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WHOLE No. 128

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ALL STAND FIRM!

Attempts are being made to stampede our movement. High-sounding resolutions have been passed, with a view to instilling a feeling of fear in the minds of the workers. In this critical hour comrades, stand firm. The employing class threaten us and in some cases have resorted to violence. We will reply with a more vigorous campaign of education and organization. We will not be stampeded, but will march on with a firm determination not to lower our colors. We are **RIGHT** and we know it. The logic of world-events is on our side. Today we stand as the builders of the new social order. On with the task! On with the solidarity of the workingclass! Let us **EDUCATE, AGITATE and ORGANIZE!!**

PEACE WITH RUSSIA?

Allies to Confer with Soviet Leaders

The London Daily Herald is informed on good authority that a proposal for a conference between representatives of the Soviet Government of Russia and of the Allies, to be held in a neutral country, and on the lines of the abandoned Prinkipo meet-

ing, is being favourably considered by the British Government.

The Danish newspapers have already announced a meeting at Copenhagen shortly between the Russian Red Cross and the Allied Red Cross organisations; and their subsequent vigorous denials that the meeting will have any

political significance are not without interest.

It is well-known that a considerable body of political opinion, in all parties in the House, has been urging the Government to confer with the Russian Soviet, with a view to an early peace.

NATIONS WRATH

Palmer Trying to Involve G.O.P. Congress in Guilt by Asking Anti-Radical Laws.

ANARCHY TALK LEGAL.

"Constructive Sedition" of British Judges Being Transplanted Here, Liberals Believe.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Washington — Politicians are watching with intense interest to see how American labor and liberal sentiment will react in the threat of destruction at the hands of mobilized Junkerdom. Men whose public careers depend upon the number of voters they can fool or satisfy are beginning to express the fear that at least one of the old political parties is riding to destruction.

Granting the prejudice natural to many members of the Democratic administration, it is obvious that some recent acts of blind and violent repression have been dictated by forces outside the official circle, and executed with considerable reluctance by the officeholders immediately concerned. And among these officeholders the suspicion grows that they are now being made the catspaws of, and will a little later become the human sacrifices to be offered by, a repentant "public opinion."

Of those who will suffer at the polls most because of the betrayal of Constitutional liberty in America, it is agreed that the Democratic party will receive the mightiest swat. The party of Thomas Jefferson was all but wrecked by its conduct of the war, its Holy Alliance peace treaty and its subservient goading of the Irish voters to the delight of imperial British interests even before the campaign against civil liberties was launched in its present violent form. By its acts up to six months ago, the donkey had written its death warrant, and the G. O. P. is grinningly confident that it is now engraving its burial permit.

Democrats Begin to Realize.

With characteristic hindsight, the Democrats now begin to realize the situation, helpless though they are to correct it. Attorney General Palmer exhibits a desire

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THE TEST

It is not the scabs going into the mills which mean victory or defeat for the strike. It is the tons of **GOOD STEEL** coming out. Every scab and strike breaker costs the steel companies money, for, if good steel is not made in great quantities, the companies lose more money than if the mills were not open at all. But the mills are willing to lose millions to discourage you strikers and drive you back without anything to say about your pay and hours.

Production of steel is the test of whether the strike is winning. Read a few facts about production in steel mills sent in by the leaders, gathered from railway men, etc.:

BUTLER, PA.—The strike began here August 6 and the Standard Steel Car Company has not turned out one car since.

CHARLEROI, PA.—A big gang of men were working on the Pennsylvania Railroad line below here last night taking up the heavy 130-pound rail and putting down 80-pound rail. The boss of the gang said the heavy rails were to put on the main line. The papers have said that the rail mill at Gary, Ind., was "producing 100 percent" but the great Pennsylvania railroad has to take rails from one place and put them down in another to keep the road in repair. About a mile of the heavy rails were removed.

JOLIET & INDIANA HARBOR, IND.—Before the strike the E. J. & E. Railroad, which serves the steel mills here, ran 30 to 40 extra freight trains daily to carry away the steel made by the mills. The average number per day now is three.

GARY, IND.—The rail mill here turned out an average of 240 tons an hour before the strike. Now it turns out 250 to 400 tons in 12 hours, one-seventh to one-twelfth of its former production.

PUEBLO, COLO.—The mill here, which is owned by John D. Rockefeller, and employs about 6,200 men, advertised that they would start up Monday morning but they were unable to and are still shut down tight.

COATESVILLE, PA.—Last week the Midvale Steel Company lost four heats which ran through the ladles, 75 tons in each heat, and two furnaces caved in because there are no bricklayers to repair them.

DONORA, PA.—A foreman in the zinc works of the American Steel & Wire Company quit the mill and addressed our strike meeting. "There are really only three men in the mill who are skilled," he said, "the others are green men. The scabs and strike breakers are charged \$1 a week for 'protection, and 50c for being sworn in to carry a gun. They are also charged for food and a place to sleep. They are served soup out of a big kettle and here is a fight around the kettle every time—the best fighters get the most soup."

MONESSEN, PA.—The Pittsburgh Steel Company produced 80 cars of steel per day before the strike. Now they are turning out five cars a day and that is of such poor and uneven quality that much of it is scrapped.

**THE REAL TEST OF THE STRIKE IS PRODUCTION.
THE MILLS ARE CRIPPLED.
YOU'RE WINNING!
STICK!**



THANKSGIVING DAY!!

NATIONS WRATH

(Continued from page 1)

to make the Republican Congress take its full share of responsibility for crushing dissenters in future. He knows today that Congress gave him \$5,000,000 to destroy "red" activity largely in the belief that he would use the money to destroy what was left of the Democratic party. That belief has been justified. Additional groups of voters have been infuriated, with no slacking in the general social unrest.

Even in the midst of his greatest effort and failure, it is apparent that the reactionary forces have been chiding the attorney general for his impotence. So we hear the chief prosecutor of the nation retorting to Senator Poincaré that "those who have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the government of the United States have committed no crime unless their acts amount to treason, rebellion, or seditious conspiracy. . . . The preaching of anarchy and sedition is not a crime under the general statutes of the United States."

This is a clear hint to the Republican Congress that, if it wants the Attorney General to proceed more severely against critics of the government, then it must take part of the responsibility by enacting additional specific legislation.

Preaching "anarchy and sedition" is not a crime in the United States for two very understandable reasons. In the past American liberalism has regarded "anarchy as a philosophy (unless violently interpreted) which any person might entertain and propagate.

Washington Was "Seditious."

Attempts to define "sedition" were held very dangerous to freedom, since George Washington was unquestionably seditious and would have been hanged for "treason, rebellion and seditious conspiracy" if the King of England could have laid hands on him. Moreover, British jurisprudence had invented the terms "constructive sedition," under which any critic of any office holder might be convicted. Under that judge-made law, a priest was convicted for having taken up a collection in his church, it being held that if all priests gathered such collections and forwarded them to Rome then the Papal power might use the money to subvert or destroy British institutions. Eminent men in the United States contend that we have made enormous strides toward "constructive sedition" in this country since the war for democracy was won.

Among men of this opinion Supreme Court Justice Holmes and Brandeis are probably included. Justice Holmes quotes from the admittedly vigorous denunciation of the war against Soviet Russia, involved in the so-called Abrams case, which called for a general strike of munitions workers, and then tells his fellow jurists and the nation: "No argument seems to me necessary to show that these pronouncements in no way attack the form of government of the United States."

And, with Brandeis concurring, he ends his opinion:

Repented Sedition Act.

"I had conceived that the United States through many years had shown its repentance for the Sedition Act of 1798 by repaying fines that it imposed. Only the emergency that makes it immediately dangerous to leave the correction of evil counsels to time warrants making any exception to the sweeping command (of the Constitution): 'Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech.' Of course I am only speaking of expressions of opinion and exhortations, which were all that were uttered here, but I regret that I cannot put into more impressive words my belief that in their conviction upon this indictment the defendants were deprived of their rights under the Constitutions of the United States."

By that courageous utterance the two most progressive members of the Supreme Court give their blessing to all the men and women of America who have dared be true to their convictions and have been persecuted for it.

Another strange voice in the wilderness of reaction is raised

Jack Carney,
c/o "Truth",
Duluth, Minn.

Attorney at Law
312-313 Healey Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Comrade:-

There is a large group of our radical comrades, political prisoners, incarcerated in the Federal Prison at Atlanta, Georgia. Eugene V. Debs is there, John Randolph, Walter Hirschberg, Nicholas M. Zogg, and a host of others.

These political prisoners will be allowed to receive gifts from their friends and comrades between December 10th and December 25th. They will be allowed to receive canned food, fruits, cigars, tobacco, and, now that the cold weather is coming on, sweaters and warm underclothing.

I shall appreciate it if you will be kind enough to bring this to the attention of your readers and either have them send their donations to you, or, if you prefer, have them sent directly to me at the above address.

I shall be glad to purchase and deliver these things to our comrades. I see them frequently and learn of their needs. They will appreciate the friendship of all fellow comrades, and whatever kindness is extended to them.

Do not forget that Christmas comes but once a year and that these prisoners go through deal of suffering and that we must do all we can to minimize it.

Again I thank you for whatever publicity you may give this matter.

Yours in comradeship,

Samuel M. Castleton.

CENTRALIA STORY IS REVERSED

Attack Was Made on I. W. W. Before They Retaliated.

(By Associated Press.)

Centralia, Wash.—Testimony, tending to show that the marching exercise men started toward the I. W. W. before shots were fired from the building or from the opposite side of the street, featured the coroner's inquest over the four soldiers killed here last Tuesday, and is said to have been responsible for the failure of the jury to return a verdict to fix responsibility for the shooting.

Dr. Frank Bickford, one of the marchers, testified that the door of the I. W. W. hall was forced open by participants in the parade before the shooting began through the doorway or from the Avalon hotel opposite. Dr. Bickford said he was immediately in front of the I. W. W. hall at the time and that during a temporary halt some one suggested a raid on the hall.

The fact that the man lynched by the mob Tuesday night and who was thought to be Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W. local, was in reality Wesley Everest, a returned soldier, has been established definitely.

"The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act," said Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte post of the American Legion, when asked his opinion of the recent Armistice day riots, which resulted fatally for four of the attacking party and one of the defenders.

"Mob rule in this country must be stopped," continued Mr. Bassett, "and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the I. W. W., it is not only the right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law cannot stop these raids, perhaps the resistance of the raided may have effect."

"Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case. The reports of the evidence at the coroner's inquest show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action that they took."

by the politician-judge, Charles E. Hughes, who warns that the "red menace" should be combatted only with logic and the example of real democracy. This advice may arise only from the political instinct of the candidate for office, but it is significant none the less.

The brutality displayed by official prosecutors, in contrast with the patience, determination and lawful persistence of free speech champions, has begun to wear away the stone of public misunderstanding or apathy. And if this awakening should lead to a wave of resentment against tyranny the Democratic party sees that it has been jockeyed right into the pathway of retribution.

Whether it will try to avoid the full impact of the collision will be shown by its official course during the next few weeks.

KOLTCHAK WILL ALLY WITH GERMANY

Why Monarchist Russia Must Turn Against Allies

"THE WINDOW TO EUROPE"

From a Polish Correspondent
In consequence of recent events in the Baltic States, the Entente finds itself in a blind alley. Its official policy supports the restoration of Great Russia through the Russian reactionaries.

Of course, the Entente Powers want to rebuild Russia for their own benefit. Meanwhile the inexorable logic of events, mocking at the sages who are collected in Paris, makes it certain that a restored nationalist imperialistic Russia must to-day, just as in the eighteenth century, look to an alliance with Germany, instead of with the Allies.

To-day, after the downfall of Austria-Hungary, Russia has no conflicting interests with Germany. Rather the common antagonism towards resurrected Poland alone will be sufficient to draw them together.

Moreover, France, which is backing Poland, cannot on that account be the friend of Russia. Great Britain, the leading Coalition Power, is naturally an enemy of "old" Russia on the colossal front which stretches from Constantinople to India. America acts as the protector of China, whom Russian imperialism regards as a legitimate field for its expansion. Italy is stretching her greedy hands for territories inhabited by the Southern Slavs, whom Russia, in the name of the Pan-Slavic doctrine, considers as her pupils.

Koltchak's Dislike of All Democracy

The Russian monarchists recognize their nearest spiritual affinities in the Prussian Junkers, but every democracy, even a middleclass variety of the West European pattern, is distasteful to them. In such circumstances, the Entente had no chance of withstanding German competition in its efforts to gain the friendship of the Russian reactionaries. To make matters worse, the double game played by Britain in the Baltic and Russia generally, is pre-eminently fitted to accelerate the Russo-German rapprochement. For Great Britain is acting as the friend of Great Russia on the one hand, and on the other is still, at least nominally, supporting the Baltic peoples—the Finns, Estonians, Letts, and Lithuanians—in their struggles for independence.

Is the Foreign Office so blind as not to perceive that imperialistic Russia will never allow her "window towards Europe"—pierced by the great Peter at the price of a 20 years' war—to be closed up again?

The Russian reactionaries came to the conclusion that 70,000 or 100,000 brilliantly organized and equipped Germans were worth more than the few thousands of British "instructors."

How Germany Stands to Gain
Whatever the Entente does Germany will reap the benefit. That is the iron logic of the situation.

If the Entente really executes its intended strong measures against the army of Von der

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD

Proletarian Russia is now celebrating the second anniversary of the great 1917 Revolution, our German comrades of the Spartacist group remind us, and we, with them, ask all sympathizers with and believers in the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, to aid in making the celebration of this great anniversary a world festival. By continual acquiescence in the heedless slaughter and inhuman blockade, we taint our movement with the same crime as that of which the capitalist world is guilty. The Spartacist group is loudest in its denunciation of the English help given to the counter-revolutionaries, but it does not spare the so-called German Socialist Government, which is also leagued with the other Capitalist countries in this final struggle against Socialism and the rule of the workers.

Lip-service, to the deeds of our Russian comrades, should give place to a definite scheme to help.

The German Spartacist message to us is:—

WORKERS! PROLETARIANS!

