (adds Mr. Goode), though I hold to brief for Bolshevism, I am forced to recognize that of the Governments in Russia since March, 1917, it is the one which has lasted longest, done most, and has shown the greatest capacity for government."

"Incredible" Labour of Red Leaders
The Bolshevik leaders (he adds) are idealists, and have been working with almost superhuman energy to realize their ideal.

These men are sincere, and though sincerity may be an attribute of a criminal as well as of a saint, so much must be admitted, for great play has been made in the West of stories of their self-seeking, their orgies, their personal ambition, all of which are without foundation. The reality is a simplicity of life and manners joined to an incredible amount of work which make the stories highly discreditable. I say nothing about methods; I merely state facts. They have improved the condition of workmen in pay, hours of labour, employment of leisure, and general conditions, quite out of all recognition.

For the land they have a real policy: If one grants their principles, one can see that they acted swiftly and with effect. They employed expropriation, certainly, but they distributed the land to those who could and would work it, not in a haphazard fashion, but with the usual Bolshevik minuteness of organization necessary for carrying out so stupendous a proposal.

Hooliganism Repressed
In Moscow, other towns, and the countryside where I went, they have maintained order and security, and though in Moscow the methods they adopted to put down hooliganism and indiscriminate robbery and insecurity were extremely drastic, they have, at any rate, been successful.

In education they have been acting with wide vision and producing good results. Their provision for national hygiene medical service, the endowment of motherhood, and especially for the care of children, are far-sighted, and show a full realization of the responsibility of the State in these respects.

In the crucial matter of the food of the country they have, however imperfectly, maintained a supply to all parts of Great Russia against difficulties of transport—caused largely by the necessary military and other services—that are almost incredible.

In regard to the small nations which have broken away from the old Russian Empire, the Bolsheviks are the only people out of all those contending in Russia who have unequivocally declared their willingness to recognize the independence of these peoples.

Though I do not believe that the Bolsheviks as a body are out to kill, yet they have killed, and their use of the two Revolutionary Courts has given rise to excesses in the past and offers openings for future abuses.

"Atrocities-mongering"
But during the last period the attempts at regulating these courts have been stronger and more determined. Atrocities-mongering is no argument, and my personal investigations into the state of affairs in Finland, after the civil war, and my

knowledge of what has happened on the southern and western fronts under Denikin, Petlura, and the Poles, have taught me that in this respect there is little to choose between "White" and "Red".

It should be remembered that with the destruction of the Bolshevik Government, should that occur, spiritual Bolshevism is not destroyed. The setting up of a form of government perhaps in some degree ostensibly democratic, but really renewing the vices of the old machine, which is the great fear not only of revolutionary Russians, but of the growth of this spiritual Bolshevism.

When that is added to the feeling among workers and peasants of the loss of what Bolshevism really brought them, it is not difficult to see here the seeds of a fresh and more acute outbreak of trouble.

What if Kolchak Wins?

The probable effect of the action of the Allies is a difficult question, and I can but state the conclusions to which my six months' work in the Baltic Provinces has driven me. In Russia there are two sections of the population at any rate who have gained very largely through Bolshevism. The first is the industrial working class, the second is the lower section of the peasants.

To me it is impossible to conceive that these two sections of the population—and they are immense—will quietly consent to give up all the new regime has brought them. On the contrary, I fear that any attempt to deprive them of it will bring disaster. If Kolchak and Denikin reinstate the officials of the old regime and restore the former conditions of landowning, then their success, provided it arrives, will be but the beginning of their real troubles.

A Criminal Blockade

Famous Frenchmen Protest

Seventy of the best-known authors and scholars in France, among them Anatole France, Georges Duhamel, Henri Barbusse, and Victor Marguerite, have signed the following impressive protest against the blockade of Russia:—

"A great country, unfortunate, ravaged, exhausted by foreign and internal war, is about to know suffering even more intense than those which have hitherto overwhelmed it: Russia is to see itself surrounded by a criminal, unexampled, and inexcusable blockade.

"Millions of innocent beings, who cannot always even understand the cause of their own profound distress, though they are none the less tortured by it, are to experience more bitterly than ever before hunger, and all the material and moral disaster which follow in the train of hunger.

"To achieve this inhuman end, the Governments of the Allies have made common cause with their enemies of yesterday, and have not hesitated to put pressure on neutral countries.

"We protest with all the strength of our hearts and souls against an act which is unworthy both of the conscience of humanity in general and of the traditions of our own country in particular."

