

YOU CAN JAIL MEN BUT NOT THEIR IDEAS

THE TRUTH

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

WHOLE No. 140 14

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1920

Vol. IV.—No. 8 FIVE CENTS.

THE LAST STATEMENT OF KARL LIEBKNECHT

Ratify Treaty To Prevent Financial Panic

LIEBKNECHT'S LAST WORDS

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(By permission Scottish "Socialist.")

"A General Attack on the Spartacans!" "Down With the Spartacans!" — such are the exclamations ringing down the streets. "Catch them, whip them, stab them, shoot them down, string them up the lamp-post, grab them, trample them down with your feet!" Brutalities are committed before which the crimes perpetrated by the German armies in Belgium pale into insignificance.

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Undoubtedly! They have sustained a defeat — because they were abandoned by the sailors, the soldiers, the Guard, the people's militia — by those on whose support they counted. And because their power was paralysed by the indecision and feebleness of their leaders. And because of the unprecedented outflow of the counter-revolutionary swamp of the inert populace which swallowed them up.

Yes, undoubtedly — they are smashed. History foreordained their defeat, for the time of their rising was not yet ripe. But nevertheless, the struggle was inevitable, and it would have resulted in a shameful defeat for the enemy if Eugene Ernest and Hirsch had not surrendered without a battle the police headquarters — this revolutionary palladium. This struggle was forced upon the proletariat by the Ebert gang, and with sheer elemental power the Berlin masses rose, throwing aside all revolutionary palladium. This struggle was forced upon the proletariat by the Ebert gang, and with sheer elemental power the Berlin masses rose, throwing aside all doubts and calculations.

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Besieged during the period of the January Bloody Week, they valiantly carried on the struggle; they aspired to realise the grand and noble aim of suffering humanity — the spiritual and material emancipation of the exploited masses; they shed their precious blood in the name of a sacred ideal. And from every drop of this blood — of this dragon's seed for the victory of to-day — in the place of the fallen will rise new avengers; from every mutilated body will emerge new fighters in the name of the great cause which is as eternal and unfading as the horizon.

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So says Colonel Roustam Bek, the only man outside of Russia whose judgement of military events within or near Russia has been vindicated by what is now known to have happened there during the past two years of Allied blockade, censorship and propaganda of falsehood.

Colonel Bek is a veteran of the Russian-Japanese War, a former officer of the Czar, later an officer of the British volunteer forces, then military expert of the London Daily Express, and now military adviser to the Soviet Government at Washington.

I wanted to know about the Japanese and Polish attitudes toward Russia, and about the much-discussed "Bolshevik drive toward India." So I called upon Colonel Bek at the Lafayette Hotel. Beginning with the

Siberian situation, this is what he said:

"Months ago, when it was alleged that Japan meant to send armies even as far west as Omsk to help Kolchak defend that I said no clash between the Soviet army and the Japanese would occur west of Lake Balkal. Omsk, Tomsk and Irkutsk have fallen, and we have not heard of Japanese helping to defend any of those places."

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ON WITH THE FIGHT!

TO U. S. COMMUNISTS

A Message of Sympathy and Encouragement.

Comrades, — We congratulate you on the great fight for Communism which you are carrying on in face of persistent coercion and oppression. The bourgeois Republic of America is proving, in conclusive fashion, to any workers in Europe who may doubt it, that a republic is no better than a monarchy whilst Capitalism remains. As a matter of fact comrades, we observe that the tactics which your capitalists are practicing against you in America are often copied by British capitalists in their warfare with British labour. No doubt your capitalists also take hints from British capitalists as to how both to coerce and mislead the workers. The fight for Communism is world-wide, and in nothing do we see this more plainly than in the international combination of Capitalism against soviet Russia. You, comrades, are now being victimised for your adherence to the Revolution—for your struggle in support of Soviet Russia and the great principles of Socialism which at last are being put into practice there. To-day it is you who are attacked, presently it will be our turn once more. In the meantime we send you our hearty greetings and good wishes for the establishment in America of Soviets and Communism.

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

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HAYWOOD HAS LITTLE HOPE FOR I. W. W.'S AT MONTESANO TRIAL

**Courts Refusal to Grant Change of Venue From
Actively Hostile Community Indicates That
11 Men Are In Grave Danger of Gallows.
Says Head of Organization.**

Chicago.—"Our boys who were convicted in Tacoma this week left the courtroom singing. So long as our members can teach the world to sing, there is nothing for us to worry about."

This was the answer of William D. Haywood to the drive that is on against the Industrial Workers of the World wherever they have gained a foothold. The secretary of the I. W. W., out of Leavenworth penitentiary on bail and in the shadow of a fresh indictment in Chicago, sat at his desk on the third floor of the organization headquarters and talked about the rocks on the road ahead.

"The remarkable part about it all," he said, "is that these onslaughts on us are not making us weaker. Each attack has its reaction, and while they may shake us up for a time, we reassemble like scattered drops of quicksilver into a lump of amalgam and are whole again."

More Indictments Expected.

Most of the Industrial Workers lately indicted here have been released on bail, but Haywood had heard that a new grand jury had been appointed or would be shortly, and that new evidence developed by the authorities would bring another batch of indictment at an early date.

He mentioned thirteen I. W. W. members who were indicted, but had not yet been found by official searchers. Harold Varney author of the widely advertised but still unpublished book, "Revolt," is one of these. Another is L. C. Russell, who disappeared from his lodgings here under circumstances that make his comrades fear that he is either in jail somewhere and held incommunicado, or that he has met with physical violence.

The other missing men are Henry Bradley, George Bradley, Marcus Carney, Robert Hardian, John Jackson, James King, Alec Kohler, Fred Nelson, Charles Plain and Anson E. Soper. There is no oratory in Haywood's conversation. His voice stay down and the talk is patchy—or was today—because his questioner was asking many questions haphazardly. But Haywood speaks with quiet conviction. He is a big rough looking man, with one eye gone, who knows the inside of prisons and courtrooms and has stood the gaff. What Bill Haywood himself has endured, physically and mentally, for the cause he represents it one of the great reasons for the I. W. W. For he has been a target for the javelins and the boulders that are hurled at every man who feels the call to organize the working class for betterment.

Fearful for Centralia Men.

Of the Centralia case, Haywood was fearful. "The men on trial at Montesano," he said, "have little chance for their lives. They are being tried in a hostile community, where our enemies have worked incessantly to influence every possible juror and there is an army of prosecutors. One of the dark signs is the action of the trial judge in refusing a new change of venue after he had announced that the boys wouldn't get a fair trial in Montesano and after he had promised to grant a change."

"If the law prevents the court from granting a second transfer of the case, then eleven men are in grave danger of being sent to the gallows because somebody out in Washington has jammed a vicious law into the statute books."

Swedish Workers Give \$1,000.

Money is being collected here for the defense of the Montesano defendants and other I. W. W. members facing prosecution in many cities across the country. One thousand dollars has been contributed by workers in Sweden to the general defense.

It is said that the trials of the various radicals indicted here in the recent drive will be heard in the order of their indictments—first, the Communist Labor Party, then the Communists and next the I. W. W.