The International of the world reaction has arisen again. It is marching against the heart of the World Revolution; against Soviet Russia. Now at last International of the world revolution must arise. It is not the international of those who advised you yesterday to kill your own brothers. It is not the international of the social patriots and politicians of the "war to the bitter end" who are living now in fear of the verdict that the proletariat will pronounce upon all those who betrayed it in the terrible time of the world war. It is the international of those who bore the grief of that war, who have sacrificed everything, who bore hunger and suffering, and who will now have to bear all the evils of this peace, unemployment and a fresh famine, doubled and trebled misery, a new servitude and a new repression.

Workers! Proletarians!
Now you yourselves perceive that the war and its end, whether victory or defeat, only brings you one thing—chains! Day by day you sink deeper into misery. Remember that there is only one way to liberty; that way Russia has taken. Do not allow your bourgeoisie to crush that outpost of the world revolution.

You must celebrate the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution in a worthy manner. Your Russian comrades, who now for more than two years have defied the oppression of the entire world build their hopes upon you; they look forward longingly for your aid.

Do not disappoint them!
Arise! Prepare for the fight!

On the 7th of November, the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, rise up; you must stop work. You must gather in enormous demonstrations. Help your Russian brothers in this way. Demand from your bourgeoisie:—

To raise immediately the blockade of Russia.
Do not allow the revolution of a great people to be strangled for the profit of capitalists.

To break off the connections with the White Guard and with the counter-revolutionary Governments.

Do not allow your exploiters to deliver powder and lend equipment and money, thus murdering your Russian brothers with your sweat and blood.

To raise immediately the blockade from Russia.

The murderers of the war have no right to leave apart, like a leper, the only Government in the world which is not defiled with proletarian blood. The proletariat of the world, united to celebrate the road that leads to its own freedom; it will be the first step on the road that leads to its own freedom; it will be the first step to the world revolution.

Proletarians of the world, in all countries, unite with each other in the shout:—

Three cheers for Soviet Russia!
Three cheers for the World Revolution!
The German Communist Party (Spartacist Union) For the Proletarians of all countries, unite!
Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Goltz, and particularly if it gives effective support to the Estonians and Letts, then it will unquestionably come into conflict with Russian reaction and will unite it all the more firmly with Germany.

If, on the other hand, the Entente leaves a free hand to the chameleonic Avaloff-Bermond, then the Germans will settle in the Baltic States for good, and gain there an excellent point d'appui for the reconstruction of Russia under their tutelage.

Poland Also Involved.

And this is not all. The Baltic game is not isolated; it exerts an influence also on the south, including Poland, and through Ukraine it reaches to the Black Sea. The mastering of the Baltic States by Lieven, Bermond, Yudenitch and Von der Goltz will lock the Russo-German strangling hoop on Poland, the "petchild" of Paris.

Old System Has Died In Europe, Says Wanhope, Back From Sea

Vanderlip Is Correct in His Analysis of Conditions, Asserts Former Associate Editor of The Call.

"WORKERS' RULE"

British Unionists and Socialists Getting Together to Control Government—Press Lies Exposed.

Joshua Wanhope, former associate editor of The Call, is back from sea. Perhaps, as he said yesterday, he is back to stay—perhaps not. The grip of the salt water is still in his soul; he talks the sea; he yearns as a man must whose days are spent in the solitudes of the vast oceans, and he looks 10 years younger than when he left this office, two years ago.

When he left The Call to take his berth again upon a vessel, he parted with these words:

"The western front is nothing more than a large Socialist soap-box."

Yesterday, with a year gone since the armistice terms were thrust upon the defeated Central Powers, he reiterated that same thought, and brought with him from his visits to England, France, Italy, Spain, Holland, Scandinavia and other countries which have been lifted into the vortex of events a panoramic view of conditions that is a vindication of his own prophecy in these pages.

Socialist Prophecy Fulfilled.

"Socialists," he said, "have always predicted that imperial capitalism must breed war. War came; we were horrified by the fulfillment of our predictions, and yet this war has brought an end to the system which we have continually warred against. Europe today is gone, and the old system can never come back. 'Frank Vanderlip came from there and they won't believe him. Well, he's dead right. It is up."

"There is no peace today in Europe. There will be none. The erecting governments is to be in the world is not going to sink back into a rut again, and the process of erecting governments is to be in the hands of the working class."

Wanhope was asked for his interpretation of the recent French election and the municipal election which the British laborites won recently.

"In Position of Hunter."

"The French," he said, "are in the position of a lion hunter. For years they have lived under the terror of the brute next door. Clemenceau brought them out of it, but they don't know yet whether the beast was killed."

"They are supporting Clemenceau, and probably will for another year or so as a hunter would put two or three more shots in the jungle beast to make sure of its death."

"That's all there is to the French election and that is the sole reason why the Socialists did not gain. The terror still exists for those people as it would for any other nation on whose doorstep the blood of their people for four years had been spilled."

"With the British it is different. England has been further removed from the terror of Germany. France stood between her and the actual horror of the war, and, in England

Thanksgiving Greetings



O. P. Langdahl
The Tailor

WE SEND YOU OUR SINCERE WISHES THAT YOU AND YOURS MAY ENJOY GOOD HEALTH AND SO MUCH GOOD FORTUNE THAT EVERY DAY WILL BE A

THANKSGIVING DAY

18 N. 21st Ave. West

today, there is going on a process of coalition among the great trade unions which will mean working-class rule for the British.

"Women and Men."

"And to make that all the more certain, England today has her women standing solidly with the men. These municipal elections are a pretty fair barometer of the trend in England. I attended meetings held by the candidates and the whole burden of the British working class was the workers' control of industry."

"In England today the Syndicalists, the trades unionists and the Socialists are all 'getting' together and they will control government. The workers have won every strike they have called, despite newspaper reports to the contrary and this talk of compromise. Today the British workmen control their government and they are; for the first time in their history, realizing that they have the power."

Speaking of the newspaper reports, he laughed as he told of the fraudulent news carried throughout Europe by wireless. He said that on his ship they had received messages from the United States to the effect that Woodrow Wilson had been shot by anarchists, but that he was recovering.

It is possible, Wanhope feels, that the anarchist bullet was merely confused with the bombardment of the President by his former friends on liberal publications.

"Wilson the Same as Ever."

"Wilson," Wanhope continued, "is the same as he ever was. If you think he wasn't an idealist, you are mistaken. He came to Europe with his 14 points and ran against foxes like Lloyd George and Clemenceau, who allowed him the center of the stage for about eight months while he idealized the war and strengthened the hands of the concealed diplomats."

"When the Allied cause was given its blazing and lustrous hue by Mr. Wilson, these other devils just pushed his aside and with him his 14 points. They all used his 14 points to further their own ends, even the Germans, who demanded their peace on them. Wilson was just a baby in the hands of practical men who knew their game."

Wanhope disregards the attempts of the Allies to crush the Soviet government and it is his opinion that the European statesmen are beginning to become aware of their impotency.

"Lloyd George knows and has said so," Wanhope went on. "Russia is too vast for them and they'll come a cropper if they attempt to go into the country. Besides that, the British are not going to put a khaki again to fight Russia, or to settle the Fiume or Dalmatian question or anything else."

"Britisher Sitting Tight."

"The Britisher is sitting tight. He doesn't give a damn and knows less than he cares about the Balkans. Russia can't be conquered by alien forces and whether the Bolsheviks stand or not, it won't be outsiders who will settle that question but the Russians themselves."

Wanhope, who has but recently been in Italy, said the church party, which for the first time since 1870 has taken a hand in politics, was probably badly defeated.

"They have lost out in Italy. Few of the people are really religious, whether there or anywhere else, and the vote of the clerical party will show just how strongly the church goes stand. I have been in their cathedrals, in those of Belgium and France, and I almost always found them practically empty with a priest talking to a handful in the great churches. This talk of a religious revival as a result of the war is sheer nonsense."

While Wanhope was speaking, a revised return of the Italian elections showed that the church party had elected about 29 deputies out of about 500.

"INTO ARMS OF GERMANY"

M. Phillips Price

Berlin, November 1.—In previous messages I have reported that the Tsarist General Bermond, in attacking Riga, was acting in conjunction with Denikin, whose agent he was in negotiations for a military agreement with Ludendorff and other Prussian generals in Berlin.

In this connection it is instructive to read certain articles in the Berlin organ of the Russian Monarchists, the "Priviz." Behind this paper stands a powerful German bank.

About two months ago the Tsarist Generals Bisbupsky, Gourko, and Bermond were in Berlin negotiating with this bank for the loan of 100,000,000 marks. The bank, however, was prepared to advance only small sums at fixed intervals, thereby retaining control over the policy of these people.

Bermond alone agreed to these conditions; and on receiving the money, he took command of the German troops, which had nominally left Goltz and had now taken an oath to serve Denikin and Koltchak. The funds behind this Denikin contingent of Germans in the Baltic are German, and, moreover, the German capitalists behind the bank are carrying on a hidden anti-Entente propaganda.

For instance, a leading article in the "Priviz" says, "The policy of the Entente is remarkable. In order to prevent the natural alliance between Germany and Russia, a number of buffer States have been cut off from the living body of Russia. This political operation of the Entente on Russia calls forth resentment in the breasts of all true Russians and a desire to free Russia from this foreign influence. Thus, the natural reaction into the arms of Germany. 'The nervousness of the Entente in this respect is not without foundation.'"

INDICT 22 PORTLAND I.W.W. FOR CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM.

Portland, Ore. — Twenty-two alleged members of the I.W.W., arrested here Nov. 11, following the shooting of four former service men at Centralia, Wash., were indicted here today by the Multnomah County Grand Jury, charged with violation of the State criminal syndicalism act.

It is said the indictments are the first to be returned by any Grand Jury in which membership in the I. W. W. is considered a violation of criminal syndicalism laws. The men carried I. W. W. membership cards when arrested, it was said.

SOCIALIST TENDENCIES IN GERMANY.

By 66 votes to 63 the Congress of Independent Socialists of Bavaria, held at Nuremberg, decided to adhere to the 3rd International. It is also reported that the German Communist Party has split, 18 out of the 45 delegates at the Party Congress having seceded because the programme of the leaders was not radical enough for them. They propose to organize a party of their own at Hamburg, and to adopt Bolshevik methods.

SOCIALIST SUCCESSES IN SWITZERLAND.

Although the final results of the Swiss election are not yet to hand it is clear that the Socialists have won considerable successes. They have gained 19 seats, and in the new Chamber will have a total of 39 representatives, possibly more. The Clerical Party, on the other hand, has lost 45 seats the new Peasants Party has gained 27.

TROUBLE IN GERMANY.

Five thousand railwaymen are on strike at Crefeld, and the metal workers of Frankfurt have ceased work to enforce their demand for increased wages.

TRUTH ABOUT BULLITT REPORT

William Bullitt, late member of the editorial staff of the Philadelphia Public Ledger, was appointed a member of the American Peace Commission and whilst in Paris he had access to all documents and was thoroughly conversant with what transpired at the various sessions of the Peace Conference.

Whilst he was in Paris, he was asked to undertake a mission to Russia, at the special request of the Peace Commission. The following is an exact copy of the order, that Bullitt received from Secretary Lansing:—

American Commission to Negotiate Peace,

18 February, 1919.
Mr. William C. Bullitt,
American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

Sir: You are hereby directed to proceed to Russia for the purpose of studying conditions, political and economic, therein, for the benefit of the American commissioners plenipotentiary to negotiate peace, and all American diplomatic and consular officials are hereby directed to extend to you the proper courtesies and facilities to enable you to fulfill the duties of your mission.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State of the
United States of America.
(Seal.)

Bullitt also received the following order from the Secretary of the American Peace Commission:—

American Commission to Negotiate Peace,

18 February, 1919.

To whom it may concern:
I hereby certify that Mr. William C. Bullitt has been authorized by the American commissioners plenipotentiary to negotiate peace to proceed to Russia, for the purpose of studying conditions, political and economic, therein, for the benefit of the commission, and I bespeak for him the proper courtesies and facilities in enabling him to fulfill the duties of his mission.

Secretary of the American Commission of Negotiate Peace.

(Seal.)

Bullitt further received from the secretary of Mr. Lloyd George, a note requesting him to go to Russia and also a statement of the terms suitable for a basis of peace, between the Allies and Russia. Lloyd George has since denied that he had ever any dealings with Bullitt, but prominent statesmen of the type of Lloyd George, would hardly allow their secretaries to issue statements without knowing the contents of same.

The following is a copy of the note and statement of terms delivered to Bullitt, previous to his going to Russia:—
(Private and confidential.)

British Delegation,
Paris, February 21, 1919.

My dear Bullitt: I inclose a note of the sort of conditions upon which I personally think it would be possible for the allied Governments to resume once more normal relations with Soviet Russia. You will understand, of course, that these have no official significance and merely represent suggestions of my own opinion.

Yours, sincerely
P. H. Kerr.

1. Hostilities to cease on all fronts.

2. All the facto governments to remain in full control of the territories which they at present occupy.

3. Railways and ports necessary to transportation between Soviet Russia and the sea to be subject to the same regulations as international railways and ports in the rest of Europe.

4. Allies subjects to be given free right of entry and full security to enable them to enter Soviet Russia and go about their business there provided they do not interfere in politics.

5. Amnesty to all political prisoners on both sides full liberty to all Russians who have fought with the Allies.

6. Trade relations to be restored between Soviet Russia and the outside world under conditions which, while respecting the sovereignty of Soviet Russia insure that allied supplies are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

7. All other questions connected with Russia's debt to the

Allies, etc., to be considered independently after peace has been established.

8. All allied troops to be withdrawn from Russia as soon as Russian armies above quota to be defined have been demobilized and their surplus arms surrendered or destroyed.

Bullitt went to Russia and brought back a report.

We published the report in an issue of Truth, but we were at that time, unable to procure a copy of the Appendix to the report material facts about the situation in Russia:—

Appendix to Report. Transport.

Locomotives.—Before the war Russia had 22,000 locomotives. Destruction by war and ordinary wear and tear have reduced the number of locomotives in good order to 5,500. Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of spare parts and materials for repair, facilities for the manufacture of which do not exist in Russia. And the Soviet Government is able only with the greatest difficulty to keep in running order the few locomotives at its disposal.