Shootings Mark Soviet Celebrations In Italy

People Shot at Milan and Genoa—Editor of Avanti Attacked.

ROME, Nov. 9 (delayed).—Clashes between the Arditi and Socialists throughout Italy marked the second anniversary of the Russian revolution, according to dispatches today.

Several persons were shot and many arrested at Milan and Genoa. At Genoa soldiers dispersed paraders carrying red flags.

A demonstration at Florence ended in rioting. Many were arrested. Disorders lasted through the night, when former Deputy Reimondos attempted to hold a meeting at San Remo. Serrati, editor of the Socialist newspaper, Avanti, at the head of a Socialist group near a theater where Reimondos attempted to speak, was attacked by a mob. Police attacked the rioters, wounding several persons, including a Lieutenant Monax.

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EDITORIALS

DON'T FORGET!

Every comrade worth while will make it a duty to be at the meeting next Sunday evening at the Woodman Hall. We must not lie down. We will not lie down. Comrades, let us show to the workingclass that there are some workers that refuse to allow others to do their thinking for them and who have the manhood and womanhood to call their souls their own.

If our meetings are broken up, due to our inactivity, do not start crying after the milk is spilt. Let us turn out in full force and carry on our meetings. Let us refuse to allow a few irresponsible young men to break them up. Above all things let us be real men and real women with red blood in our veins.

Be on time and that means be at the Woodman Hall before 8 o'clock. There will be good speakers and also plenty of amusement, music, singing etc.

LEST WE FORGET!

Six years ago in Calumet, Mich., seventy-two miners and their wives and children, lost their lives. The miners, with their wives and children, were packed into the Italian Hall, Calumet, celebrating Xmas. When suddenly someone shouted FIRE! Immediately there was a rush for the door and in that rush, many were trampled to death.

Last Sunday evening, in the Woodman Hall, as the orchestra was playing the Funeral March of the Russian Revolution and the picture of the Red Funeral was being shown upon the screen, the lights were shut off. Inside the hall, every available seat and space was occupied. Outside there were at least five hundred who had been turned away. What might have been another Calumet affair, was averted by the splendid actions of the police and the Duluth Scandinavian Band. The shutting off of those lights was the act of an irresponsible group, that thinks that because they have donned the uniform they are going to boss this town. Inside that hall were many soldiers who had been in trenches and they were with the Scandinavian Local and if we had not had children in the hall, we would have taken the whole bunch from the East End and spanked them. If would be a shame to really hurt them, if might spoil that fungus growth on their upper lip they call a moustache.

The action of last Sunday was a result of a meeting of the Elks, Rotary Kitchi Gammi and Commercial Clubs and the American Legion. They have a kind of an idea that all they need to do is to say the word and we will all fall down and worship them. We are made of sterner material than that. We are now going to accept the advice of Patrick Henry, when he said:—

"If we wish to be free,—if we mean to preserve inviolable those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending,—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall have obtained,—we must fight; I repeat it, Sir, WE MUST FIGHT!"

From now on, members of the Elks, Rotary, Kitchi Gammi and Commercial Clubs we are going to fight. We have been content to divide on things that did not really matter, but the action of last Sunday has been the means of uniting us and gentlemen of the leisure class we accept the challenge you throw down. You talk about law and order, yet you were prepared to have seen women and children trampled to death, in order that the people might know the truth about things that are going on in Russia and other civilized countries. It is you that talked about violence and force, yet in all the strikes that have ever taken place, it has been you and your kind that ran to the State or the Government and asked for soldiers, so that you could compel the workingclass to submit to your tyrannical ruling. You are the select people of society. We should look upon you as an example, worthy of attention. You are the educated people. In you lies the hope of future prosperity. In you all civilization is embodied. It is you that gave us all Art and Literature. It was you that stood for a better world, due to your efficiency. You were the guardians of the public peace. All those that opposed your will were accused of being murderers, bombthrowers, dynamiters etc. and many have been falsely accused and today they are either in their graves or in prison. Your class in August 1914, threw the whole world into a war, in which over fourteen million workers' lives were snuffed out. In a week all your boasted love for peace, your love of art and science were prostituted and you even spat upon those that you had urged to follow the example of the Prince of Peace. Beside the violence of the world war, all the blood shed in strikes, is but a small pool beside the mighty oceans. You have proven that you cannot carry on society. So let us warn you that the armies that went out at your commands are home again. They have resolved that no more at YOUR bidding will they turn their homes into ashes. They are going to stop all wars and in their minds they are putting away hatred of their fellow workers of other countries. They realise that as workers, no matter where we are born, we have one common interest and that is, to supplant the rule of shirker and take control of industry. The workingclass are going to rise and rise again, until at last the world is free.