Pact May be Ratified

(Continued from page 1)

and told the world in the simplest terms that the American Senate ought to ignore President Wilson and approve a treaty that would "break the heart of the world."

Just the same, I hear that the President is calling his young Senate braves together for a ghost dance, for another whipping of themselves in a fury against the Lodge "betrayal"; that he means to go down with his war paint on, if go down he must.

It may be magnificent, but it is foolish, say those who must ride into this Balaklava. For the treaty must and will be gotten out of the way. Exchange is falling like a punctured balloon, and U. S. exports come tumbling after. "Something must be done." Everything else that's been tried has failed. Ratification is next. After that America will be under at least a moral obligation to toss more money bags to the dragon of world-wide financial collapse.

And if this is not too late in a story to become sensational, I should like to refer to the rumor that America loaned more than \$50,000,000,000 to Europe during and since the war, instead of \$10,000,000,000, as advertised. A man whose name is known throughout the land will make this charge in a public address he is planning to make within a few days.

Orator Said to Have Proof.

It sounds incredible. Yet the orator is said to have his proof in hand. He will charge that in addition to so-called "credits" given to Europe to purchase supplies in America, that administration made unreported shipments of gold to the Allies, so enormous in amount that the gold reserve behind the nation's currency is now far below the pre-war level.

He will charge that the world war sapped and mined the financial structure of the United States so thoroughly that there is nothing but the hollow shell of it left. He will call for an immediate and drastic confiscation of private fortunes as the only means left to avert a political and economic catastrophe.

He will charge that the contemplated Federal tax of \$550 per family for the coming year, while entirely inadequate to avert national bankruptcy, is many times too great for the masses to bear.

All he has to say will bear directly on the move to conclude formal peace, on the panic of international financiers, and the general tendency to find some scapegoat, "red" white or blue, for the politico-economic whirlwind which experts see on the near horizon.

BRITISH, FRENCH, ITALIAN MISSIONS SEIZED BY BOLSHEVIKI IN SIBERIA, LITVINOFF SAYS

Copenhagen, Feb. 7 (Reuter's).—The British, French, and Italian missions in Siberia have been captured by the Bolsheviki. They are being well treated, according to a message M. Litvinoff, the Bolshevist representative here, says he has received from Trotsky, the Soviet War Minister.

Just what missions are referred to in the Copenhagen dispatch is not known. The arrival at Harbin, Manchuria, of the British, French and Japanese diplomatic staffs was related in a London dispatch on Jan. 20.

A Chita (Siberia) dispatch of Jan. 19 reported the capture by the Bolsheviki of a party of American engineers and Red Cross workers, while a London Daily Mail dispatch of Jan. 30, dated Harbin, reported the capture of eight American and two British officers west of Irkutsk.

"Guarantee to Every Man the Full Enjoy- ment of the Produce Of His Labour."

By TOM MANN.

If that which is involved in the above title should be brought about, many of us would be prepared to "close our eyes in peace." Well, that is what the Amalgamated Society of Engineers stands for: in fact, the words are an extract from the preface to the Rule Book of the A. S. E. Many members do not seem to be aware that so thorough a doctrine is included in the Rule Book. If they will turn to the preface they will find that following upon some sensible advice to organize, the wind up is as follows:—

"If we do this, we may leave to a future generation not only a trade, but the means of maintaining its best interests until some more general principle of co-operation shall be acknowledged in society. Guaranteeing to every man the full enjoyment of the produce of his labour."

This is no new addition to the preface. I suppose it was written in 1850 at the time the then Amalgamation took place. It is true the brethren have left to "a future generation" the task of bringing about the change in society. That generation has now arrived.

The forecast was a correct one, all subsequent events have justified it. I have had opportunities of witnessing the advance in ideas and the spirit of determination characterising the members of the Union.

Betimes there has been a spell of years when no progress seemed to be made, but anyone who can carry their mental survey over the last quarter of a century will know that the change in outlook is very.

Whilst this is so, it must also be admitted that the wages received by engineers generally are not adequate, not all commensurate with the work done, nor even comparable to the incomes of very many other workers. This must receive prompt attention and rectification must take place.

Control in Workshops, by properly primed Works Committees, genuinely representative of all shades and grades of workers, must be steadily extended in all direction without delay.

If the rank and file will put their hearts and heads into this it will make many things possible later on.

We must build up from below. The men in the shops, being in agreement and exhibiting solidarity, can do anything that ought to be done.

Concerted action with other Unions must be resorted to, to make possible such a drastic regulation of working hours as will solve the unemployment trouble.

May I urge upon all in the engineering industry to prepare for this without further delay; it must not be attempted sectionally, to do so would be to walk into trouble. Officers of the Union ought; they can, and doubtless, they will, strike the right attitude on this and kindred subjects; but it is chiefly a rank and file matter, without workshop solidarity without genuine concerted action between kindred Unions, there is no hope for any success worth having but given solidarity over the necessary area and variety of occupations, the objective will be reached. Meanwhile, I wish to offer encouragement to Brothers and Comrades of all occupations. I am very optimistic as regards the future. Let us then show Courage and Caution, confident in our ability to marshal our forces and attain our ends.

Polish Socialist Threat

Will Call General Strike if Red Peace Offer Is Rejected.

Warsaw, Feb. 4.—The Socialists announce that a general strike will be proclaimed throughout Poland if the Government rejects the Bolshevist Peace offer. They assert that all the labor parties would support such a strike.

The Chief Council of the Polish Socialist Party today passed a resolution demanding the immediate opening of peace negotiations upon the basis of recognition of the independence of Poland and other nations that proclaimed the desire to exist as free States after the fall of the Russian Czar.

The Council has called a conference of trade unions, workmen's councils and Socialist members of the Diet for Sunday to consider action to influence the Government.

PREPARING FOR THE GRAND FINALE

"Prefer the Workers to Walk By Sight".

By J. T. MURPHY.

Whatever gains the railwaymen have obtained from the Government in the recent fight, the primary object of the Government has been achieved. The governing class laid their plans deep to test the strength of the labour movement in this country. From February to October preparations were being made for all that occurred in the nine days strike.

Feeling the power of the railwaymen they adopted such tactics as would be necessary for them to adopt in a revolution—they made it rehearsal, an experiment in counter-revolutionary tactics. The American Government is doing likewise with the labour movement of America. Whether the trade union leaders like to know the magnitude of the task before the working class movement or not, certainly the governing classes do not hesitate to measure the strength of their opposition.

In a struggle of power against power, intelligent combatants naturally adopt such tactics. And just as the governing classes have not hesitated to draw the forces into open skirmish for the purpose of gaining lessons, neither should we hesitate to learn our lessons and adopt such measures as the circumstances demand.

The solidarity displayed by the railwaymen was magnificent. Their loyalty to their leaders was most marked. Herein is a point of danger which we would do well to ponder over. For inasmuch as the workers are prepared to walk by faith and not by sight, they are wholly dependent on those who lead. If the leaders are true to principle, the workers are, true. If untrue, then they are untrue also.