Coal.—Soviet Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of coal. Kolchak holds the Perm mining district, although Soviet troops are now on the edge of it. Denikin still holds the larger part of the Donetz coal district and has destroyed the mines in the portion of the district which he has evacuated. As a result of this locomotives, electrical power plants, etc., must be fed with wood, which is enormously expensive and laborious and comparatively ineffectual.

Gasoline.—There is a total lack of gasoline, due to the British occupation of Baku. The few automobiles in the cities which are kept running for vital Government business are fed with substitute mixtures, which causes them to break down with great frequency and to miss continually. Almost the entire fleet on the great inland waterway system of Russia was propelled by gasoline. As a result the Volga and the canals, which are so vital a part of Russia's system of transportation, are useless.

Food.—Everyone is hungry in Moscow and Petrograd, including the people's commissaries themselves. The daily ration of Lenin and the other commissaries is the same as that of a soldier in the army or of a workman at hard labor. In the hotel which is reserved for Government officials the menu is the following: Breakfast—A quarter to half a pound of black bread, which must last all day, and tea without sugar. Dinner — A good soup, a small piece of fish, for which occasionally a diminutive piece of meat is substituted, a vegetable, either a potato or a bit of cabbage, more tea without sugar. Supper — What remains of the morning ration of bread and more tea without sugar.

Occasionally sugar, butter, and chickens slip through from the Ukraine and are sold secretly at atrocious prices — butter, for example, at 140 roubles a pound. Whenever the Governments is able to get its hands on any such "luxuries" it turns them over to the schools, where an attempt is made to give every child a good dinner every day.

The food situation has been slightly improved by the rejoining of Ukraine to Great Russia, for food is relative plentiful in the south; but no great improvement in the situation is possible because of the lack of transport.

Management.—Such supplies as are available in Soviet Russia are being utilized with considerable skill. For example, in spite of the necessity of firing with wood, the Moscow-Petrograd express keeps up to its schedule, and on both occasions when I made the trip it took but 13 hours, compared to the 12 hours of prewar days.

The food control works well, so that there is no abundance alongside of famine. Powerful and weak alike endure about the same degree of starvation.

The Soviet Government has made great efforts to persuade industrial managers and technical experts of the old regime to enter its service. Many very prominent men have done so. And the Soviet Government pays them as high as \$45,000 a year for their services, although Lenin gets but \$1,800 a year. This very anomalous situation arises

from the principle that any believing communist must adhere to the scale of wages established by the government, but if the government considers it necessary to have the assistance of any anticommunist, it is permitted to pay him as much as he demands.

All meetings of workmen during work hours have been prohibited, with the result that the loafing which was so fatal during the Kerensky regime has been overcome and discipline has been restored in the factories as in the army.

Social Conditions.

Terror.—The red terror is over. During the period of its power the extraordinary commission for the suppression of the counter revolution, which was the instrument of the terror, executed about 1,500 persons in Petrograd, 500 in all Russia. These figures agree with those which were brought back from Russia by Maj. Wardwell, and inasmuch as I have checked them from Soviet, anti-Soviet, and neutral sources I believe them to be approximately correct. It is worthy of note in this connection that in the white terror in southern Finland alone, according to official figures, Gen. Mannerheim executed without trial 12,000 workmen and women.

Order.—One feels as safe in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow as in the streets of Paris or New York. On the other hand, the streets of these cities are dismal, because of the closing of retail shops whose functions are now concentrated in a few large nationalized "department stores." Petrograd, furthermore, has been deserted by half its population; but Moscow teems with twice the number of inhabitants it contained before the war. The only noticeable difference in the theaters, opera, and ballet is that they are now run under the direction of the department of education, which prefers classics and sees to it that working men and women and children are given an opportunity to attend the performances and that they are instructed beforehand in the significance and beauties of the productions.

Morals.—Prostitutes have disappeared from sight, the economic reasons for their career having ceased to exist. Family life has been absolutely unchanged by the revolution. I have never heard more genuinely mirthful laughter than when I told Lenin, Tchitcherin, and Litvinov that much of the world believed that women had been "nationalized." This lie trouble to deny it. Respect for womanhood was never greater than in Russia to-day. Indeed the day I reached Petrograd was a holiday in honor of wives and mothers.

Education.—The achievements of the department of education under Lunacharsky have been very great. Not only have all the Russian classics been reprinted in editions of three and five million copies and sold at a low price to the people, but thousands of new schools for men, women, and children have been opened in all parts of Russia. Furthermore, workmen's and soldiers' clubs have been organized in many of the palaces of yesterday, where the people are instructed by means of moving pictures and lectures. In the art galleries one meets classes of working men and women being instructed in the beauties of the pictures. The children's schools have been entirely reorganized, and an attempt is being made to give every child a good dinner at school every day. Furthermore, very remarkable schools have been opened for defective and overnervous children. On the theory that genius and insanity are closely allied, these children are taught from the first to compose music, paint pictures, sculpt and write poetry, and it is asserted that some very valuable results have been achieved, not only in the way of productions but also in the way of restoring the nervous systems of the children.

Morale.—The belief of the convinced communists in the cause is almost religious. Never has any religious service had I seen higher emotional unity than prevailed at the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in celebration of the foundation of the Third Socialist Internationale. The re-

mark of one young man to me when I questioned him in regard to his starved appearance is characteristic. He replied very simply: "I am ready to give another year of starvation to our revolution."

Army.

The Soviet army now numbers between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000 troops of the line. Nearly all these soldiers are young men between the ages of 17 and 27. The morale of regiments varies greatly. The convinced communists, who compose the bulk of the army, fight with crusading enthusiasm. Other regiments, composed of patriots but noncommunists, are less spirited; other regiments composed of men who have entered the army for the slightly higher bread ration are distinctly untrustworthy. Great numbers of officers of the old army are occupying important executive posts in the administration of the new army, but are under control of convinced communist supervisors. Nearly all the lower grade officers of the army are workmen who have displayed courage in the ranks and have been trained in special officer schools. Discipline has been restored and on the whole the spirit of the army appears to be very high, particularly since its recent successes. The soldiers no longer have the beaten dog-like look which distinguished them under the Czar but carry themselves like freemen and curiously like Americans. They are popular with the people.

I witnessed a review of 15,000 troops in Petrograd. The men marched well and their equipment of shoes, uniforms, rifles, and machine guns and light artillery was excellent. On the other hand they have no big guns, no aeroplanes, no gas shells, no liquid fire, nor indeed, any of the more refined instruments of destruction.

The testimony was universal that recruiting for the army is easiest in the districts which have once lived under the Soviet were over run by anti-Soviet forces and then reoccupied by the Red Army.

Trotsky is enormously proud of the army he has created, but it is noteworthy that even he is ready to disband the army at once if peace can be obtained in order that all the brains and energy it contains may be turned to restoring the normal life of the country.

Lenin's Prestige.

The hold which Lenin has gained on the imagination of the Russian people makes his position almost that of a dictator. There is already a Lenin legend. He is regarded as almost a prophet. His picture usually accompanied by that of Karl Marx, hangs everywhere. In Russia one never hears Lenin and Trotsky spoken of in the same breath as is usual in the western world. Lenin is regarded as in a class by himself. Trotsky is but one of the lower order of mortals.

When I called on Lenin at the Kremlin I had to wait a few minutes until a delegation of peasants left his room. They had heard Lenin was hungry. And they had come hundreds of miles carrying 800 pounds of bread as the gift of the village to Lenin. Just before them was another delegation of peasants to whom the report had come that Comrade Lenin was working in an unheated room. They came bearing a stove and enough firewood to heat it for three months. Lenin is the only leader who receives such gifts. And he turns them in to the common fund.

Face to face Lenin is a very striking man—straightforward and direct, but also genial and with a large humor and serenity.

Concessions.

The Soviet Government recognizes very clearly the undesirability of granting concessions to foreigners and is ready to do so only because of necessity. The members of the Government realize that the lifting of the blockade will be illusory unless the Soviet Government is able to establish credits in foreign countries, particularly the United States and England, so that goods may be bought in

those countries. For Russia to-day is in a position to export only a little gold, a little platinum, a little hemp, flax, and wood. These exports will be utterly inadequate to pay for the vast quantity of imports which Russia needs. Russia must, therefore, obtain credit at any price. The members of the Soviet Government realize fully that as a preliminary step to the obtaining of credit the payment of foreign debts must be resumed and, therefore, are ready to pay such debts. But even though these debts are paid the members of the Soviet Government believe that they will not be able to borrow money in foreign countries on any mere promise to pay. They believe, therefore, that they will have to grant concessions in Russia to foreigners in order to obtain immediate credit. They desire to avoid this expedient if in any way it shall be possible, but if absolutely necessary they are ready to adopt it in order to begin the restoration of the normal life of the country.

To show you how the people are betrayed by the so-called statesmen of the world, we have only to witness the ease of Lloyd George. Lloyd George was one of those responsible for the sending of Bullitt to Russia. Yet when he was asked in the British House of Commons, a question regarding the peace terms of Russia, brought back by Bullitt, he denied ever seeing them. Yet the day after Bullitt arrived back from Russia, he dined with Lloyd George, General Smuts, Sir Maurice Hankey and P. Kerr, secretary to Lloyd George. At the breakfast table, George handed a copy of the Bullitt report to General Smuts and said, "General this is of utmost importance and interest and you ought to read it right away." General Smuts read it and agreed with Lloyd George that it was an important document. Lloyd George was enthusiastically in favor of the Bullitt report. Why was it, that he denied seeing the report and completely changed his mind regarding Russia? Simply because George had not the courage of his convictions. Lord Northcliffe and Winston Churchill, the representatives of British Imperialism, threatened there and then to ruin the political career of Lloyd George and for the sake of personal ambition one European statesman has allowed hundreds of the working-class shed their blood upon the cold shores of Archangel. God only knows how many more statesmen have been prompted with the same ambition and in order to achieve their ambition have deliberately threw away thousands of men's lives!

Captain Pettit also went with Bullitt, in our last issue we published one report of Capt. Pettit, we herewith publish the other report:—
Memorandum.

From: W. W. Pettit.
To: Ammission, Paris.
(Attention of Mr. Bullitt.)

1. Mr. Pettit's recent movements.—On March 18 I left Helsingfors for Petrograd and remained there until March 28 when I left for Helsingfors, at which place I received a cable ordering me to report immediately to Paris. On the 29th I left again for Petrograd to secure some baggage I had left. On the 21st I left Petrograd for Helsingfors. On April 1st left Helsingfors for Stockholm and in Stockholm I find a telegram asking me to wait until I receive further orders.

2. Optimism of present government.—On the night of the 30th and the afternoon of the 31st I had several hours with Schklovsky, Tchitcherin's personal representative in Petrograd. He was disappointed to think I was to return to Paris, but felt certain that inasmuch as the orders recalling me had been sent before Mr. Bullitt's arrival, there was every possibility of my being returned to Petrograd. He was most optimistic about the future and felt that the Allies must soon take some definite stand regarding Russia, and that the result of the Paris negotiations would almost surely be favorable to the Soviet Government. He said that the present war conditions and the limited transportation facilities, with

the shortage of food resulting therefrom, had handicapped his government enormously, and that everyone hopes that soon the action of the allied powers will permit the establishment of normal relations in Russia.

3. Radios in Petrograd.—He has received at least three radio communications from the American press in which Mr. Bullitt's activities have been mentioned and this has tended to encourage him. The last cablegram stated that Mr. Bullitt was preparing a statement regarding conditions in Russia which the press anticipated would go far toward dispelling ignorance and misinformation regarding conditions in Moscow and Petrograd.

4. Hungarian situation.—The Hungarian situation has also gone far toward encouraging the present Government. Hungary has proposed a mutual offensive and defensive alliance with Russia. The fact that the Soviet Government has been instituted in Hungary without bloodshed up to the present, and with little opposition on the part of the people, has also encouraged Schklovsky. He stated that the action against Hungary was to be regretted because of the bloodshed which would probably result. However, he thought in the long run that the Allies would find it a suicidal policy to try to suppress the Hungarian revolution by force.

5. The Ukraine situation.—He has taken almost the entire Ukraine and this with the food supplies which it will provide have strengthened the Soviet Government. A friend who has recently returned from Peltava, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev, and other southern cities, states that food is abundant and cheap. The Soviet Government believes that the French and Greek troops are withdrawing from Odessa and going to Sebastopol. They anticipate taking Odessa within the next few days.

6. Estonian situation.—At least twice within the last two weeks Estonia has sent word to the Soviet Government that it desired peace. The following four points have been emphasized by the Estonians: (1) That peace must come immediately; (2) that the offer must come from the Soviet Government; (3) that a fair offer will be accepted by the Estonians immediately without consultation with France or England, who are supporting them; (4) that free access to Estonian harbors and free use of Estonian railroads will be assured the Soviet Government.

7. The Lithuanian situation.—It is fairly well understood that the Lithuanian Government that is fighting the Bolsheviks is not going to allow itself to be made a tool by the French and British Governments to invade Russian territory. The Lithuanian Government is desirous of securing possession of Lithuanian territory but beyond that it is understood it will not go.

8. The Finnish situation.—The Soviet Government is in close touch with the Finnish situation and has little fear of an invasion of Russia from that direction. The Finnish Army is without question a third Red; probably a half Red; possibly two-thirds Red. There is even reported to be a tendency on a part of certain of the White Guards to oppose intervention in Russia. One of the Finnish regiments in Estonia has returned to Finland, and it is supposed that it will assist the proposed revolution of the Finns in East Karelia against the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has sent a committee to Helsingfors to arrange economic relations with Finland, and it is said that this committee carries threats of reprisals on the part of the Soviet Government against the Finns in Petrograd unless the treaty is negotiated. It is said in Petrograd that some of the Finns have already left Petrograd in anticipation that the Finnish Government will not be permitted to make any arrangement with the Soviet Government because of the attitude of certain of the allied representatives in Helsingfors.