Fools are they that seek to suppress movements by deporting the representatives of those movements. We

only represent the men and women who support us. If they withdraw their support, then we are like a ship without a rudder. You can never induce them to withdraw their support, because they know that TRUTH stands for the workingclass. When you failed to drive us out of town, you sought to buy us with large advertising, but you had reckoned without your host. We are not in the market for the sale of principles. We are here and we intend to stay here. Some workers think that you are really smart people, but behind all your talk and your actions, there is stored the incompetence of the ages. You are but whited-sepulchres. Someday we will tear away the curtain that covers up your misdeeds and when you stand naked before society, the workingclass will then realise that they are the people upon whom the world depends. We shall send the searchlight of TRUTH into your factories and offices and in the hour when the test is made, you will be found wanting.

The world war came and you saw in that war, not a war of ideals. Democracy to you was a catchphrase to delude the masses with. War meant to you huge blood-red war profits. It meant to you that every suit, pair of shoes and guns etc. that the soldiers needed, the manufacture of those things meant profit for you. You knew that even the bandages of the Red Cross and the coffins that our dead comrades were buried in, these things meant profit also. There is not one commodity that was used in the war, but does not bear the stain of your greasy paw. Yet you have the audacity to urge the boys, that you exploited, to suppress our movements. Rest assured that the soldiers who came back from France are thinking and they are obtaining their ideas from what they endured. Soldiers are saying strange things these days and YOU KNOW IT. You seek to fool the soldier by throwing the blame on to the radical unionist, the industrial unionist and the Communist. You may succeed for a short time, but the hour of disillusionment approaches, when those that you fooled will become wise to the nature of your schemes. What are you going to do then? As we stated before you saw in the war a chance to make profits. You grabbed and grabbed and you finally over-reached yourselves. Today your financial system is steering for the rocks and blind as you are you cannot see this, and so you go on your way and someday your system will be smashed, before your very eyes. Laugh and call us a foolish dreamer, but will you laugh when you realise the truth? Did you ever stop to think that you cannot blow up billions of dollars of wealth and then expect that there would be no day of reckoning. Read what Herman Cahn, one of America's foremost economists, writes about the financial system:—

The War—Birth Deliverer.

The governments are making supreme, though unconscious, efforts to prepare the world, through social regulation of production and consumption, for the impending transformation of the political form of social organization into the industrial form. The political form has been adequate for individualistic production, even when, with the development of capitalism, production took on an entirely social aspect. Money was the indispensable tool to make this evolution possible in a fundamentally individualistic society. When society becomes an organism, conscious of being such, the necessity of money disappears at once. Or to reverse the statement, when the category of money is destroyed through the operation of some economic law, the commodity-producing society and its organic form, the political state, disappear at once, and Socialism, organized industrially, arises spontaneously.

Such appears to be the inevitable immediate outcome of a continuation of the war for the comparatively short time necessary, at the present and steadily growing cost, to insure the mechanical collapse of capitalism. There remains for us now only to take a prospective of the condition in which capital, the controlling element of society, would find itself, should the Socialists or financiers, or any other group, succeed in bringing about immediate peace.

In spite of deterioration of the machinery of production and transportation during the war; in spite often of scarcity of raw and accessory materials, and the withdrawal of the most efficient mental and manual workers from industry, the general productive efficiency has been materially heightened by centralization and co-ordination of effort through government control. It was possible to reach and maintain the maximum of production attainable under existing technical conditions, because production was carried on for the direct purpose of consumption by an insatiable and spendthrift customer. This maximum is not likely to be exceeded, or even equalled, when profit becomes the object of the buyer of the goods, when this profit must be paid out of current income, instead of by I. O. U.'s on the future. More likely will production decrease.

Then will the smaller mass of commodities still be confronted, and their price be expressed, by the existing and undiminished mass of tokens. Depreciation makes another step forward, prices rise further. Usually the rising tendency of prices has induced contracts for future delivery of goods, and thus has inaugurated an industrial boom. But this time speculation is nipped in the bud by the extreme scarcity of loanable capital. Therefore, the sum of tokens now will suffice for peace time circulation, and the war time pressure on the banks, when the growing circulation requirement necessitated their constant issue of new notes, relaxes.