We of the Shop Steward and Workers Committee Movement, however, prefer the workers to walk by sight, and be in a position to act independently in case of faulty leadership. This can only be done by the application of the delegatory principle, i. e., having the power to immediately recall defective leaders.

But even more important than this factor in the struggle is the need for preparation for situations which may occur, even with defective leadership, and which must arise ere the workers can take complete control over the means of production and distribution. Their organisation must correspond to the demands of industry. It must be capable of rapid adjustment, not only for marshalling the workers on the streets, but also of assuming full responsibility for production and distribution. Its units must correspond to the industrial groups in factories, yards, mills, mines, shops; its departments must correspond to the principal industrial functions, and it must embrace all labour. An examination of the trade unions with these factors well in mind will reveal approximations utterly remote from any one of them.

Indeed, it can be safely said that to the degree to which official organisations have met them, other things being equal, they have not given rise to unofficial organisations beyond those of a propagandist character. One other factor, however, stands out more clearly than ever to-day, which makes imperative the need for some other means of expression than those which the official organisations provide; and that is, the caucus-ridden character of the organizations in the hands of reactionaries who cannot be moved.

These features alone justify the existence of an unofficial movement and impel us to urge that even if the official organisation to which any body of workers belongs approximates closely from a structural point of view to demands we have outlined, they should also be an organised part of the Workers Committee

He has stood and yet stands behind more of the earthquakes which have convulsed nations and destroyed thrones, and do now menace and appal crowned heads and established frauds, than any other man in Europe. The spirit of Marx is at work now preparing the way for the new advent.

One of the most remarkable men of the day, who has played an insuperable but puissant part in the revolutionary politics of the past 40 years, is Karl Marx. A man without desire for show or fame, caring nothing for the fanfare of life or the pretense of power, without haste and without rest, a man of strong, broad, elevated mind, full of far-reaching projects, logical methods and practical aims, he has stood and yet stands behind more of the earthquakes which have convulsed nations and destroyed thrones, and do now menace and appal crowned heads and established frauds, than any other man in Europe, not excepting Joseph Mazzini himself.

THE STUDENT OF BERLIN, the critic of Hegelianism, the editor of papers, and the oldtime correspondent of the New York Tribune, he showed his qualities and his spirit; the founder and master spirit of the once dreaded International, and the author of "Capital," he has been expelled from half the countries of Europe, proscribed in nearly all of them, and for 30 years past has found refuge in London.

He was at Ramsgate the great seashore resort of the Londoners, while I was in London, and there I found him in his cottage, with his family of two generations. The saintly-faced, sweet-voiced, graceful woman of suavity, who welcomed me at the door, was evidently the mistress of the house and the wife

The Oath Of A Soldier Of the Red Army Of Russia.

1. I, A. B., a son of the labouring people, a citizen of the Soviet Republic, assume the calling of a soldier of the Workers' and Peasants' Army.

2. Before the working-class of Russia and of the whole world, I pledge myself to bear this calling honourably, to learn my duties conscientiously, and zealously to protect from damage or loss the military property of the people.

3. I pledge myself straitly and unflinchingly to observe revolutionary discipline, and unhesitatingly to carry out all the orders of the commanders placed over me by the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

4. I pledge myself to withhold myself and dissuade my comrades from all acts degrading and lowering to the dignity of a citizen of the Soviet Republic, and to direct all my actions and all my thoughts towards the great aim of the liberation of all the workers.

5. I pledge myself, at the first call of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, to come to the defence of the Soviet Republic against all dangers and all attacks on the part of her enemies; and, in battle for the Russian Soviet Republic, for the world of Socialism and the brotherhood of the peoples, to spare neither my energies nor my life itself.

6. If by mischievous design I break this my solemn oath, then may universal contempt be my lot, and may I be punished by the stern hand of the revolutionary law.

This oath is renewed annually on May 1st.

(Adopted by the Central Executive of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic at the Session of April 22nd, 1918.)

THE MAN OF EARTH- QUAKES-KARL MARX

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THE AFTERNOON is waning toward the long twilight of an English summer evening as Mr. Marx discusses, and he proposes a walk through the seaside town and along the shore to the beach, upon which we see many thousand people, largely children, disporting themselves. Here we find on the sands his family party—the wife, who had already welcomed me; his two

—London Solidarity.

--WHAT LIFE MEANSTOME!

—BY—

JACK CARNEY

—AT THE—

Bricklayer's Hall

COR. 19th & 1st St. W.

—ON—

Sunday February 22nd, 8 p. m.

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of Karl Marx. And is this massive, headed, generous, courteous, kindly man of 60, with the bushy masses of long revelling gray hair, Karl Marx? His dialogue reminded me of that of Socrates—to free, so sweeping, so creative, so incisive, so genuine—with its sardonic touches, its gleams of humor, and its sportive merriment.

Se spoke of the political forces and popular movements of the various countries of Europe—the vast current of the spirit of Russia, the motions of the German mind, the action of France, the immobility of England. He spoke hopefully of Russia, philosophically of Germany, cheerfully of France, and somberly of England—referring contemptuously to the "atomistic reforms" over which the Liberals of the British Parliament spend their time. Surveying the European world, country after country, indicating the features and the developments and the personages of the surface and under the surface, he showed that things were working toward ends which assuredly will be realized.

I WAS OFTEN SURPRISED as he spoke. It was evident that this man, of whom so little is seen or heard, is deep in the times, and that, from the Neva to the Seine, from the Urals to the Pyrenees, his hand is at work preparing the way for the new advent. Nor is his work wasted now any more than it has been in the past, during which so many desirable changes have been brought about, so many heroic struggles have been seen, and the French republic has been set up on the heights. As he spoke the question I had put, "Why are you doing nothing now?" was seen to be a question of the unlearned, and one to which he could not make direct answer. Inquiring why his great work, "Capital," the seed field of so many crops, had not been put into English, as it has been put into Russian and French from the original German, he seemed unable to tell, but said that a proposition for an English translation had come to him from New York.

He said that that book was but a fragment, a single part of a work in three parts, two of the parts being yet unpublished, the full trilogy being Land, Capital, Credit; the last part, he said, being largely illustrated from the United States, where credit has had such an amazing development. Mr. Marx is an observer of American action, and his remarks upon some of the formative and substantive forces of American life were full of suggestiveness. By the way, in referring to his "Capital," he said that any one who might desire to read it would find the French translation much superior in the many ways to the German original. Mr. Marx referred to Henri Rochefort, the Frenchman, and in his talk of some of his dead disciples, the stormy Bakunin, the brilliant Lasalle, and others, I could see how deeply his genius had taken hold of men who under other circumstances might have directed the course of history.

THE AFTERNOON is waning toward the long twilight of an English summer evening as Mr. Marx discusses, and he proposes a walk through the seaside town and along the shore to the beach, upon which we see many thousand people, largely children, disporting themselves. Here we find on the sands his family party—the wife, who had already welcomed me; his two

daughters, with their children, and his two sons-in-law, one of whom is a professor in King's college, London, and the other, I believe, a man of letters.

It was a delightful party—about ten in all—the father of the two young wives, who were happy with their children, and the grandmother of the children, rich in the joyousness and serenity of her wifely nature. Not less finely than Victor Hugo himself does Karl Marx understand the art of being a grandfather; but, more fortunate than Hugo, the married children of Marx live to make jocular his years.