9. Improvement in food conditions.—The suspension of passenger traffic from March 18 to April 10 has resulted in the Government bringing to Petrograd 60 to 100 cars of food each day,

and one sees large quantities of food being transported about the city. At Easter time it is hoped to be able to give 3 pounds of white bread to the population of Petrograd. There also seems to be a larger supply of food for private purchase in the city. Mr. Shishkin has recently been able to buy 3 geese, a sucking pig, 2 splendid legs of veal, and roasts of beef at from 40 to 50 roubles a pound, which, considering the value of the ruble, is much less than it sounds. Shishkin has also been able recently to get eggs, milk, honey and butter, together with potatoes, carrots, and cabbage. My bill for food for 11 days with Mr. Shishkin was about 1,300 roubles.

10. Order in Petrograd.—About three weeks ago there were several strikes in factories in Petrograd and Lenin came to talk to the strikers. Apparently the matter was settled satisfactorily and the workers were given the same bread rations that the soldiers receive. At the Putilov works some 400 men struck and part of them were dismissed. Both Shatov and the director of factories said that there were no executions, though the population the next morning reported 80 workers shot and afternoon the rumor had increased the number to 400. There is practically no robbery in the city. Shatov left the opera the other night early because he told me the previous night a man had lost 5,000 roubles and it was such an exceptional thing to have a robbery that he was going out personally to investigate the matter, having some idea as to who was responsible.

11. Currency plans.—Zorin tells me that the Soviet Government has or had printed a new issue of currency which it is proposed to exchange for the old currency within the next three months. The details of the plan have not been completed but he thinks that an exchange of ruble for ruble will be made up to 3,000; an additional 2,000 will be placed on deposit in the government bank. That beyond 5,000 only a small percentage will be allowed to any one, and that a limit of possibly 15,000 will be placed beyond which no rubles will be exchanged. Then the plan is, after a certain period to declare the old ruble valueless. Zorin felt that as a result of this plan the new ruble will have some value and that the present situation in the country in which the farmer has so much paper that he refuses to sell any longer for money, will be relieved. This exchange would be followed later on by the issue of still other currency the entire purpose being the more equal distribution of wealth and the gradual approach to elimination of currency.

12. Concession.—It is asserted that the northern railway concession has been signed and Amundsen tells me that all negotiations were accomplished without the payment of a single cent of tea money, probably the first instance of the absence of graft in such negotiations in the history of Russia. He says that Trepov, through his agent Borisov, at Moscow, was the greatest opponent of the Norwegian interests. Trepov was formerly minister of ways and communications and is reported to have been refused a similar concession under the Czar's government. Amundsen claims that Trepov has made every effort to secure this concession from the Soviet Government. I am attaching a statement regarding a concession which is supposed to have been granted to the lumber interests. There are rumors that other concessions have been granted.

13. Y. M. C. A.—Recently the Y. M. C. A. secretary arrived in Petrograd, claiming to have come without authorization from his superiors. He has been staying at the embassy but recently went to Moscow at the invitation of Tchitcherin. Schklovsky tells me that the American has plans for the establishment of the Y. M. C. A. in Russia which he wanted to put before the Moscow government. Schklovsky doubted that it would be feasible to organize in Russia at present a branch of the International association unless some rather fundamental modifications were made in their policy.

14. Treadwell.—I have twice asked Schklovsky to secure information regarding Treadwell.

and he assures me that he has taken the matter up with Moscow, but that apparently they have had no news from Tashkent as yet. He promised to let me know as soon as anything was heard.

15. Attitude toward United States.—The degree of confidence which the Russians and the Soviet officials show toward our Government is to me a matter of surprise, considering our activities during the past 18 months. There seems to be no question in the minds of the officials in Petrograd whom I have met that we are going to give them an opportunity to develop a more stable form of government, and they apparently look upon President Wilson as one who is going to decide the question on its merits without being influenced by the enormous pressure of the Russian emigres and the French Government. Doubtless part of this attitude is due to the favorable impression created by Mr. Bullitt, but much of it must be the result of information which they have secured from the press. At the present moment the United States has the opportunity of demonstrating to the Russian people its friendship and cementing the bonds which already exist. Russia believes in us, and a little assistance to Russia in its present crisis will result in putting the United States in a position in Russia which can never be overthrown by Germany or any other power.

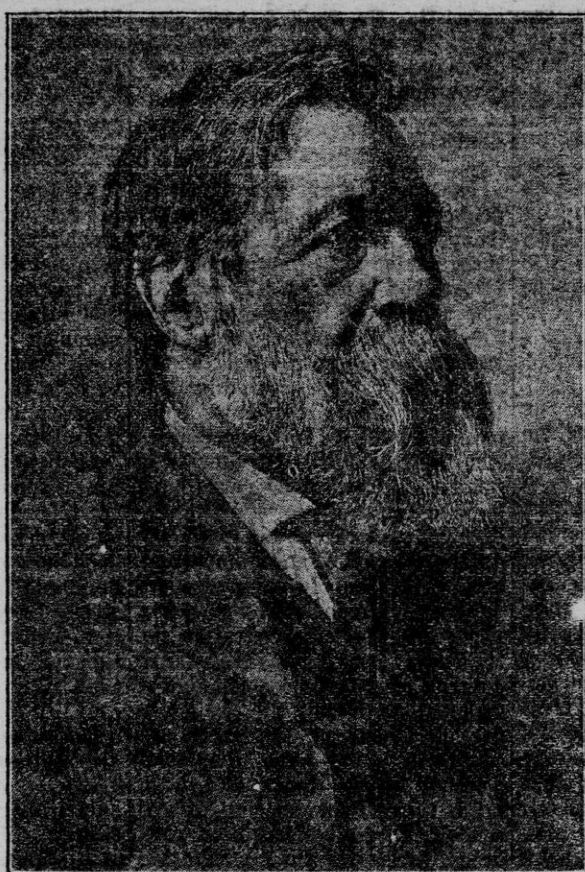
16. Social work.—I have recently sent a cable from Helsingfors regarding health and sanitary conditions in Petrograd, a copy of which I am attaching. I have spent the past two weeks visiting schools and the children's home in Petrograd. There are 30,000 children for whom homes have been provided in the past nine months, and preparations are being made to house 10,000 more. Homes of emigres are being taken over and groups of 40 children placed in them under the care of able instructors; where the children are old enough they go to school during the daytime. A beautiful home life has been developed. The children are well fed and well clothed, and there is a minimum of sickness among them. At the present time, when so much disease exists in Petrograd, and when there is so much starvation, the healthy appearance of these thousands of children, together with the well-fed condition

of children who are not in institutions, but are receiving free meals in schools, is a demonstration of the social spirit behind much of the activities of the present government. I shall send later a more detailed statement of some of the interesting things I have learned about this phase of the activities of the new regime.

17. Conclusion.—In this rather hastily dictated memorandum which Mr. Francis is going to take tonight to Paris I have tried to point out some of the things that have interested me in Petrograd. Naturally I have emphasized the brighter side, for the vast amount of absolutely false news manufactured in Helsingfors and Stockholm and sent out through the world seems to me to necessitate the emphasizing of some of the more hopeful features of the present government. Naturally the character of the Russian people has not changed to any great extent in 18 months, and there is doubtless corruption, and there is certainly inefficiency and ignorance and a hopeless failure to grasp the new principles motivating the government on the part of many of the people. A people subjected to the treatment which Russians have had during the last 200 years can not in one generation be expected to change very greatly, but personally I feel the present government has made a vast improvement on the government the Czar as I knew it in 1916-17. Without doubt the majority of the people in Petrograd are opposed to allied intervention or revolution and wish the present government to be given a fair chance to work out the salvation of Russia. One of the most hopeful symptoms of the present government is its willingness to acknowledge mistakes when they are demonstrated and to adopt new ideas which are worth while. Personally I am heart and soul for some action on the part of the United States Government which will show our sincere intention to permit the Russian people to solve their own problems with what assistance they may require from us.

Stockholm, April 4, 1919.
Russia has been the means of exposing the hypocrisy of Allied diplomacy and it also has been the means of exposing the hypocritical nature of Allied Imperialism. The Allies thought by sending a mission to Russia, they would be able to discredit Russia before the working-class of the world. After the mission came back with a favorable report, they tried to hush it up. We advise every one of our readers to obtain a copy. They can be had at TRUTH office for 55 cents post-free. It is well-bound and contains 150 pages of sound truth about Russia. You cannot be up-to-date in your knowledge without reading this report. As the number of copies are limited send in your order AT ONCE.
J. C.
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Frederick Engels Born Nov. 28th 1820



"Above all let the oppressed close up their ranks and reach out their hands to each other across the boundary lines of every nation. Let the International proletariat develop and organize... on to victory."

FINLAND REFUSES

NO CASH FROM THE ALLIES

Helsingfors, November 5.—The Finnish Government has informed the so-called "North-Western Russian Government" of Yudenitch that it definitely refuses to take part in an advance on Petrograd.

The Allies inability to finance the campaign, and the uncertainty as to whether the Denikin Government would, if it succeeded, recognize Finnish independence, are advanced as the reasons, though the determined hostility of the Finnish workers to any war against the Russian Revolution was probably the compelling factor.

Moreover, the Finnish Diet would provide no majority for a campaign.

Mannerheim's Touch Here!

The Black Russians are beginning to talk of a White Guard volunteer expedition, 20,000 strong. The Liberal Press joins with the Socialist in urging the Government to forbid this scheme, and is probable that the Government will have to take action in this sense.

EXIT KOLTCHAK

WHOLE ARMY IN RETREAT

Everywhere the Russian Socialists are defeating the forces of reaction. Yesterday, Yudenitch! To-day, Koltchak! To-morrow, Denikin! The Civil Government of Admiral Koltchak (Reuter reports from Omsk on October 30) is evacuating the town, and his army is retreating everywhere.

The above sensational admission means probably the end of Koltchak for many months, if not for chak's campaign against the Revolution.

Helsingfors, November 6.—Yudenitch is now retreating through forests and over fields quite unsuitable for effective defence. Plans for the conquering of Petrograd will have to be abandoned for months. The Bolsheviks are energetically pursuing the Whites.—Exchange.

Bermond and France

The Web of Baltic Intrigue

From Our Special Correspondent M. Phillips Price.
Berlin, November 4.—I hear that Pan-German circles here have received a reassuring communication from Denikin, via Bermond.

Bermond refers to himself as an agent of Denikin, and declares that the arrival of French Commissioners in the Baltic will improve his position as against England. He clearly calculates on French support.

All information here points to the fact that the Allies' pet Russian Counter-Revolutionary Generals are kicking Counter-Revolutionary Generals are kicking over the traces. It is clear that some arrangement must exist between Bermond (who is subsidised by Germany and fought by the Allies) and Denikin, who is subsidised by the Allies.

Soviet Anniversary

An Amnesty Decided Upon
A Moscow wireless message states that the Executive Committee of Soviets has decided upon an amnesty on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The resolution of the Soviet provides that all under detention shall be released, except those who have actively plotted against the Soviets, assisted parties striving to overthrow the Soviets by armed force, or those who have committed a crime with a clearly selfish aim. All those shall likewise be liberated whose cases have not been investigated.

The message concludes: "Let the bourgeois Governments fear how tenderhearted is the Soviet authority."

ATROCITY TALES

LATEST DIET OF HORROR

The counter-revolutionaries are time of defeat, and are making a following their usual tactics at a "big push" of atrocity-mongering. Mr. Guy Beringer, Reuter's correspondent in South Russia, issues a ghastly tale of mangled corpses in Odessa, Kharkoff and Kieff.

He says that girls were compelled by the Bolsheviks to come to "evening parties with orchestras," and were then violated. Fathers forbidding their daughters' attendance were ordered to be shot. This appears to be a more sensational version of the long-disproved "nationalisation of women" story.

Mr. Beringer says that someone else says that a Communist woman says that she herself murdered 500 people.

He repeats the old anti-Semite yarn that most of the Soviet Commissaries are Jews. The fact is that of the People's Commissaries in Moscow only one out of 15 members is a Jew.

He admits that pogroms have taken place in districts occupied by Denikin, but declares that Denikin was not responsible for them.

The most sinister part of Mr. Beringer's narrative is what looks uncommonly like an excuse in good time for White outrages. He says:—"It remains to be seen whether Denikin will be able to restrain the Don Cossacks during the further stages of the campaign."

KOLCHAK BROKEN.

Under the above title the *Isvestia* published the account of an interview with the commander of the Eastern front.

"Kolchak is five-sixths beaten and broken. His last fruitless counter-attack completed his defeat and increased the demoralization of his troops. One of his divisions revolted, arrested the commander, and handed him over to us. The attitude of the people shows them everywhere to be in our favour."

"The union with Turkestan will now be certain for the Kirghiz population is for us. At present a Soviet Congress of the Kirghiz working-class is being arranged. The Cossacks of Orenburg have often sent us envoys to negotiate for their transference into the Bolshevik camp."

Concerning the Southern front, the commander states he is quite optimistic.—*La Nouvelle Internationale*, 11th October.

When Capital controls the press, Capital controls the people. When Labor controls the press the people will control capital.

WAR DECLARED ON IGNORANCE

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b) Marjatta laulu Toivo Kuula
c) Mäkelä laulu Selim Palmgren
d) Paluu Erkki Melartin
- III a) Irmalin rosen Peterson-Borson
b) Men min tägel Jean Sibellius
c) Solveig's song Edward Greig
d) När jag blif sluten är Kansanen
- IV a) Kaiku laulu Ekert
b) To you Oleo Speaks
c) Morning Oleo Speaks
d) Wouldn't that be queer Mrs. H. H. Beach
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UNDO THE SHAMEFUL EVIL

AUSTIN LEWIS

The following quotation from the Argonaut of San Francisco of October 25, marks the beginning of a selfcriticism which can be but wholesome for the people who have bayed on the hounds of prosecution under the Espionage Act:

"Sometimes we awake with a start of surprise to the realization that here in America we have been more warlike, less tolerant of the unwarlike, than the people of France and England. We fill out prisons with persons nebulously charged with obstructing the draft, or with conscientiously objecting, while those same people would have been allowed to address rapturously applauding audiences in England and would have been protected by the people against molestation. Henry Barbusse in France was allowed to publish "Under Fire," and was hardly even reproved for a work that did more than all other forces combined to demoralize the French people and to bring them to the point of abject surrender. We do not know why M. Barbusse wrote this book. We do not know the motives of any man. But if he had been an American he would have been in jail at this moment."