But the pressure does not cease altogether. Whatever the sum of depreciated tokens, it always will be required for the circulation, allowing merely for a portion to remain in banks during a technically necessary time. The percentage of reserves against the huge deposits must, therefore, remain perilously small, unless the banks are able to reduce the deposits materially. Now, we know that it is only the bank-made credit money which is subject to being reduced. Its cancellation can be ef-

fect only by means of profit originated money of account. In other words, it takes new profit accumulation in money form to pay off the bank loans. The wastage of war cannot be made to count for nothing through mere financial hocus-pocus; the wastage must be replaced by productive labor, namely, that part of the latter which is appropriated by the capitalists.

In the three years of war bank-made credit money and fictitious profit-originated money has been issued at the rate of nine times the ante bellum profit accumulation in money form. That means that nine times three years, or 27 years, are necessary to pay off the debts of the bondholders to the banks, and to cancel the fictitious profits (really only gains) by the necessary losses. This period might be shortened in individual cases by extra profits, the conversion of merchandise stocks into money and the sale of the securities. But none of these things is possible on an extensive scale, and nothing can shorten the average time.

For, since the deposits can be diminished only very gradually, relief to the banks from this direction (prompt relief from diminished circulation requirement was mentioned above must be equally slow. Therefore, the banks will continue to remain in a precarious condition. They may be able to drag along for a number of years by resuming the issue of additional paper money, whenever their funds give out, in spite of the reduced mass of commodities. Thus they once more enter the vicious circle, with little hope of ever escaping from it. The only possibility of rising out of the death swamp of depreciation lies in a rapid increase in the mass of commodities by a demand for them. For this, however, there exists little chance for many years to come for the following reasons:

First—The banks cannot entertain any thought of adding to their outstanding credit money. This circumstance alone prevents an industrial revival. But the whole truth is, that there will exist practically no loan capital of any kind. Dismissing all idea of continuing the accustomed and, according to Marxian economics, necessary industrial expansion, the industrial capitalists will have enough trouble merely to make both ends meet. Their profit accumulation in money form, on the pre-war scale, already is pledged for many years for the redemption of their bank loans. None of it can serve as loan capital. The merchants, whose capital normally relieves the productive capital, expect to realize on their investments in order to put back the money in its former channel. But where is this money to come from?

Next, it might be suggested that more profit would be accumulated in money form by accumulating less in means of production. Supposing that the aggregate profit equals ante bellum years, then this is precisely what must be done—not to lend wings to capitalism, but to allow it to walk on crutches. For out of the additional funds so gained, at the expense of industrial advancement, must be paid the merchants' capital, supposed to have been only temporarily invested, and now needed; the renovation of plant, the worse for wear and partly obsolete through new discoveries; and taxes, greatly increased compared to former times.

As stated, all this is predicted on the former scale of profits. The prospect of its materialization is not, however, very flattering with the industrial capitalists expected to operate without borrowed money, and with 30,000,000 men back from the war with impaired productive capacity, but accustomed to liberal consumption.

The competitive struggle will be sharpened. Some industrial capitalists are bound to progress, but more of them than ever before will fall by the wayside. The sale of the government bonds among their assets, together with the sale of merchants' bonds, the very high rate of interest which any loanable money commands—all depress the stock exchanges. The securities in which the banks have invested their own capital, shrink in value. Even in the spring of 1917 the loss of value of the securities dealt in on the London Stock Exchange was estimated at \$3,500,000,000 since the beginning of the war. The solvency of the banks, nominal as we know it always to have been, may become a question in the minds of a considerable number of depositors, and finally bring about the universal "run." Instead of the long-drawn out agony we then would have the sudden collapse.

But we seem to forget all about those little piles of gold which each central bank is guarding so jealously. The present intention of the Germans, always in the vanguard of economic organization, is to hold its gold for international trade conducted by their government as the sole buying and selling agent of the productive capitalists. There would be, for instance, one selling agent in the United States for German chemicals, who would be at the same time the buying agent of cotton. The transactions in chemicals and cotton would be made dependent on each other. This would compel the American government to act likewise as sole buyer and seller. Thus another great step forward will be made not only toward national but toward international control of industries. The gold is to be used in cases where barter is impossible. Otherwise it has lost its significance.

Many great capitalists, as well as the rank and file of their class, even now live in the illusion that nothing but the political class state and the ancient system of exploitation are thinkable. Those of one country believe they can be benefitted by victory over those of another country. They dream even now of empire in China, Africa, or wherever subjugation is possible.