Toward nightfall he and his son-in-law part from their families to pass an hour with their American guest. And the talk was of the world, and of man, and of time, and of ideas, as our glasses tinkled over the sea.

The railway train waits for no man, and night is at hand. Over the thought of the babble and the rack of the age and the ages, over the talk of the day and the scenes of the evening, arose in my mind one question touching upon the final law of being, for which I would seek answer from this sage. Going down to the depth of language, and rising to the height of emphasis, during an interspace of silence, I interrogated the revolutionist and philosopher in these fateful words: "What is?"

And it seemed as though his mind were inverted for a moment while he looked upon the roaring sea in front and the restless multitude upon the beach. "What is?" I had inquired, to which, in deep and solemn tone, he replied, "Struggle."

At first it seemed as though I had heard the echo of despair; but, peradventure, it was the law of life.

GOODS EXPORTED TO EUROPE COME BACK

England Returns Sonsignments
Without Even Unloading—
Cause, Exchange Decline.

Goods exported from this country to Europe some time ago may, in many instances, be expected back as imports, according to officials of leading export houses.

The exchange situation is not only resulted, they say, in stoppage of many sales to Europe, but in some cases there has been an actual backwash of consignments shipped to Europe weeks and months ago.

England, in particular, they say, is reselling to America her own products. It was said that some of the goods were being removed from warehouses where they have been stored and that large quantities were being returned without even being unloaded. The recent exchange decline and the rise in prices of many of these commodities, it is pointed out, will enable many English concerns to make a profit by returning the goods and selling here.

One export house advocated forgetting Western European trade for a time and concentrating on buying and selling in Germany, Russia and South America.

LIEBKNECHT LAST WORDS

(Continued from page 1.)

The German proletariat does not possess a revolutionary tradition and experience. And this practical experience which will make possible his future successes he will be able to acquire not otherwise than by actual attempts, through mistakes, through youthful and painful defeats and failures. For the vital and moving forces of the Social Revolution is the irresistible growth of which is the natural law of social development, every defeat gives rise to a new source of new impulsive power. And through defeat and after the defeats the Social Revolution marches forward to victory.

But what is to be said of today's victors?

In the name of their base aims they commit their base and bloody deeds for the retention of the power of the outlived generation in the interests of the mortal enemies of the proletariat.

And at this very moment they are already themselves vanquished, because they are already today held in prison by those whom they wanted to utilize as a tool for their purposes, but whose tool they have themselves become long ago.

The firm still exhibits their name. But the term of their further existence is cut short.

They are already nailed to the Pillar of Shame in history. Never before did the world witness such wonder-traitors like these who also crucified themselves on the cross. Just like, in August, 1914, the German Social Democracy fell lower than any other — so now at the dawn of the Social Revolution it presents a hideous sight.

The French bourgeoisie was compelled to furnish from its own ranks hangmen in June, 1848, and in March, 1871. The German bourgeoisie does not have to burden itself with such a task — the "Social Democrats" are performing for it the dirty, bloody and cowardly work: the nave of its Cagliwick and its Galiffit is Noske, "the German workman."

The peal of bells announced this slaughter: music, the waving of handkerchiefs and the triumphal celebrations of the capitalists "saved from the Bolshevik menace," greeted the victors. The smoke of the powder has not yet vanished; the flame of the slaughter of workers has not yet been extinguished; the corpses of the killed have not yet been removed; the wounded proletarians are still moaning — but Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, anxious to show off their victory, are already arranging parades for the troops which participated in the slaughter.

The dragon sowing! Already they are cast aside by the workers, towards whose International they dare extend their hands red with the blood of the German workers. With hatred and contempt they are avoided even by those who sacrificed their Socialism on the altar of the world-war. Discredited, excluded from the ranks of honest humanity, expelled from the International, persecuted by the hatred and curses of the entire revolutionary proletariat, they stand before the eyes of the world.

And, thanks to them, Germany is covered with shame. Fratricides, traitors govern the German people. "A parchment paper for me — I must write that down."

Oh, their domination cannot last long — and they will be tried.

By their action anger is aroused in millions of hearts — anger and resentment.

The Proletarian Revolution which they plotted to drown in blood, despite of them, will rise in gigantic stature. Its first word will be: Down with the murderers of the workers, Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske!

The vanquished-to-day learned their lesson. They cured themselves from the illusions that they can reply upon the leaders who now proved themselves impotent and without ability. They cured themselves from their trust in the Independent Social Democracy that disgracefully left them to their fate. In the future they will themselves direct the battles and win victories, relying solely upon themselves. The slogan proclaiming that "the emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves" has now

acquired, due to the bitter lesson of this week, a more profound meaning.

And soon experiencing the whip of militarism restored anew even the irregular soldiers will with sufficient clearness understand what a dastardly role was assigned to them; and they, too, will awaken from the intoxication which seized upon them at the present time.

"The Spartacan Group is smashed!"

Oh, wait! We have not run, and we are not smashed. And though you may rivet chains on us, we shall still be and remain here! And the victory will be ours!

Under the cloak of the growing economic break-down, as under the blasts of the trumpet declaring the Judgment Day, the proletarian masses which are still a sleep will awaken; the corpses of the fallen fighters will rise and demand an answer from their contemptible murderers. To-day we only hear the subterranean rumbling of the volcano, but tomorrow it will burst and bury them in its fiery ashes and burning torrents of lava.

And then will come Spartacus, who signifies the soul and heart, the will and action of the Proletarian Revolution. Spartacus, who signifies the destitution and aspiration to happiness and the true militant steadfastness of the class-conscious proletariat. Spartacus — the spirit of Socialism and of the World Revolution.

The Golgotha Road is not ended for the German proletariat, but the day of its emancipation is nearer. The Judgment Day for Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and for the capitalist rulers who are to-day hiding behind their backs. High into the skies are bursting the waves of the world ocean; it is for us a usual occurrence to be dashed from the heights down into the depths. But our ship firmly maintains its straight course, and proudly proceeds yonder to its final aim. And whether we shall be alive or not when it reaches its destination — dominating the minds of emancipated humanity, will live our program. It will live despite of all!

Japanese Flee Before Soviets

(Continued from page 1.)

Admiral Togo and other Japanese leaders, Colonel Bek continued:

"I am confident that in Japanese political spheres there is none too much sentiment in favor of the deep military penetration of Siberia. The Japanese are a practical and cautious race. They know that an attempt to conquer Siberia would mean endless war with powerful and victorious Russia. In a word, the game would not be worth the candle."

"The hope of Japan was first centered in Kolchak as the man she believed might bring 'order' to Russia. A prominent member of the Japanese government has told me as much. But the actual military occupation of eastern Siberia by Japan was undertaken only at the urgent request of the Allies."

"When Kolchak was overthrown the Japanese turned for a time to Semenov, hoping that the Ussuri and Amur Cossacks would remain loyal to their ataman. But their hopes disappointed in both cases. As we know now, Semenov saw his forces dwindle to 2,000 men, and he has now declared himself a Bolshevik. Whether he is accepted in his latest role will be decided at Moscow, but as a political or military factor his career may be considered at an end."