The Argonaut is a reactionary paper, as can be seen by the context quoted. That it has qualms of conscience is doubtful but it is at least beginning to see facts.

Those of us who are cognizant of the way in which prosecutions were conducted under the Espionage Act can alone have an idea of the de-

liberately wicked way in which the jury was practically goaded into convictions.

Every trick to prejudice the case of the accused was practiced in the most barefaced way, and was sustained under the excuse that it all tended to show the intent of the accused. Opinions expressed in private letters long before the United States entered the war were accepted as showing an intent to violate a statute which, at the time the opinions were expressed, had not been thought of. A man accused under the Espionage Act literally did not have a dog's chance as the trials were conducted in most of the United States circuits. It is safe to say that a gin-soaked old offender in the police court had a much better chance for his liberty than had the most honest, considerate and moderate citizen under the Espionage Act. To be accused was practically to be condemned, and men who sat on war boards and defense committees will tell you, that it was a period of base lying, informing, of vulgar eavesdropping and contemptible personal spite.

District attorneys who are theoretically charged with the protection of the defendant equally with his prosecution were debauched with hysteria, and were afraid, as a matter of fact, of the public opinion which had been flogged and goaded by the press and the profiteers into a deadly and dangerous state.

The accused was practically stripped therefore, of all the protection which the law is supposed to throw around the prisoner, and were handed over to the mercy of the mob.

Now the hysteria has passed, but the effects of it remain, and hundreds of good and true people are still in jail as the result of it. The finest and bravest suffered the most in this conflict as in all conflicts. They are rotting their lives away, just as certainly the victims of a lynching mob as were those who were beaten, tarred and feathered, or hanged without the alleged protection of the law, which in these cases was no protection, but an added enemy.

It would be shameful if they remained there—shameful to us, as well as to the good name of our country—and an ineradicable slur upon our fame.

They must be released. An amnesty should be at once declared which will remove the stigma from them and allow them to mingle once more in the world of men.

It is an outrage upon the jurisprudence of the land that these men should now be in jail, and it is our most pressing duty to urge their release by all means at our disposal, and to compel the authorities by the vehemence of our protest to undo, at least partially, the evil which has so shamefully been done.

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A Man, a Man Am I

By Joshua Kunitz.

Ah, neither beast am I, nor God,
I am a man, am I.
A man, a thought, a bit of soul,
And air, and sun, and sky.

And neither saint, nor sinner I,
And neither good nor bad.
A man, a thought, a dream am I,
Now happy and now sad.

I doubt and trust, I love and hate,
I strive, and kill, and die,
I build, destroy, and procreate—
For just a man am I.

I weep and laugh, I groan and sing,
I creep, and dance, and fly—
For neither God, nor other thing,
A man, a man am I!!!

To the Revolutionaries of the
World.

We have received the following
manifesto from Holland, with
a request for its publication:

"The Supreme Council of the
Allies and Associated Powers, in
its mad passion for world domination, has urged the Governments
of Sweden, Norway, Denmark,
Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Chili,
Argentina, Columbia, and Venezuela,
to tighten the cordon of
death round Russia, not to allow
any vessels to go there, or to
come back; to refuse all passports;
to break off commercial
relations and to render all postal
and wireless communication impossible.
For the first time the
Allied and Associated Powers
have addressed the German Government
in a rather friendly
way in order to obtain from
them that by their help, too, Soviet
Russia shall be murdered
as quickly as possible.

"We call on all revolutionaries
in all countries to act immediately
and to endeavour with
might and main to break that
cordon of death. Forward against
the Governments who conspire
with the representatives of the
Tsarism that has been overthrown
and who do not shrink from
starving ten millions of men, women,
and children. Forward against
whatever political power,
wherever it may be found, that
maintains Imperialism within its
own frontiers or outside them,
and promotes it under pretence of
love to mankind and peoples.

"Immediate revolutionary action
is required now more than
ever.

"If the Allied and Associated
Powers succeed in suffocating
Russia, a gulf of reaction will
sweep over the world.

"Fellow-workers, men and women,
soldiers and intellectuals,
do not suffer this. Manifest your
united will against that of the
oppressors.

"Especially it is your duty,
revolutionaries of America, England,
and France, to relieve Soviet
Russia. Set the example with
the knowledge of your responsibility
for a common revolutionary
action, the only thing that
can save Russia, and for which
the world is waiting."

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KOLTCHAK'S ARMY ACCORD- ING TO ITS OWN STAFF.

The Pravda publishes documents from the Chief of Staff of the fight Division of marksmen of Koltchak's Army, which show what the Whites think of their own army.

"The division is certainly demoralized and at present far from there being hope of recovery, it is probable that the troops will exterminate their officers. The thrashings at Konstanai have had one result: desertion en masse.

"These flogging have produced a disastrous feeling of inhumanity and barbarity among the soldiers. Just as the expeditions of police detachments which hold the population of no account, and flog pregnant women just because their husbands are in the Red Army, only result in exasperating the people and make them ready to welcome the Reds."

To combat the evil the Staff Officer proposes: "to exterminate the leaders after having flogged them, otherwise they will have to begin all over again. To destroy the villages in case of resistance, without troubling to flog the inhabitants, which is only a half measure. To place large posters in all the villages warning the people that all political conversation with the troops all criticism of the Government policy shall be punished by death. To compel the clergy to go into the trenches and excite against the antichrist, also the religious ecstasy and preach a-mulhahs."

General Khanjin signed the following report on June 14th:

"The Light Infantry are the refuge where generals can retire in case of a general revolt as has already happened. They are the repressive detachments directed against the units or the people who revolt. To send them to the front with the others is inadmissible."

These documents need no comment.—La Nouvelle Internationale.

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Duluth, Minn.

McAdoo Holds Larkin, Gitlow for Grand Jury As 'Anarchists'

New York.—Holding that James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow are "beyond doubt two of the prominent leaders in this revolutionary scheme" of using force and violence to overthrow the government, Chief City Magistrate McAdoo handed down his decision. He held the Irish labor leader and the former Bronx assemblyman for action by the Grand Jury on the charge of criminal anarchy.

If the Grand Jury returns an indictment, the case will go to a criminal branch of the Supreme Court.

Reading his opinion from 12 typewritten pages, Magistrate McAdoo, sitting in the Traffic Court at 300 Mulberry street, characterized Larkin and Gitlow as dangerous men who "from honest fanaticism or muddled thought have been perverted into the most dangerous channels." He intimated they were closely akin to anarchists.

Larkin, sitting inside the rail, laughed at the characterization. He forced back a smile at several points when McAdoo made some historical references. The judge, a few said, quoted badly.

The magistrate failed to make a distinction between the Communist party and the defendants, who belong to the Communist Labor party. McAdoo repeated his declarations of a few days ago that membership in the Communist party was criminal in itself.

High Court Verdict Cited.

McAdoo reviewed what he considered had been the development of free speech in this country. He said that at one time "America admitted the greatest latitude to angry rappings and vituperative abuse of all governmental agencies."

Then he referred to the decision handed down recently by the United States Supreme Court against Jacob Abrams, Mollie Steimer and others, in which a limitation had been placed upon the prerogative.

The magistrate also referred to Soviet Russia, giving the following example of the actual situation there:

"Do you agree with the Soviet?"

"I do not."

"To the slaughterhouse with you! You are an anarchist."

Connection Proved, Says Judge.

The magistrate insisted that a connection had been proved between the defendants and "The Communist Party Manifesto," an article appearing in the Revolutionary Age which had been the basis of the complaint.

He said the wording of the manifesto was guarded, but that it was conciliatory to the anarchists. Larkin smiled as he listened to the magistrate's interpretation.

He discussed what he asserted were the differences between the Socialist party and the Communist group.

His opinion, in part follows:

"These defendants are charged with violating Sections 160, 161, 162, 163 and 164 of the penal law of this state, which deals with the crime denominated therein criminal anarchy. This it proceeds to describe in distinct and unequivocal terms. We are therefore not called upon to discuss the meaning of the word 'anarchy' in its common use, or dictionary significance.

"The statute makes certain actions felonious, and the name which it gives to such acts not of importance in determining this case. This act, in the wisdom of the lawmaking power, was deemed necessary by conditions which sprung up unlooked for in this country.

"This big-hearted, strong, young country, up to the time of this enactment tolerant and charitable to the discontent begotten by old-world millennial feuds and injustices among those who come to our shores, admitted the greatest latitude to angry rappings and vituperative abuse of all governmental agencies.

"This case turns upon whether or not the published manifesto of the Communist party, taken in connection with the trend of thought shown by the articles in both numbers of the paper called the Revolutionary Age, and more particularly the illuminative statements of one of its authors, the defendant Larkin, is in violation of the statute under conditions.

"The connection of these defendants with the writing, publishing, circulating and selling of the manifesto is convincing beyond doubt. This is especially so in the case of Gitlow, who arranged and paid for the printing and attended to the circulation and sale.

Manifesto Examined.

"We are, therefore, called upon to examine the manifesto itself. This paper is to be taken in its entirety. According to the statement of the defendant Larkin, it had several authors, but one mind, and we are dealing here, as Mr. Justice Hughes of the Supreme Court said in a decision some years ago, with a state of mind.

"According to the manifesto, the revolutionary Socialists, calling themselves the Communist party, confronted with this common enemy which is to be destroyed, organized government as it exists today, the 'capitalistic' state, as they call it, and the hated bourgeoisie, how are they going to effect the revolution? Does the manifesto tell us?

"It does, in very plain terms, with, it must be admitted, some hesitancy and a tinge of subtle evasiveness intended for a defense in court.

"How is this revolution to be accomplished? The manifesto gives the battle cry and slogan in practically two words—coercion and oppression. The mass action strike is to paralyze all the industries of the country, depriving millions of people of the necessities of life, paralyzing the armed forces of the United States, making the soldier and the policeman impotent and the silencing of such voices in the pulpit as are not in accord.

Its First Stage.

"This is the first stage, coercion by absolutely unqualifiedly illegal means, unlawful practices and a criminal conspiracy deliberately invented to carry out the purposes intended.

"These strikes are called mass action and have nothing whatever to do with efforts for increase of wages or lessening of hours or the betterment of the workers. It is a militant uprising of the red revolutionists. At this point the state is given the option that it must either suicide or be killed. If this condition would be brought about, what objection would anarchism have to it?

"If the great middle classes of the country which include organized labor, as at present, do not surrender at once all their property and possessions and commit their lives to the tender mercies of the raging proletariat, what is to be done with them?

"The manifesto makes it perfectly plain. If they resist, they are to be suppressed. What does suppression mean?

"It means that if they continue to resist they must be exterminated; while the money from the banks and other repositories flows into the coffers of the leaders of the revolutionary Communists, the blood of the doomed class will gurggle in the gutters. If this is not violence, if this is not anarchy, if this is not directly, openly and brazenly, a defiance of the penal law of this state, what is?

"It is well, too, to remember in this connection that we are still at war, no legal peace having as yet been arrived at, and we are to construe this law under these conditions—the aftermath of the bloodiest and greatest war the world has ever seen.

"The manifesto itself declares that this is the golden opportunity of the red revolutionists. Is this not a call to action for those who are sworn to uphold the laws of their country?

"Are we, who are the ministers of the law, to ignore this challenge? Are we to lose ourselves in legal subtleties and nice disquisitions and historical references, and bury our heads in clouds of rhetoric about liberty of speech?

"Essence of Republicanism." "Liberty of speech! It is the very breath and soul of every American; it is the essence of our republicanism and we guard it with much jealousy that we have hitherto tolerated its abuse into a license which now threatens our institutions.

"Are there no limits to liberty of speech? Can these men openly state that they intend to destroy the state, murder whole classes of citizens, rob them of their property and then escape under the plea of liberty of speech?

"We are told the human mind must be free. Is the human mind entitled in civilized society to germinate poisonous and criminal thoughts and then scatter them abroad to beget anarchy, robbery and chaos?

"Are we to say to this formidably organized army, with its recruiting barracks in our midst, forward with your battle cry of coercion, suppression, murder and robbery, called euphemistically expropriation? The law failed to meet such a situation as this honest and law-abiding citizens might well despair.

"Gitlow and Larkin Leaders."

"These two defendants, Gitlow

BRITAIN RISKS INDIA'S LOSS UNLESS SHE MAKES PEACE WITH RUSSIA, BEK SAYS

By Lieut. Col. B. Roustam Bek.

(Lieut. Col. B. Roustam Bek, a former Russian officer and during the great war with the British volunteer forces, was attached to the staff of the London Daily Express as a military expert. His political and strategical predictions have proven most accurate. Colonel Bek took part in the famous Pamir Expedition, 1891—1895; he crossed Afghanistan in 1901 and traveled in India, especially in the northern region. Colonel Bek has written 14 books in Russian, most of which are devoted to Central Asia, India and Afghanistan.)

It is reported from Helsingfors that Finland is going to send 30,000 volunteers to help Yudenitch repeat his disastrous attempt to capture Petrograd. This report, from my point of view, can have no strategical foundation at all, and, if true, is merely a new political blunder by the discouraged Allies, who hope thereby to frighten the Soviets and to interrupt the peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states.

But the Soviet strategists and politicians are not so easily frightened, and this policy of frightening the enemy, introduced into military strategy by Napoleon, who himself admitted its usefulness only on certain occasions, has already notably failed in the case of the Soviets. From a purely military point of view, what can 30,000 Finnish volunteers do now in the winter when the Soviet army has already accomplished its strategical task and has finished the campaign of 1919 victoriously on all fronts?

Petrograd Out of Danger

Any one with only an elementary knowledge of the military art will agree that, having defeated the enemy in Siberia and in South Russia, and being in full pursuit of its defeated adversaries, the Soviet General Staff must have now at its disposal sufficient reserves with which to support the Petrograd garrison, and, if necessary, can send adequate armies for his relief of Petrograd should it be approached again, which I do not believe in any case probable. I am as confident today that Petrograd is out of danger as I was when I predicted the previous defeats of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch.

I do not believe that the army of Yudenitch, after such a debacle as it has suffered, is able to perform a counter offensive. Reports of such movement are no more worthy of belief than all the old tales about the fall of Petrograd and Kronstadt. Any army, after such a crushing defeat as that which has been suffered by Yudenitch, followed by a retreat with the victorious enemy in full pursuit, must first find shelter in which to collect all its dispersed fragments.