But in reality the long vista of capitalism has vanished. The movement was approaching when, even in the normal course of its development, it was to be wrecked by its fundamental flaw, the necessity of commodity money. When this became insufficient the game was played with paper. This represented titles to the money commodity and passed from one to the other as being as good as the real thing. If the game can be said to

rest on any theory, it is that these titles are not meant to be ever made good; that they must remain unredeemed in all eternity, and that they may reach the colossal figures of astronomy. For, were they ever redeemed, whether in gold or in another kind of paper, the payment would be worth nothing. Faith excludes the thought of redemption. It is for science to discover the forces that will, by compelling redemption, end the absurdity.

Early peace offers the prospect of the lingering death struggle of capitalism, its last years attended by widespread suffering and probably intense economic and political perturbation.

Continuance of the war assures the early and sudden downfall of capitalism in consequence of the worldwide failure of the financial mechanism.

But, whether it be peace or more war, the days of the rule of gold are numbered. History never can over-estimate the importance of the part played in human progress by the yellow metal. It was the tool placed by nature into the hands of man for the erection of an edifice in which was to dwell a race emancipated from physical care and free to devote its mental gifts to the highest aims. But in all animate nature the evolution of lower to higher forms is replete with the tragedies of the struggle for existence. The golden tool became the master of the workman, setting the pace for him and driving him pitilessly and relentlessly toward the completion of a task he understood not. Now the tool fails for further service. It is breaking in man's hand. But, behold! Completed is the dwelling in which the struggle between man and man shall be unknown, and in which the fateful gold, stripped of power, cleansed of blood, will be restored to its natural charter—that of being a mere thing of beauty and innocent joy.

Talk deportation, imprisonment and lynch those of us you might think the cause of the present industrial unrest, but you will never escape from the doom that is slowly bringing you into its meshes. Where is your boasted ability? Where now is your boasted power? You stand today like the ruling class of old Roman days. They dined and wine and scourged their slaves. They never dreamed that there was an end to all things. But Rome like all empires fell. Your turn is next. Can you wonder that we laugh at your foolish attempts to crush us, when we know that your own system is slowly crushing you?

Comrades let us stand together. Attempts will be made to suppress our meetings. Turn up at our meeting next Sunday in full force. By showing our strength we will compel the reactionaries of this city to sit up and take notice. So do not forget to be there. We trust that at this time, more than any other, that the members of the I. W. W. will attend also. We must attend each others' meetings. Let us have solidarity and we will triumph.

MRS. HICKS FUND

The following donations have been received for the above fund:—

Scandinavian Local Superior	\$20.05
Ed. Wallin	5.00
Gust. Pearson	1.00
H. V. Pederson	5.00
H. McRimmon	1.50
J. J. Doering	2.00

Total up to date \$35.55

The Rock Island comrades, per comrade Doering, are going to send along some clothes for her children. Any other comrades that can assist Mrs. Hicks may communicate with her at:—

Mrs. Madison Hicks,
912 West Street,
Guthrie, Okla.

The need is urgent and although we realise how much you have responded to so many appeals, we know that you will not forget Mrs. Hicks and her four children, who are compelled to live (?) on four dollars per week. The editor of the Reading Labor Advocate has also agreed to make an appeal for Mrs. Hicks and her children.

Thank you all, you are a noble lot of comrades! During the last year you have given upwards of \$3,000 to various appeals for help. It did not matter who appealed, no one was refused assistance.

SHURE HE STILL BELIEVES IT!

You will hardly believe it, but there is a labor (?) editor in this town who believes in the silly story about the nationalization of Russian women.

This labor (?) editor would have been lined up with the bunch that called Washington an atheist and also called Jefferson a libertine, because they lined up with the French revolution. He would have also been lined up with the bunch that called Lincoln a "nigger lover" and as one who sought to compel the association of white women with black men.

The original story of the nationalization of Russian women was cabled to an English magazine, "New Europe" by Dr. Harold A. WILLIAMS. But after the learned doctor had run the story to earth, he handsomely apologised and the "New Europe" came out with a denial of the story. Even the assistant secretary of State has denied the story about the nationalization of Russian women.

If this manner of attack is going to be used against us much longer, we shall feel compelled to engage in a little muckraking nearer home. We trust those concerned will take warning, because we love a fight!

Let anyone walk through the poorer quarters of our cities when the men are not working, but resting and chewing the cud of reflection; and he will find that there is one expression on every mature face—the expression of cynicism.—C. Bernard, Shaw—