Cossacks Join Communists.

"All the Cossacks of the Premorskia region have joined the Reds, and those along the Khabarovsk-Vladivostok railway, after taking all the other towns in that stretch, have occupied the vital strategic town of Nikolai, some 20 miles above Vladivostok."

"Possession of this town, where the Manchurian and Amur branches of the Trans-Siberian railway meet, enables the Soviet forces to isolate the port of Vladivostok from all inland points, and to menace the concentration of Japanese or other hostile troops at Harbin, the only railway left to the Japanese being the branch south from Harbin to Port Arthur."

"With respect to this Port Arthur line, we must not forget that it runs through a region inhabited mostly by Chinese hostile to the Japanese, who have controlled the road since 1905. In the event of a war with Russia, the Japanese would be exposed on the west to constant attacks from the Chinese and Mongols, who are as hostile to the Mikado now as they were to the Czar in 1905, when we had to detach 100,

000 men to guard the railway.

Japan Realize Impossibility.

"From a purely military standpoint, the Japanese realize that the conquest of Siberia is impossible, and they are slowly showing a readiness to deal direct with Moscow in order to save some of the valuable concessions which they had procured in Siberia from Kolchak and Semenov. I cannot take seriously the suggestion that Japan will send 10 divisions for the alleged purpose of guarding the railway. To risk even two divisions would be a very venturesome thing at present."

"We know that a successful revolution has occurred at Vladivostok, where the Bolsheviks now probably control all the approaches of the town, including the port and the batteries which command the sea, thus paralyzing the activity of the Japanese and Allied navies, because all experts confess that the operation of naval vessels against shore batteries is impossible."

"General Tanaka and Admiral Kato have opposed the peaceful policy of the Japanese Premier, Hara, because they thought the revolution in Siberia could easily be checked by local reactionaries. Seeing that they were wrong in that, I am sure that even these two militarists, who are educated and prudent men, will conclude that to fight Russia would mean a long war of self-destruction, leading to a revolution in Japan."

Powerful Factors Oppose Japs.

"Two powerful factors — ethnological and geographical — are also opposed to Japanese militarism in Siberia. Between Vladivostok and Irkutsk, a stretch of 2,000 miles, there are only about 1,000,000 inhabitants. Most of those inhabitants are situated near Vladivostok. An invading army of even 500,000 men cannot subsist on a population of 1,000,000. The provisioning task would be impossible."

"And Mongolia offers no opportunity for Japan. The country would first have to be invaded and conquered. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, has won the friendship of Mongolia by canceling all the Czar's forced annexations of Chinese territory and returning the stolen property. This time Japan would be surrounded by hostile native races, as Czarist Russia was surrounded in Manchuria in 1905. And Russia would possess, also, the vast war materials that have fallen to her this month in Vladivostok."

One does not have to check, guide or draw out Colonel Bek by means of adroit questioning. As an epicure at dinner, so is Colonel Bek when he speaks of military Russia. He savors every item in the sphere you have asked him to analyze. You have only to mind your pencil points.

Poland Embarrassed.

"Poland is no less embarrassed than Japan when she contemplates an armed excursion against Russia. From France, they militant ally and instigator, the Poles are cut off by Germany and what was Austria-Hungary. Moreover, the Poles have begun their advance into Russia just at a time when the Soviet army has concluded its most difficult task, that of clearing its own territory of domestic reactionaries and foreign interventionists. That is a closed chapter, brilliantly concluded by the victorious Red Army."

"The Poles began their imperialistic adventure without waiting for final assurances of support from the powers, and at this crucial juncture they find their pleas for help turned down by all the Allies except France."

"Had it been in the interest of Soviet diplomacy to accept the Polish challenge, the Poles would have been hurled back before now. In spite of its clear advantages and abundant resources, we have seen the Red Army withdraw before the Poles, because the Soviet government wished to show the whole world that it desires only peace. The military peril of the Poles will become clear if we examine the opposing forces."

"Broussiloff, we are advised, is commander-in-chief of the Red Army confronting the Poles, and has available no less than 2,000,000 men for attack and maneuver. On the other side, we hear Paderewski asking the Allies for arms and clothing to equip 700,000 Poles. Since an army on the offensive should be twice as strong as its opponent, Broussiloff's Red Army would have to dwindle to some 300,000 men before the Poles would have any prospect of success."

Only 150,000 Effectives.

"In truth, the Poles have scarcely 150,000 effective troops at this time. There are 100,000 soldiers of the old Russian-Polish army and Heller brought about 100,000 legionnaires from France. But most of the Polish troops are only half-armed and of no tactical value. They are organized partly in a Russian and partly in a West European manner, and led largely by foreign officers."

The Polish troops have witnessed the vacillating and opposed policies of their alleged supporters, France and England, and their morale is exceedingly low.

"And what of the Red army which confronts them? The world now concedes that it is wonderfully organized and of the best morale. It is incomparably preponderant in numbers. Against this army the Poles have chosen to advance, with a hostile Germany in their rear, with Bolshevik Ukraina on their right, their ancient and active foes, the Lithuanians, on their left, supported by Latvia which is making peace and by Estonia which has concluded peace with Moscow, and with the center of the Polish army already on the wrong side of the fatal, impenetrable Pripiet marshes."

"Polish experts announce that they have discovered the Red army's plan of attack and advance into Poland — that Broussiloff will strike at Vilna on the Polish left and try to flank their right wing by a drive into Galicia. All that is baseless speculation. The course of a pursuing army must always be determined by the line of its opponents' retreat."

"If the Poles provoke an attack by clinging to Russian soil, the Red army will first smash and later pursue them in a direction which has yet to be determined by the vanquished Poles — toward Vilna, Warsaw or Lemberg, as the Poles may decide."

No Peril to Moscow.

"No; in the West there is no peril to the Soviet government. There is nothing in prospect but an armistice and early official recognition, which is now unavoidable in spite of all the obstacles which various powers have raised."

It was time for desert, for some sweet sedative beyond the sound of cannon. Colonel Bek supplied it.

"We have all heard of the red scourge that menaces all Europe, that will march to the Mediterranean on the west, conquer the vast deserts of Turkestan, entering Tibet, India and China. In all that there is nothing but the hysterical imaginations of European politicians, prompted by the reactionary remnants of the old Russian regime. And while the press spreads this hysteria, the real propaganda of Soviet Russia marches triumphantly, without soldiers or cannon, to the conquest of Asia, through the gateways of Armenia, Persia, India and China."

Propaganda Very Simple.

"And this irresistible propaganda is very simple. It is the declaration by Red Russia that the government of workmen and peasants has canceled and annulled each and all of those treaties imposed by force upon neighboring peoples by the former Czars. And these cancellations are not to be effected through the tedious trickery of diplomatist intercourse. They have been effected already, the Soviet government saying to the peoples of Afghanistan, Persia and China: 'Come and take what was always yours, and take with it the railroads or other improvements which your stolen lands now contain.'"