Only after a complete reorganization and strong reinforcement can it start such a movement again from the very beginning. General Yudenitch has had neither time nor any military possibility of accomplishing this essential reorganization.

and Larkin, are beyond doubt two of the prominent leaders in this revolutionary scheme. They are men of intelligence, with considerable experience in public affairs, and all this either from honest fanaticism or muddled thought they have perverted into the most dangerous channels. As they stand today, as against the organized government specified in the statute, they are positively dangerous men.

"I notice in the statement of Larkin made to the district attorney a latent spirit of the conservative spiritualism of the people when he dissented as against the 'God-killers'.

Possibly he had in mind the spirit of the Paris Commune when it controlled that city in the early '70's. "One of the chiefs of the Communist party, after which this is modeled, giving a pass to a clergyman to visit some of the condemned bourgeoisie in prison, wrote: 'Admit the bearer, who says he is the servant of a person called God.'

"I am of the opinion, beyond any doubt, reasonable or otherwise, that these defendants in their writing, concocting, drawing, collaborating and confederating in the production, printing and circulation of the manifesto, are clearly guilty as charged in the complaint.

"All Members Guilty."

"I may also add that, in my opinion, every member of this criminal organization, when he becomes a member of the party, is equally guilty of violating the statute, and that the act of one in this respect is the act of all, however physically separated, and that no overt act beyond that is necessary to make the case complete against them.

"Defendants are held for the action of the Grand Jury."

METAL WORKERS' STRIKE IN ITALY

Florence, Oct. 10th (Delayed).

The strike of 200,000 Italian metal workers, which has recently come to a successful end after more than eight weeks of bitter struggle, shows more clearly than could anything else the quality of the new Italian proletariat which has emerged from the war.

The story of the strike contains nothing sensational. "There were no riots, no shootings, no dramatic demonstrations of starving women and children. For this reason, doubtless, the foreign newspapers printed little about the struggle. But all the more for this reason it was a strike which tested the power of the Italian workers to go through the fires of revolution and build the new world which is daily assuming a clearer image in their minds. Briefly, the record of the struggle is this: About the end of July the metal workers (organized industrially, of course) broke off negotiations for a minimum wage with their employers in the provinces of Lombardy, Liguria and Emilia. About 200,000 in all went on strike—so nearly every factory and shop of any size in the provinces named was closed. The metal workers of Piedmont did not join, having previously obtained their minimum demands.

The time of the strike was perhaps ill-chosen. For the serious shortage of coal in Italy had already been hampering the operation of the large factories, whose owners were facing an enforced shut-down. For this reason the strike was perhaps welcomed rather than otherwise by themselves in a strong position and made no secret of the fact that they hoped to break not only the strike, but also the union and the eight-hour day which the workers had obtained earlier in the year.

The strike, from the first to the last day, was a struggle of endurance—of will, of class solidarity. As week after week went by the struggle seemed hopeless to the outsider. The strikers, their union funds quickly exhausted, received from their fellow-workers the contributions which enabled them and their families to live from day to day on a bit of macaroni, of vegetables and of flour. They could do nothing but fold their arms and wait. Yet in all these weeks there was not a single deserter recorded. In one section a few minors, not technically mental workers, who had gone on a sympathetic strike with the others, returned to work for a few days but were soon persuaded to quit again. But otherwise not a single fighter left the struggle. At length the Government had to intervene as mediator. Before the impressive demonstration of passive solidarity on the part of the workers, the employers association had to give way and an agreement was drawn up granting to all strikers an increase of pay of from one to three lire a day, and to nearly every category an increase over what the employers had offered before the strike.

This simple record does not at all convey the real significance of the metal workers strike to an outsider. For in fact, the struggle has been an unprecedented victory not merely for the Union directly involved, but for the whole organized working-class of Italy.

The strike cost, in subsidies and benefits, about 1,000,000 lire a week. This sum was necessary simply to keep the strikers and their families from sheer starvation. To meet it, a per capita tax was levied on each member of the Unions affiliated with the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro—two lire a week for the men one lira for the women. The metal workers of Piedmont were assessed one day's wages each week. Private donations swelled the sum. In this way, about 4,000,000 lire had been collected by the Confederazione up to the end of the strike. The deficit is being made up by continued assessments. Further stipends are being paid to the families of some of the strikers so that the total cost will come close to the enormous sum of 10,000,000 lire. Confederazione, however, is confident that it will be able quickly to cover the amount.

The striking fact about this struggle is that it was won by virtue of those very qualities which the Italians are supposed to lack—patience, discipline and capacity for organization. A long strike without desertions is in itself a rare thing. not in any manner whatsoever interfering with the affairs of the United States government, and I protest against the indecent attempts by perversion of the truth to create false impressions in this report."

Martens Indignantly Protests Insolence of Lusk Proceedings

Representative of Russia Republic Wires State Department Denying That He Admitted He Was to Overthrow United States Government.

New York.—Charging that the Lusk committee investigations into his affairs here "are being exploited in a manner not consistent with truth or decency," Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, head of the Russian Soviet Bureau here, telegraphed the Department of State in Washington that, contrary to newspaper reports and members, he had made no admission that he is in this country to overthrow the United States government.

Martens wired that his treatment by the Lusk committee, which, "by threats of imprisonment," compelled his appearance before it on Monday and the Saturday previous was a flagrant violation of international courtesy. The telegram, correcting announcements that Martens had admitted to the Lusk committee that he was in America to overthrow the government, reads as follows:

Indecent and Untruthful.

"Saturday, November 15, and Monday, November 17, by threats of imprisonment, I was compelled to appear before some local investigating body of the state of New York inquiring into my relations with the government I have the honor to represent. Such treatment is flagrantly at variance with the treatment accorded in my country to representatives of the United States, who were treated according to all rules of international convention through no official relations existed between my government and the United States.

"I principally object to and protest against the fact that such investigations by those conducting them are being exploited in a manner not consistent with truth or decency. "Newspapers today carried glaring headlines stating that I admitted to the investigators that I am engaged in efforts to overthrow the United States government, and I am informed that the committee in charge of the investigation has notified the State Department to this effect.

"I have made no such admission and I could not have made such admission in view of the simple fact that I am not and my government is

but most rare in Italy, where impulse is quick and action is hat. To emotional people nothing is harder than grim waiting. And the willingness of hundreds of thousands of workers to give their money to a cause not directly their own—or rather, their new understanding that the cause of other workers was their own—reveals an impressive sense of class consciousness. But most impressive of all is the organization of the Confederazione which could direct and finance such a strike. These things are significant because they are new in the Italian labour movement. It might almost be said that no one is more surprised at the success of the strike than the Italians themselves. Before the war it would have been unthinkable. The impulsive, rhetorical, faction-rent labour movement of pre-war Italy could perhaps have made a street revolution, but it could never have won a strike like this.

And so this victory of the metal workers is a barometer of the change that has come to the workers of this country during and since the war. They have acquired precisely the qualities they had most lacked. They now understand that the struggle of classes, and they have learned to sink personal interest in that of their class. They have acquired that priceless kind of courage which can remain courageous when there is no blood to stir the passions, and the only thing to do week after week, is—nothing. Finally, they have learned how to build, patiently and capable of confronting those of capitalism and of constructing their new state within the bourgeois state that is crumbling.

One thing more: The qualities which the Italian working class is acquiring, are also precisely those which bourgeois Italy lacks, to-day as before the war. Bourgeois Italy, impulsive, individualistic, incapable of slow and methodical organization, is helpless to solve the problems which the war has bequeathed to her. The future of the country can lie only in the hands of the workers, who are substituting patience for impulse, solidarity for individualism, and communistic mutual labour for factional squabbling.

H. K. Moderwell.



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Our new location
2808 W. 3rd St.
First class shoe repairing.
Lincoln 35-D.

A BERLIN BUDGET

From Our Special Correspondent — M. Phillips Price

Berlin, October 25.—I have just received the following figures of the monthly budget of a Berlin tram-driver, who has a wife and daughter of 12.

His monthly wage is 460 marks, which is equivalent, in American money at present rates to \$20. The weekly wage of a Berlin tram conductor in American money, is therefore \$5 a week! Against this there are the following expenses monthly:

	Marks.
Rent	55
Taxes	20
School money	16
Fire and lighting	38
Washing	12
Travelling expenses	17
Clothing	25
Footwear	12
Pocket-money, newspaper, odd repairs	25
Food	180

Total 400
The 180 marks (\$9.00) for food has to last three persons for one month.

The other day I went into the restaurant of the Adlon Hotel, and found that a luncheon there costs 30 marks without wine! It is impossible to get through the day there without paying 60 marks for food alone.

In other words, in a day in a fashionable Berlin restaurant one person spends in food as much as a member of a working-class family spends in a month.

The Family Menu

I would only add that the official meat ration now is half a pound a week. No milk is obtainable except for invalids and small children. The food of the family, whose budget I quote above, consists on most days of black bread, potatoes, and butter is bought at speculative prices vegetables. Occasionally a pound of for 28 marks a pound. That has to last for six weeks or two months.

And yet the Prussian Junkers are agitating that these staple foods that are still rationed, such as bread and potatoes, shall be declared free, because the fixed prices are lower than the prices abroad. Comment is needless.

LIEBKNECHT'S MURDER
It is alleged by "Het Volk," the Dutch Labour paper, that Lieut. Vogel, who was implicated in the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, was helped to secure passports to Holland by prominent German politicians and a high official in the German Foreign Office.—Exchange.

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THE BRITISH TERROR

Campaign of Lies That Holds the Baltic in Fear

By Our Special Correspondent, Francis Meynell.

Helsingfors, October 17.—Yesterday began the new session of the Finnish Diet—a session inculcably important because its first work was to be a decision on the Russian Soviet's offer of peace.

The Diet met in secret, not because the terms of that peace offer were unknown to the Finnish people—they had been printed and canvassed for some weeks before—but because some threats, some arguments, some species of bluff, can be used only when the lights are low and the eyes heavy.

At a Socialist Party Meeting After a Ministerial statement, the various parties met separately in camera to decide their course of action. Of the 200 members of the Diet, 80 belong to the Social Democratic Party (this though the Diet was elected under a modified White Terror), the remainder to various bourgeois parties.

To the Social Democrats' meeting I was asked, with a very cordial invitation to address it on the Russian situation.

Finland's Big Decision I told them that Estonia and Finland were, in that hour of their decision as to peace with Russia, of a more important part in the world's history than all the Great Powers.

It was not difficult to convince them that in Denikin's track is following a White Terror to which even the Finnish Terror would appear a small thing.

Finally, they seemed to agree with my statement that the triumph of the agglomerated forces opposed to the Soviets would mean the arresting of all working-class movements the world over.

Why the Socialists Hesitated

Then they asked questions; and I discovered that even among these Socialists, pledged as they are to peace by a special Congress, anxious as they are to an agitation for peace by a rank-and-file much more radical than its Parliamentary representation—that among them there was hesitancy as to the vigour of their campaign, and even as to their vote.

The reason? They believed that if they made peace with Russia, England would blockade Finland. They were taught to believe it in their secret session.

It is that kind of belief, propagated by the appropriate threats, and (if secrecy can be maintained) enforced by the appropriate wars, which is at the heart of half the misery in the world to-day. The name of the disease is Churchillism.

These men were Socialists. They were capable of scenting a lie and taking a risk. But among the bourgeois parties, the business men, cannot you see how this threat, infamous if a lie, even more infamous if a truth, counted for speeches and votes?

Pitiful Dependence on England

You cannot be in any country of Scandinavia or of the Baltic without discovering their pitiful dependence upon England.

The worst crime of Churchillism is that through a hundred reactionary agencies—be they Black Russian, Black German, or simply financial, all is grist to the anti-Bolshevik mill—it terrifies the lesser countries, economically dependent on England, beyond even the dark letter and evil spirit of its own law.

Churchillism in Finland works through the Swedish (or pro-German) Party in the Diet—through the people whose sons, 3,000 of them, left Finland at the beginning of the war to fight with Germany against the Allies. That kind of alliance has become a commonplace.

A Churchill International Churchillism has discovered that the German capitalist and the British and the Russian are natural allies.

We still make plans for our International. Churchillism has long since established its own. Whatsoever is reactionary, whatsoever is not, whatsoever is militaristic, whatsoever is anti-Soviet, whatsoever is ill-repute.

Churchillism works through a subventioned Press, and through the movements of British battleships.

These were at work on the day of the Finnish vote against peace. Hour by hour, as the deliberations were proceeding, telegrams were sold in the streets to announce Yudenitch victories, culminating in the capture of Petrograd. Politically Petrograd is Russia for Finland, and its supposed possession by the Whites dealt a shrewd blow at the chances of peace.

GREAT BERLIN STRIKE

Shop stewards the Main Issue Berlin, November 6.—The Berlin metalworkers' strike is reaching a critical moment.

The employers having given in on the wages question started on another tack. They put forward demands which practically meant the abolition of shop stewards and Workers' Councils in the factory.

The men then decided that, as the employers had taken the offensive on the question of the right of the workers to organise themselves, the fight must be fought to a finish.

Now the employers have given way on this point, but have refused the reinstatement of some few hundred shop stewards whose activities they doubtless fear. They also propose that the rights of the shop stewards' committees are to remain only till the new law on Workers' Councils is passed by the National Assembly.

As this law has been hung up for months, and as the bourgeois parties have been trying to insert amendments which have the effect of reducing the committees to impotence, it is not surprising that the metalworkers decline to accept this situation.

They demand the reinstatement of all shop stewards, and as the employers remain obstinate, the Strike Committee has called upon workers in all other industries in the Berlin area, including the railwaymen and transport workers, to come out in sympathy.

SOCIALISTS AND FIUME

The "Populaire," of October 13th, publishes the following appeal of the Italian and Jugo Slav Socialists in Paris:

"The Italian and Jugo Slav Socialists in Paris, confronted with the warlike menaces of the Imperialists on both sides of the Adriatic, proclaim the complete solidarity of the two proletariats, at the moment when the mad act of d'Annunzio is bringing forward the question of Fiume in a manner not to be denied.

"They declare that the right of peoples to dispose of their own destinies, proclaimed by the Russian Revolution, ought to be applied to Fiume, as to all territorial questions in all countries. Faithful spokesmen of the Socialist thought in their respective countries, they declare that the Italian and Jugo Slav proletariats are firmly resolved to prevent a new war. But they are persuaded that only the Soviet Revolution can cause definitely to disappear all territorial questions, and can bring true liberation to all peoples. In consequence, they call upon the Italian and Jugo Slav peoples to fight for a speedy victory of the workers of both countries, and to create a Federation of Soviet Republics.

"Long live the revolutionary proletariats of Italy and Jugo-Slavia!

"Long live the universal Social Republic!

"For the Italian Section at Paris: Antonio Rubino, Secretary.

"For the Federation of Jugo-Slav Socialists: Voislav Vutovich, Secretary."

Profiteering in Tsar Roubles! That was one object of those elaborately invented and circulated yarns. Another was "high finance".

Reactionary Russians bought millions of Tsar roubles before they spread the reports, and the sold them at from 10 to 20 times the price to a deceived public.

Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and in even greater degree Finland, Estonia, and the other little Baltic States, live in an open terror from Churchillism. All their foreign and many of their internal affairs are discussed and decided, not from the point of view of equity or the national desire, but by the formula, "What will England think? What will England do?"

And England in these parts of the world is Churchillism—Churchillism represented by the naval and military might for which the British labourer pays.

It is my opinion that had a delegation of Labour men been here in Helsingfors or in Reval for the past three weeks, to make known the general attitude in England towards the war against Russia, the Finnish Diet would have decided for peace with the Soviets, and the Estonians would have put an end to their present hesitations.

But Churchillism was allowed the field.

Labour needs a General Staff abroad no less than at home.

London Daily Herald.

RECOGNISE RUSSIA!!

All last week a thick black cloud of asphyxiating lies hung over the situation in Russia, and even now, as we write, the cloud is still there, although it is no longer so opaque.

We can see now that Kronstadt did not surrender, that Petrograd was not taken, and that Denikin was further from Moscow than he had been a week or two ago. It is clear that the smoke-screen was put up for the special benefit of the Baltic States who had been thinking of making peace with Russia, and was unfortunately successful, at least, in one case, that of Finland.

This gives us the exact measure of the infamy of the whole Russian business. Taken in conjunction with the astounding note to Germany, asking her co-operation in blockading Russia at the very time when the Government inspired press is howling over von Goltz's enterprise—a note which our Government tried to conceal from the public, this policy of lies and brutality is something that is unique in the annals of history. Here we live in a country which is reputed to be governed "democratically". The people in its overwhelming majority, is deadly opposed to the Russian adventure. Yet the Government spends the money of the people in furnishing supplies of all sorts to adventures making war on a Government and a people with whom we are at peace is employing the nation's navy—that navy which is said to be the bulwark of our freedom—in transporting to, and in landing mercenary troops of all kinds on Russian shores and in bombarding and seizing Russian fortresses and ports, and in manipulating the entire world-apparatus of publicity in order to mislead the public of its own and foreign countries. Is there in our vocabulary a word strong enough to brand this infamy?

Yet the people stand it. They

grumble, they are discontented, they adopt resolutions, protesting against intervention, sometimes they even threaten, but they do nothing which could really frighten the bandits in office. Of course, one of their demands has been fulfilled. Archangel and Murmansk have been evacuated, though British "technical" missions, with tanks and aeroplanes, are still operating on the other fronts. But even this concession is more formal than real. Murmansk is still dominated by the guns of the British navy, while at Archangel, which has lost its importance since the defeat of Kolchak, Serbian and Czech-Slovak mercenaries had been collected and equipped at British expense before the first British soldier was moved out. Apart from this empty "satisfaction", the British people has not succeeded in asserting its will in respect of the Russian intervention on any single point. Millions—men, women and children—are being slowly starved to death, and thousands are killed and maimed by British bombs and poison gas; and the people of this country are standing by unable to make their protest effective in this land of Democracy.

It is obvious that the capitalist bandits who are thus loading the nation with an eternal legacy of shame and blood will continue their nefarious work so long as they are confronted with resolutions and verbal threats only. At the time of the war the attempts to discriminate and to dissociate the German people from their Government were invariably met by the argument that so long as the German nation tolerated the Kaiser and his clique there could be no question of divided responsibility. There was a good deal of truth in this, otherwise hypocritical, argument; but it also applies to our own people in their toleration of the present policy of the Government to-

wards Soviet Russia. So long as the people of Great Britain do not overthrow the band of criminals who, in their name, are running Russia, that responsibility with which they are saddling them will rest upon them and cry to heaven for retribution.

The people of this country will have to do something more than pass resolutions of protest before they can shake themselves free from this partnership of crime. The German and Austrian masses replied to the provocative attitude of their diplomats and generals at Brest-Litovsk by a general strike which involved millions of workers. Shall it be said that our own masses are less sensitive to their honour and their own class-interests in time of peace than the workers of the former Central Empires were in time of great danger to their countries? How many more millions of Russian workers and peasants must be starved by the British navy and killed by British tanks and guns before the British workers do as the German and Austrian did in January, 1918? Let it be clearly understood: the issue is no longer the mere withdrawal of troops or even the cessation of supplies to the Tsarist hangmen whom the British Government chooses to honour by Orders of Bath and other distinctions. Even if those direct forms of intervention were to cease, the blockade—that diabolical method which, like the burning of the stake, so beloved by the old Saint Hermandad, kills without shedding blood—will remain. It is necessary to do away with all forms of intervention, and that implies the recognition of the Soviet Government. This is what the people must insist upon at all costs and what it must carry through by every and any means it can employ. Let the watchword be: "Peace with, and recognition of the Soviet Government," and let action follow the word.

London Call.

INDUSTRIAL RULERS MUST ABDICATE TO WORKERS SAYS DUTCH EMPLOYER

Delegate of Holland Bosses to International Labor Conference Hopes for Job of Manager in His Plant When Big Crane Comes.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Washington, Nov. 14.—"The future belongs to the wage earners. The present rulers of industry must prepare to abdicate their sovereignty in favor of the working class."

From a soapbox in Seattle or Glasgow that sentiment would appear hackneyed enough. But it came with novel emphasis from the lips of Mr. J. A. E. Verkade, vice president of the Dutch Employers' Association and employers' delegate from Holland to the International Labor Conference (League of Nations variety), now sitting at Washington.

I found Mr. Verkade at the Cosmos Club and we had sat down in a little room overlooking Lafayette Square to discuss the world tomorrow, after agreeing that anything he might say should be regarded as the personal opinion of Mr. Verkade, bisept manufacturer of Zaanadam and competitor in the world's food market.

At the first word, Verkade aroused my sympathy and established his relative fitness to talk labor. He is afraid of losing his job!

"When the workers take over my plant I want them to retain me as manager," he said. "I am a good manager because I know the business, and it would be a big mistake for the workmen to throw me out. In fact, I believe they would muddle the business terribly without me. They would suffer. My plan is to have them retain me at a good salary."

A muffled laugh, kind but merry, came from somewhere. I looked up quickly but could see nothing except, on the wall, a massive engraving of Walt Whitman, his beard afloat, his head tilted to one side.

Interruption Not Noticed.

Mr. Verkade had not noticed the interruption. He continued: "For many years past I have made a close study of what we call the unrest of a labor. It exists everywhere and I have discussed it with employers in many countries, particularly Great Britain. One cause of working class discontent may be illustrated by a single example, that of the big Selfridge store in London. Mr. Selfridge found that his employees were either uninterested in their work or sullenly hostile to the whole enterprise. Without much faith, but as a desperate resort, he engaged a psychologist to investigate the trouble.

"This man soon found himself in the midst of a lot of working men and women who knew the departments and the tastes of their customers perfectly, but who were hampered all day long by interference from the owner's office. When asked for specific complaints, they demanded an end of floor walkers, time clocks or changes in procedure without their advice or consent. Those reforms were granted in a small department and the morale of the whole force began to improve at once.

"The workers are in rebellion against a system which credits them with no intelligence and allows them no initiative. There are many things in every industry that the operatives know better than anyone else can, and they know they know it. The man in my factory who does nothing day after day but lift a tin form and press it down on a piece of dough is disgusted with his status, and I sympathize with his resentment."

Wealth Distribution Up.

"So much for the purely psychological factor," Mr. Verkade continued. "We come now to the matter of wages, the distribution of wealth created by an industry. Workmen tell me they are willing that I should receive a good salary for my part in managing the plant, but there is a bitter objection to the payment of big stock dividends to persons who contribute nothing to the process which creates their wealth. We have come near the time when such dividends must be abolished."

Mr. Verkade is neither a Socialist nor a Communist.

"I believe that an recognized interest of, say, 10 per cent on invested capital is necessary and should be preserved, besides a proper amount for plant depreciation and capital reserve," he explains. "And I think the workers will concede that much interest to capital, unless employers are unwise enough to resist the demand for democratic management and the abolition of excessive stock dividends."

Prince of Wales Passes.

"It is the Prince of Wales," he said; "let us watch him pass. Or, perhaps you aren't interested?" I was interested, mildly. As a child I used to go every summer to the zoological gardens to see the last of the buffalo. I recalled those visits as, buried in the calvacade, a windowed motor car rolled by, revealing a slender young man within, sheltered behind crystal like the artificial wreaths in mid-Victorian parlors.

We resumed our seats and Mr. Verkade grew retrospective. He spoke of the revulsion that many benevolent capitalists experience when they come into close contact with the sweaty, uncultured men and women who work for wages and hold the future in the hollow of their worn hands.

"We may not like them for companions; perhaps they are comical in their ignorance and groping confusion. That makes no difference. Our own class, the present masters of industry, were grotesque and repellent to the earls and barons of feudalism when, a century ago, they challenged the right of hereditary rulers and seized the control of society because they needed it to develop the modern processes of industry.

"They possessed none of the grace of elegance of their predecessors, but their hour had struck, and they could not be denied. That was only a century ago; we should not forget it so quickly."

I was interested in that 10 per cent interest which private capital must be allowed to retain, according to Mr. Verkade.

"Don't you think," I asked him, "that labor may insist that capital be nationalized, so that even the 10 per cent will become common instead of private property?"

"No," he replied. "I believe private capital must and will be retained and encouraged. Great enterprises, such as the development of foreign markets in competition with the world, could not be carried on with at capital."

"Doesn't the labor program contemplate the abolition of foreign markets as we now understand them, of competition between rival manufacturing groups?" I persisted.

Mr. Verkade suppressed an indignant smile.

"Every program contemplates far more than it expects ever to realize," he continued. "I do not anticipate the abolition of competition for foreign trade. The great war has brought many changes, but it has left some things about as they were."

With this evidence that Mr. Verkade is still a Dutch manufacturer and not an internationalist, the interview ended.

At Last

By Joshua Kunitz.

Out of the horror and chaos of war, Out of the torrents of tears and of gore,

Out of the pains, and the sighs, and the cries, Out of the filth, and the hate, and the lies,

Out of it, out of it, man does arise— Man full of courage—man who defies

Ancient conventions, traditions and ties, Man like an eagle, with sharp, piercing eyes,

Grasping the lightning out of the skies, Living and laughing and asking no why's,

Drinking, ah, drinking, the light ere he dies.

LINCOLN

"I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not. I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere."—Speech at New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1860.

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. . . . There is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed in that condition of life. . . . No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."

Annual Message to Cong., Dec., 3, 1861

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

TACKAR SÅ MYCKET

Comrade Minnie and Jack Carney were presented with purse of \$71.25 and a handsome gold watch. They came as tokens of appreciation from the comrades of the Duluth Scandinavian Local.

Comrades we thank you for your presents and we trust that we will continue to merit your esteem and to enjoy your unbounded generosity.

MINNIE and JACK CARNEY.

WON'T VIC BE PLEASED!

"Emma Goldman chafes at Ellis Island because she cannot help in the campaign to elect the man who stands convicted of aiding the enemies of the United States."
—Duluth News Tribune.

"THIS IS AMERICA!"

A well-known AMERICAN professor was interviewed regarding the numerous outrages that are taking place. He made the simple but illuminating reply, "THIS IS AMERICA!"

I confess that I am at a loss to understand the American people. How they can tolerate the numerous outrages that are taking place, is more than I can tell? If the correspondents of other countries were to tour this country and made their report, in the same manner that American reporters toured Russia, God what a story they could tell! Time there was, when an American could stand up and say that this was God's own country. But in the face of the present outrages, let every American hold his peace. Every constitutional right of the people has been trampled underfoot and the American people today stand without any rights. They are at the mercy of every lawless mob that may come along and profess a belief in Americanism. Homes and halls are destroyed, men are lynched and nothing is done. Yet if a few radicals meet together and simply hold an ordinary indoor meeting, they are subject to the petty persecution of miserable souled cockroach business man, whose "patriotism" will not stand the glare of the searchlight of TRUTH.

If ever there was a need for red blooded men and women to stand together and stem this tide of mad reaction, that time IS NOW. Whether you are a foreigner or a native son of America, you must stand right now and defend the rights for which your forefathers fought. We have all got to make the same reply that dear old Mother Jones made to the magistrates of Braddock, Pa. They asked her who gave her permission to speak in Braddock, Mother Jones replied, "The men who wrought this nation out of blood and sacrifice wrote my permit into the country's charter and handed it down to me."

The country was shocked a few days ago by the story of the shooting of some soldiers in an Armistice Parade in Centralia Washington. Lying and lurid stories were flashed across the wires and a mad wave came over the country, which has not yet subsided. Many of the I. W. W. boys were shot and in some cases lynched. Many today lie in the bastiles of America. All due to the lying, prostitute press of America. We are now getting to know the truth about the Centralia affair, but not until members of the working-class have paid dearly with their lives for the rotten lies circulated by the capitalist press. So foul were the reports that were appearing in the Seattle P-I, that the printers in the shop met together and threatened that if the attacks were not stopped and the following resolution printed on the first page, they would then and there stop work and tie up the whole works:—

RESOLUTION OF SEATTLE PRINTERS.