"Clearly there is no propaganda to compare with this. For every caravan is filled with visitors or merchants from Russia whose tongues wage in every city and village of Asia with the marvelous tale: 'Russia is giving back all that the Czars took from us! The workmen and peasants of Russia are true friends of all Mussulmans! Soviet Russia pays in gold for all she buys! There are no more bestial officials in that land to beat and rob us. Russia has been resurrected! There is a new land where justice and truth stand above all else.'"

"In very chai-bareli (tea house) the tale is repeated, in every bazaar, and in all the highways of Asia men repeat it to themselves and to strangers. For since Asia first came in contact with the West this story of justice and truth among white men has never been told in the bazaars. It is so strange and welcome, the people hear it and are happy."

"That is why Persian, Afghan and Mongol have taken up arms to stand guard over Soviet Russia against the imperialism of England or Japan. For centuries Great Britain has striven with gold and by the most intolerable oppression of the Asiatic races to create buffer states that would perpetuate her enslavement of Mussulman and Hindu in Asia. And now, in one year, by applying the golden rule of honesty toward all peoples, Soviet Russia has created a volunteer frontier guard of races who stand in arms to protect her against England."

"The Bolsheviks have been painted as the foes of religion and of every sacred thing. Yet in this Bolshevik the pious Mohammedan finds a shelter which is denied him by Western Europe. His Koran, his

habits and his traditions are so respected by the new Russian state that in tens of millions he is joining the Bolshevik regime.

"Can it be that love, justice and tolerance amongst and between races is understood and cherished only in Asia? Is it the warlike, Christian peoples of the West who are too uncivilized to make peace with Soviet Russia?"

ARTHUR PERSON 'RED' INDICTMENT IS FOUND FAULTY

Rockford, Ill. — Indictments pending against Arthur Person, alleged active member of the Communist Labor party, were quashed by Judge R. K. Welsh on the ground of improper wording. With this decision Clarence Darrow, acting as attorney for the defense, won the first round of the state's bout with radicalism in the Rockford district.

State's Attorney William L. Johnson immediately issued orders to recall the January grand jury, which indicted Person and seven other alleged Communist Laborites, and will have new indictments returned.

PRICES 55 YEARS AGO

This advertisement appeared in a Kansas City newspaper in 1877, says Capper's Weekly: "All the fancy brands of flour \$3.20 a sack 96 pounds), 25-pound sack cornmeal 25 cents, apples 10 cents a peck, peaches and pears 30 cents a peck, at Wyle's grocery and fruit house."

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE MODERN BRITISH WORKING- CLASS MOVEMENT

By W. W. CRAIK,

(member of the National Union of Railwaymen, and acting Principal of the Central Labor College.)

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They will receive a copy of the above work and a monthly magazine, edited by the working-class, for three months.

We have no hesitation in giving the above work our personal endorsement. Whilst it deals with the British working-class movement in parts, yet in the main it is of inestimable benefit to the workers of this country.

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TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

JAMES CONNOLLY LABOUR COLLEGE.

In order to educate the workers of Dublin, and the rest of Ireland, the more progressive members of the Irish Labor Movement, and the Socialist Party of Ireland, agitated and secured a Labor College for the Irish workers. The College is called after the late James Connolly, who worked unceasingly during his life-time, to organize and educate the Irish workingclass.

In the statement of aims etc. outlined in the prospectus, that we have recently received from Dublin, the originators of the Labor College state: "Its business is to examine the social order from the point of view of the workers and to make plain the sources of wealth and poverty, of idleness and work, and of class rule in the workshop and in the society. Without this knowledge acquired by experience and study, the best efforts of Labour organization will be apt to be misdirected, aiming at essentials, rather than laying the axe to the root of all social evils." It is to clear to be seen, that the James Connolly Labor College is destined to do big things for the advancement of the Irish working-class. In these days, when "Freedom for Ireland" has become the means of inspiring American sab-herders and Labor-Laters to rally to its side, it is more than ever necessary for the Irish working-class to understand the basis of the movement for Irish freedom. By understanding the nature of human society, its development etc. they will be best fitted to guide the sentiments and aspirations of the Irish workingclass along the right channels. We have only one regret and that is, that the James Connolly Labor College was not commenced before. But now that it has been formed, we trust that every Irish worker in America will lend it all the support possible. The College will not receive grants from the employers, neither will it have loans floated for it, in America. It must be maintained and kept going by the Irish workingclass. That class that has never yet failed to respond to the call of the Dark Rosaleen.

Donations of one dollar, and MORE, may be sent to the editor of "Truth" or better still to Charles J. Kenny, secretary James Connolly Labor College 42 North Great George's Street Dublin, Ireland.

ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM.

Liberty through Anarchist-Communism, Anarchist-Communism in Plain English, both published by the Anarchist Propaganda Group, 47, Crowndale Road, London, N. W. 1, England. They sell for five cents each.

It is rather discouraging to read pamphlets written by Anarchist-Communists. These comrades, many of whom we personally know, are downright good and earnest comrades. They display a generous spirit, are class-conscious and their loyalty to the working-class cannot be questioned. Consequently, anything that they may say or write is read with interest, because their own personal honesty commands that interest. If you meet a comrade who is honest and true, you are always ready to give him a respectful hearing. The danger of these pamphlets is that they are the products of minds, that do not clearly grasp the true working-class position. The Anarchist-Communists are like the Social-Reformers. The Anarchist-Communist believes that all that is necessary, is for the working-class to quietly go its way and organize and then, open sesame! The social-reformer, the I. L. P. of England and the Socialist Party of America, believe that with a voting majority you can vote your way into Socialism. Both ideas are sheer Utopia.

Study the capitalist strike in action, i. e. in a strike. Watch them bring out their gun-men and shoot down the working-class, when that class only asks for more crumbs from the tables of the rich and you will then realize what a tremendous struggle will take place, when the working-class boldly demands the turning over of industry. The State is not the creation of men's minds. It came into being as a result of the economic antagonisms within society. As Engels points out in his "Origin of the Family," (Chas. Kerr and Co., edition, page 205):—"The State... is by no means a power forced on society from outside; neither is it the 'realization of the ethical idea,' 'the image and the realization of reason,' as Hegel maintains. It is simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a useless struggle, a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order.' And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and becoming more and more divorced from it, IS THE STATE?" And again as Craik points out in his illuminating study of the modern working-class movement: "Although the new society will be an industrial democracy in which the necessity for political government will have disappeared, because classes and class-antagonisms will no longer exist, that does not dispose of the fact that, as an essential condition for delivering the new society from the womb of the old, the workingclass must conquer political power and make itself master of the government. Industrial democracy can only be matured in and through political democracy.

The Anarchist-Communist must recognise the power of the State. Nay, more than that, he must recognise that it is most-essential for the working-class to use its economic powerpolitically and capture the State. Having captured the State, they will then be able to build the new society.