"As members of the several trade unions employed in the production of your newspaper, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, we make the following representations.

"We have been patient under misrepresentation, faithful in the face of slander, long-suffering under insult; we have upheld our agreements and produced your paper, even though in so doing we were braiding the rope with which you proposed to hang us; day after day we have put in type, stereotyped, printed and mailed calumny after calumny, lie after lie, insult after insult.

"Little by little, as our patience seemed to be unbounded, your editorial and business policy has encroached upon and further and further overstepped the bounds, not only of fairness and TRUTH, but DECENCY and Americanism itself. We have even meekly witnessed your unfair and reprehensible campaign of falsehood and ruin result in the suppression of the last medium of honest expression for our cause in Seattle, not only denying our brothers the means of livelihood, but denying us a fair greater boon—the American right of a free press.

"So long as these things appeared to be a part of your unfair fight, against organization—our organizations and others—we have been able to endure them in the hope that at last TRUTH MUST PREVAIL.

"But there must be a limit to all things.

"In the page advertisement in the Post Intelligencer of Nov. 18th, 1919, purporting to have been written and paid for by Selvin, but which had as well have occupied the position in your paper usually taken up by your editorial page, your utter depravity as a newspaper, your shameless disregard of the laws of the land, your hatred of opposition, your

reckless policy of appeal to the passions of citizenry, reached depths of malice and malignancy hitherto unbelievable. It is nothing less than excitation to violence stark and naked invitation to anarchy.

"Therefore, be it.

Resolved, by the whole committee of your organized employees, in meeting assembled, that if your business management cannot demonstrate its capacity and sagacity, if your editorial directing heads must remain blind to the things they are bringing us to; if together you cannot see the abyss to which you are leading us—all of us; if you have no more love for our common country than is manifested in your efforts to plunge it into anarchy, then as loyal American citizens—many of us ex-service men who very clearly proved our faith in America and its institutions—we must, not because we are unionists but because we are Americans, find means to protect ourselves from the stigma of having aided and abetted your campaign of destruction.

(Signed)

J. W. HERSHEY, Chairman
JOHN J. WENNER
E. A. GRABER
M. OLNEY
ALVARO C. SHOEMAKER
Committee.

The Selvin referred to, was the editor of the Business Chronicle, a paper somewhat similar to the Duluth News-Tribune and the Duluth Herald. Selvin had urged that labor officials be hounded out of Seattle and had gone so far as to advocate lynching. The Government had to step in and deprive the Seattle Business Chronicle, the Star and the Seattle P-I, of their mailing privileges. You can imagine how open their appeals for murder were, when the government officials had to step in. We are glad that the printers of Seattle had the courage of their convictions, and we trust that the lesson will be closely watched by printers not one thousand miles of Duluth. As soon as the union printers use their economic power upon the capitalist papers, the sooner will be able to prevent the dissemination of foul lies that only have one purpose in view and that is to destroy the radical and labor movement.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CENTRALIA AFFAIRS?

Way back in 1913, a job delegate of the Industrial Workers of the World was stationed in Centralia. A job delegate of the I.W.W. is the most thankless task in the world. You have got to suffer all discomforts of life and nobody knows the value of your work, because it is the kind of work that nobody cares to do. We all admire a fine mansion and we praise the architect, but we never praise the poor guy that got down in the muck and dug the foundations. The guy who digs the foundations of a decent society is the job delegate. Well this job delegate, nobody knows who he was, managed to sell plenty of literature and by the dissemination of literature they organized sufficient men to call a successful strike. A local politician known as Hubbard, he was also a lumber baron, fought the I.W.W. and the I. W. W. BEAT HIM TO IT. He never forgot that beating and sought for opportunities to bet even with the I.W.W.

There appeared on the scene at this time, a rising young lawyer. Mr. Grimm, grim by name grim by nature. He aspired to very great social heights. He had surveyed the whole scene and fixed his ambitious eyes upon one political office then another and so on. You know the stairway the politician travels. Grimm realized that to make good politically he must obtain the eye of the political chiefs and that means getting into the good graces of the BIG BUSINESS element. So accordingly young Grimm commenced to make vicious attacks on the I.W.W. The attacks were very effective. Many members of the I. W. W. dropped out, but WELSEY EVERETTS, the young fellow-worker who was lynched, stayed on the job.

We next introduce you to blind Tom Lassiter. Blind Tom was a plucky fellow. He sold radical literature in Centralia. Grimm and others kidnapped him and abused him. But Tom is one of those fellows that would die with a smile on his face, if he knew that he was dying for his belief in INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. They tried all manner of ways to drive Tom out of town, but Tom stuck, a monument to class-loyalty.

Well the war came. It had its effect upon all organizations. Many of the members of the I.W.W. were drafted, including WELSEY EVERETTS, the young fellow-worker who was lynched by the soldiers of the AMERICAN LEGION of Centralia. But despite the loss of members the loggers managed to keep their headquarters going in Centralia. On "Red Cross Day April 1918, young Grimm led an attack on the I.W.W. headquarters. An American officer who witnessed the attack, stated speaking of Grimm, "A howling Dervish! The man is mad. Let us drive on!"

The war is over. The boys came home from France. After being eighteen months in the thickest of the fighting, WELSEY EVERETTS returned back to his post in the army of the class struggle. He took up the job of I. W. W. organizer. He soon managed, with the assistance of those that had stayed around since the beginning, to open up a new hall at the Roderick Hotel Building, 805 Tower Avenue, Centralia. The business men howled against the I.W.W. being allowed to start up again in Centralia. They stormed and fumed, but the wobbles had a long lease on the hall and the proprietor refused to turn them out. Every capitalist paper came out bitter attacks on the I.W.W. But still the I.W.W. refused to move.

Then came the anniversary of the signing of the armistice. On Nov. 11th., 1919, being a general holiday, a few of the loggers came into town to watch the

Armistice Day parade. The parade came to the I.W.W. HALL. It was stopped there and then. In a few moments soldiers with their mad passions aroused, led by young Warren Grimm attacked the I.W.W. hall. Shots were fired and after the attack the I.W.W. hall lay in ruins and four soldiers were killed. In order to destroy all possible evidence as to who commenced the attack, the front of the I.W.W. hall was torn out. Later on WELSEY EVERETTS was seen being dragged along, with a rope around his neck. He had been kicked in his sexual organs and could hardly walk. He was not afraid, he turned to the crowd and said: "They have't got the guts to lynch anybody in broad daylight." No they did not have the guts. They took him to prison and in the dead of night, a cowardly gang stormed the gaol and hung poor Everetts to a railroad trestle.

The truth about Centralia is this. An attempt was made to lynch the members of the I.W.W.. It was a case of life or death with the members of that organization. They witnessed the well-armed mob firing at them. They resolved to take what they thought was their last stand. They realized that it is better to die fighting, than to have never fought at all. The Government has realized that the case of the I.W.W. was one of self-defense and has refused to prosecute.

We have been asked to say one word in behalf of the members of the American Legion of Centralia. Whilst they assisted in the affair, they afterwards compelled the brutal businessmen of Centralia to stop their brutal attacks upon the arrested in prison. We trust that the American Legion will soon realize that they are being used as the tools of the reactionary elements of the country.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

That is the question we have all got to answer.

We have got to learn what SOLIDARITY means. The issue as presented in the Centralia case, is an issue that must be met and fought. Are we of the working-class movement going to allow the capitalist class to form its organizations, with the avowed purpose of crushing us and allow them to get away with it? If not, then we have a 11 got to work together. The man who prates about HIS party at this time, is too narrow-minded and too partisan. At this hour we stand for the workingclass and not for any particular party of the workingclass. True it is that certain A. F. of L. unions are blind to the consequences of our lying down. The A. F. of L. union thinks that by lending assistance to attacks on the I. W. W. and the Communists, it is preserving its own organization. It may be hard to teach these unions different, but there is going to come amongst us a school, that we will ALL have to attend, the school of experience and out of that school the A. F. of L. members will emerge sadder but wiser fellows. Comrades of the Communist and Communist Labor Party, brothers of the American Federation of Labor and fellow-workers of the I.W.W. let us all stand together. We must preserve the right of free speech and free assembly. We must shew to all organizations that they cannot stampede or destroy our movement. So far we have compelled the reactionary elements of the city to recognise that we are not a mere group of foreigners, but the largest section of the workingclass. We must stand firm and we will win. The cause for which we stand for, Socialism or BOLSHIEVISM as we know it in these days, is bound to win. Bolshevism is not the product of any man's brains, Lenin's for instance, it develops by the operation of forces that no man or class can wholly stay or hinder.

With a message of real truth, based on scientific understanding and a spirit of self-sacrifice such as never been excelled since the days of the Christians in the Roman arenas, fools are they that think by issuing forth flamboyant resolutions they can stampede us. We accept your challenge, short-sighted and narrow-minded masters of America! Can you not understand that the world is about to witness the birth of a new era? Are you so dense as to think that you can stop the laws of evolution? Gentlemen the economic laws of nature must be obeyed. All, rich or poor, must obey those laws. To those that adapt themselves in accordance with those laws, to them will be given in great abundance. But to those that attempt to frustrate their working, they shall live in a fool's paradise. They will storm and rave, but in the passing of a night, they shall witness the passing away of one system—CAPITALISM — and the coming into being of a new and better order — COMMUNISM. Gentlemen the calm precedes the storm. History stands still, because she gathers force for a great catastrophe. Suddenly out of the night, there comes across the dark horizon, like a mighty meteor the Russian Revolution. You struck it, you tried to stay its course. For two years all the blind reactionary forces of world Imperialism have tried to crush the Russian revolution. Gentleman you failed and miserably failed. When will you recognise the hopelessness of your case?

BY THE WAY!

Did you know that the profits of the coal operators averaged ONLY 2000 % during 1917 and 1918? That is what McAdoo, late Secretary of the Treasury states and he ought to know, because he had the income-tax returns for those years.

The average life of a miner is forty. Out of that forty years he spends twenty two years in the mines. He risks his life and never knows anything at all about living. His wages have increased about 40 % and his living expenses about 107 %.

Frankly, who is entitled to a living wage, the man who digs the coal or the man who makes profit out of the digger? If you think a little before you answer this question, you might gain some idea of what constitutes a Bolsheviki.

GLASS-CONSCIOUS

By John S. Clarke

He possessed the soul of Liebknecht and the wit of Leon Trotsky,
And without a question he had Lenin's brain!
He could "measure situations" with the skill of Marx or Kautsky
And plan, with "subtle strategy" campaigns.
With manoeuvre Jesuitic, 'gainst the class called parasitic,
He would paralyse all plutocratic rule,—
But the folk who really mattered—as the little fellow chattered,
Knew they looked upon and listened—to a fool.

He described with purple eloquence his own acute acumen;
His qualities paraded in a string:
It was HE who steered the "movement" with a prescience superhuman;
He whose call to arms would make the welkin ring!
All the sageness of the sages and the wisdom of the ages—
Intensified and clarified at that—
Were most obviously dwelling-hence the cephalonic swelling—
In the grey stuff beneath his trilby hat.

He was eminently practical—profoundly theoretical—
Esthetic to his very finger tips!
And problems of psychology both real and hypothetical,
He looked upon as intellectual quips:
If by any chance you lost your—"revolutionary posture"
In the turmoil and confusion of "The Cause",
He would prove beyond a question you had "mental indigestion",
And he'd physic you with "Economic laws".

Came the day—one might have known it—when his favourite occupation
Gained ascendancy above all other kinds;
When his one absorbing aim was egotistic adulation—
That last infirmity of feeble minds.
For Revolt came hot and hissing, but our hero he was missing
When his own particular cronies made a call.
(He was in his bedroom prating of himself and imitating Lenin's features—in a mirror on the wall.)
(Reprinted from the Scottish "Socialist".)

THANKSGIVING DAY IN AUSTRIA

The following touching scene is described in La Bataille:

Ah, if you, the great guilty parties, could have seen your own work! If you could have seen them come out of the train in the railroad station at Lausanne (Switzerland), the little ones from Vienna who came to spend a few weeks in Switzerland so that they would not die in the great city of their birth, without bread, without coal, and without clothing!

The rain was falling. It was cold. The asphalt of the station was dirty and moist. It seemed as if the fall was even aggravating the horrible vision that passed before our eyes.

Suddenly a train appeared, advancing slowly. Some ladies of the Red Cross approached. Through the windows of the cars we saw little faces, pinched, yellow, so lean as to frighten us.

There was no crowd present to receive these little Viennese.

When the happy Queen of Rumania recently stopped at this same station there was a crowd. But I felt that all the people favoring war and hatred should have been there to see, and all those that have already forgotten and are doing nothing to prevent the recurrence of war.

The train came to a stop. From the cars we saw descending the little children—no, skeletons, phantoms of little children.

Oh, the poor little things, the innocent victims; how painful it was to look at them!

Young ones from 8 to 12 years, with wasted faces, shriveled as I from advanced age. Their members fleshless, covered with grotesque, wretched rags, hideous, terrifying. Nothing of happy childhood visible in these little ones as they marched by like specters. The eyes burning as with fever. Instead of joyous outbursts of youthful exuberance their breasts sent forth the harsh noises indicating affected lunas.

And oh, their gestures! They indicated low spirits, torpor, unheard of moral and physical suffering. In their eyes with the look of beaten dogs you could read the sufferings they did not understand, sufferings they could not account for, sufferings often worse than those of the grownups.

From their fleshless shoulders were hanging their individual traveling bags. They were not heavy, those bags. They contained only a few clothes for change. And yet, under that slight, burden, those unfortunates were bent piteously.

Coming out of the station, they went a little ways into the town. They saw the splendid stores. When they pass a confectioner's window their eager eyes light up like those of the demented. The sight is painful to them. On the sidewalk two little girls burst out crying. Poor innocents, with faces wrinkled like those of the aged, with eyes full of despair! They trot slowly along, visible exhibitions of the great misery of their native city.

And it just occurs to me that their ex-emperor and his retinue, those responsible for the war, are living now in safety in nearby places, not at all suffering hunger and want. But these poor children must go on suffering from the blockade of starvation.

Workers of all countries, will you stand by inactive, allowing such horrors to continue? The sufferings of the children of Austria and Russia?