Many of our comrades, due to a lack of understanding, are under the impression that because the Communists emphasises the industrial weapon, that we have something in common with the Syndicalists. It is a false assumption and one that has been the means of diverting the energies of the revolutionary working-class. Revolutionary Industrial Unionism is entirely different to Syndicalism. Revolutionary Industrialism was inspired by Socialism. Syndicalism was inspired by Anarchism. Revolutionary Industrial Unionism is advocated by the Communist as a means to build up the new soviet, whereas Syndicalism emphasises tactics. Syndicalism was born out of inefficient capitalism; Industrial unionism is an expression of the higher development of capitalism, Imperialism. We trust that all comrades will purchase Craik's book. It will enlighten them in regard to many things. We trust that English comrades, the Anarchist-Communists, will also read this book.

It is well worth noting that in London, the center of British Capitalism and the seat of the British parliament, men and women are allowed to gather together and form Anarchist groups and propagate Anarchism. In this State of Minnesota, every member of that group would be arrested and liable to

serve a term of five years in prison and pay a fine of \$1,000.00.

By the way, doncherknow they have a "Kink" in England! We had better have one in this country, it seems that we have more freedom where there are "KINKS".

PROTECTION

The salamanders are a remarkable illustration of how animals, etc. adapt themselves to their environment. Sometimes you will find them with a yellow skin and again you will find them with a black skin. The salamanders realised, through their experiences in their struggle to live, that they must protect themselves against those animals that find in the salamander a good meal. It was found that a yellow salamander in a black background was too conspicuous and so it was easy for his enemies to discover him. It was a case of the survival of the fittest. Either the salamander changed his color to harmonise with the background or become an easy victim for his persecutors. The mere fact that he is living in such great numbers, is conclusive proof that he did adopt himself to his environment. Place a yellow salamander on a black background and he will turn black. Or place a black salamander on a yellow background and he will turn yellow. The same will be noticed in many fishes. They will change the markings of their skin to suit the muddy floor or background, particularly flat fish.

There is a bat found in the island of Formosa that has a very conspicuous black and orange color. The body of this bat is of an orange color, and its wings are black and orange yellow. When resting it suspends itself, head downwards, from the branches of an evergreen tree. During all the year same part of the foliage of this tree is undergoing decay, so that many of the leaves assume tints of orange and black. When the bat is suspended among such decaying leaves its colors and those of the leaves so harmonise that the bat is perfectly concealed, and thus eludes its enemies.

Among our native birds, the woodcock and snipe have such tints and markings as strikingly to harmonise them with the dead marshy vegetation which constitutes their native haunts. The ptarmigan in winter has a light coloration in harmony with the environment of snow, while in its summer plumage it is tinted and mottled in harmony with the color effects of the lichen-covered stones among which it spends agreed deal of its time. Young unfledged plovers are spotted in such a way as very accurately to resemble the black pebbles among which they remain for protection.

Yet on the other hand there are some birds that are not protectively colored. The common vane, which inhabits the Arctic regions, is black instead of being white. It is a powerful and fearless bird and needs no protective coloring; and since it feeds on dead animals it needs no concealing coloration to enable it to secure its food. We cite the example of the common raven, in anticipation of the arguments that may be represented by those who do not believe in the theory of natural selection.

Adaptation is the law of life. If you cannot or will not adapt yourself to your environment, then your doom is sealed. That is why capitalism is doomed and the success of Communism is assured. Capitalism has created a new environment and finds itself unable to adapt itself to that new environment it has created. On the other hand, through an understanding of the principles and teachings of Communism, the workingclass is learning to adapt itself to the conditions that now confront it. Its success is assured. The Church fought the theory of Natural selection. Science scored a victory. The capitalist class fights Communism.

ON WITH THE FIGHT.

"A Professional Agitator."

He was but a young man. Well, one could hardly call him a man, but he bore the burden of men. At the age of eleven, he was as worldly wise as some men are at the age of forty. For over eight years he had battled with life. At the age of twelve, he found himself well-versed in mathematics. His teachers used to say that he was abnormal. Some went so far as to call him the "wizard of figures." They never knew the struggles of life, as that boy knew them. He was striving for a foothold in life. He wanted to stand before men and hear their applause and flattering remarks. At the age of fourteen the world look good to him. Never did the prospects look better for any child. Sometimes we recall the days when that young man used to sit all night, and with the candles bought by his meagre pence, he would read until tired and weary he would sink to sleep. Then came the crisis, that comes in the lives of millions. His old grandad died. The grief was hard to bear, but the boy was so absorbed in his studies, that some people wondered why he never shed tears when they lowered his grandad into the grave, one bright July afternoon. The boy loved his grandad, because it was his labors that made it possible for him to go to the college.

"Study, learn and someday the world will be proud of you," he was told. He wanted to study, but his grandad died a poor man. So they sent him to work. Into this atmosphere, they sent him, and now they wonder why in after years he is a "professional agitator!"

"The evil tasting 'black draught,' the blood-purifying sulphur, the sodas and citrates, the acids and alkalis, the poisons and the antidotes, have all their beginnings here. And on a dull, foggy day, when the smoke cannot ascend, the atmosphere is a thing to dream of. Strange processes evolve there; Strange diseases accrue from some of them. On some of the plants men can only work with their heads and faces swathed in thick folds of flannel; masks and goggles are a stern necessity in some departments, and many an old chemical worker gave valuable hints to the boys in the trenches on the adjustment of the same.

There is also another side to it. Here they are dealing with diabolical contrivances, and a keen eye must be kept. Machinery where a speck of gritty dust would be enough to cause a terrific explosion; vapours of which a whiff or two would relieve the inhaler of any further interest in this mundane sphere; acids and nities that blind and burn, and need to be handled infinitely more carefully than a live bomb."

Ten years ago, with his stomach full of gas, the gas that was used in France, the young man swore that from henceforth he was finished with the manufacture of chemicals. The world-dream, the vision of a better day, had touched his soul. He had awoke from an age-long sleep; he knew now what his purpose in life was; he saw vistas ahead; he was no longer a chaos, but now heart and hand, finger and finger, spirit, and mind, the working-class were all one mighty organism, one mighty brotherhood of toil. All that he had lost and all that he had given up as being impossible, appeared to be within his grasp. To unite this working-class into one union of earnest men and women became his life endeavor. The glory, the sense of power, of freedom, the lift and urge, the might of numbers, smote him like lightning. Nothing could be simpler than to unite men and women for the attainment of such a noble ideal. To this day he works day and night for the organizing of his class. They call him a "professional agitator," but they do not know and they will never know that some nights he sits alone and the tears trickle down his cheeks, as he

thinks of the time that he was sent out of college into a chemical factory, with all his hopes blasted and his heart loaded with care. They seem puzzled when they see him playing with children, they cannot understand how a "professional agitator" can love children. They do not know that it is the expression of mother-love, that he never knew and because he never knew it, that is why he values it so much. He still works on hoping some day to see his class set free. Sometimes pessimistic, but never losing faith, other times optimistic, but never losing caution, he fights on. They wonder why after being arrested so much that he keeps on, but he knows, it was that damned day that they turned him out into a chemical works and denied him the chance to educate himself. He never forgets and he swears that not through him, will any other child suffer his experiences. Do you blame him? He only smiles though, when he hears them call him a "professional agitator." Hell, they crucified a better man than he could ever hope to be. So why should he care?

They're the "utterly foolish dreamers,"

Who dream of a better day;

They're not the plotters and schemers

Who work for glory and pay,

But with confidence undiminished

They dream of a world made new.

And after their days are finished

The wonderful dreams come true!

BERTON BRALEY.

In our editorial, "Again?", published in our last issue, we omitted to give credit to Berton Braley for the two poems we published. For which omission we apologise.

THE CURSE OF THE "BRADBURY."

By Jack Carney.

Wherever you go, you will find the people lamenting over the high-cost-of-living. There is not one country in the world, with the exception of Russia, that has not got this vexed problem to deal with. It is so much in evidence in U. S. A., that the "New York World" was moved to say, "that the man who can solve the high cost of living problem, can be elected President of America."

The problem of how to solve the h-c-l has caused more people to expose their ignorance than any other problem we know of. Few writers have been able to deal with this problem in a commonsense manner, due, possibly, to the fact that THE greatest economist of the ages—Karl Marx—was born in an 'enemy' country. Many people labor under the impression that high prices are due to decreased production, in fact we have labor leaders in this country who seriously believe that if the working-class work harder they will lower the cost of living. They fail to explain, why it is that with the introduction of labor-saving machinery, the cost of living has increased. If increased production will lower the cost of living, why is the cost of living higher today, than it was in the days of handicraft production? On the other hand, we have Socialists who claim that the profiteer is responsible for the high cost of living. All of which goes to shew the necessity for clear thinking on this vexed question of high prices.

If increased production will not solve the high cost of living problem and profiteers are not responsible for it, then what is there to be done? This question is a rather puzzling one and requires explanation.

The average economist is of the opinion that the present high prices disprove the theories of Marx. Because we found prices rising, before the war, due to the cheapening in the cost of gold, he thinks that there ought to be a consequent reduction in the cost of living, due to the increased cost of gold. Taking a superficial glance at his arguments, it appears that he is right. It naturally follows that if increased production of gold causes low prices, then decreased production will bring about low prices. Seems logically enough. But is it?

In his "Critique of Political Economy" (Kerr edition, pages 157-8) Marx states the reason for high prices and also explains the paradox, that confuses the minds of orthodox economists:—

If fourteen million pounds sterling were the quantity of gold required for the circulation of commodities and if the state were to put into circulation two hundred and ten million bills each of the denomination of one pound, then these two hundred and ten millions would become the representatives of gold to the amount of fourteen million pounds sterling. It would be the same as if the state were to make one pound bills represent a fifteen times less valuable metal or a fifteen times smaller weight of gold. Nothing would be changed but the nomenclature of the standard of price, which by its very nature is conventional, no matter whether such change takes place as a direct result of a change of the mint standard or indirectly owing to an increase of paper bills to an extent required by a new lower standard. Since the name pound would stand now for a fifteen times smaller quantity of gold, the prices of all commodities would increase fifteen times and two hundred and ten million one pound bills would now be actually as necessary as fourteen million had been before. To the same extent to which the combined quantity of tokens of value would increase now, the quantity of gold which each represents would decrease. The rise of prices would constitute but a reaction on the part of the process of circulation which forcibly equates the tokens of value to the quantity of gold which they are supposed to replace."

Marx goes on further to state:—"While the circulation of commodities can absorb only a definite quantity of gold coin and as a result of the alternating contraction and expansion of the currency appears as a necessary law, paper money seems to enter circulation in any desired amount." "Gold circulates because it has value, paper has value because it circulates." We have noticed during the last four years, that the European countries, also this country, have authorized the issuance and printing of millions of paper money. The introduction of millions of paper notes has not increased the wealth of the various countries, neither has it brought with it a corresponding increase in gold. Money has not been made greater, it has been made cheaper. Money is a social relation and only a certain quantity of gold can function as money. Consequently the paper money that is introduced into circulation can only represent a certain amount of gold. Hence it naturally follows that if you increase the amount of paper money you do NOT increase the amount of gold. All that you do is to make the increased amount of paper money represent the smaller amount as was originally issued. Consequently prices increase in proportion to the inflation of the currency and the only way you can decrease the cost of living under capitalism is by deflating the currency and the only way you can decrease the cost of living under capitalism is by deflating the currency. But will a lowered cost of living make the position any better for the working-class?

In "Value, Price and Profit" (Kerr edition, page 116) Marx states:—"... despite all the ups and downs, and do what he may, the working man will, on an average, only receive the value of his labor, which resolves into the value of his laboring power, which is determined by the value of the necessities required for its maintenance and reproduction,

which value of necessities finally is regulated by the quantity of labor wanted to produce them." We must agree with Marx that the working-class should strive to obtain the maximum limit of the value of its labor, we must also insist on making the abolition of the wages system the dominant issue in our fight. We must not engage in fights for the abolition of the "Bradbury," if the capitalist class could abolish the "Bradbury" they would willing do so. Our fight is for the capture of the State and that fight must be waged by the political expression of the working-class, the B. S. P. and all those organizations of similar nature. We must also engage in the activities of the Shop Stewards' Movement, the I. W. W. and the W. I. U. We have got to prepare for the day when we shall have captured political power, and we can best prepare for that day by the systematic and conscious organization of the working-class in his shop, mine, factory and on the land. The day we capture political power and we have not got the organized industrial movement behind us, is the day of our defeat. Therefore let us strive to capture the State and develop the economic organization of the workers. That is our task, any other tasks that we may set ourselves will only absorb energy that could be used to better advantage.

* * *

The above editorial was written by the editor for the "London Call". Unfortunately the editor was called away, to attend a pressing engagement with the States Attorney of Cook County, Illinois, Maclay Hoyne. But fortunately we were able to lay our hands on this article and so keep our editorial page going.

A "Bradbury" is the name of the English paper money. It is a similar thing to our American paper dollar. The B. S. P. is the British Socialist Party, the largest revolutionary socialist political organization in England. It lately joined the Third International. We feel that the article applies just as well to America, as it does to Europe, so we have taken the liberty of publishing it. Any evil consequences that may arise from our actions, we leave the editor to extricate himself from them. Feeling that in times of emergency, one must be allowed a little latitude.

M. C.

"If You Don't Like This County . . ."

During the war of 1821, there arose in Congress a debate over the advisability of introducing new Sedition Laws. One of the participants in that debate was Daniel Webster. Webster was one of the real men, real red blood blown in his veins and there was not enough money in the world to buy him. Webster spoke what he believed to be true and he never allowed anyone else to do his thinking or buy it from him. This is what Webster said in that debate:—

"It is the ancient and constitutional right of this people to canvass public measures and the merits of public men. It is a home-bred right, a fireside privilege. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air and walking on the earth. Belonging to private life as a right, it belongs to public life as a duty. This high constitutional privilege, I shall defend and exercise in all places, in times of war, in time of peace and at all times. Living, will I assert it; dying, I will assert it; and should I leave no other inheritance to my children I will leave them the inheritance of free principles and the example of a manly, independent and constitutional defense of them."

Other men spoke in that debate and uttered sentiments in accord with those uttered by Daniel Webster. Amongst these men was one William Ellery Channing, another American, whose blood was R-E-D and whose opinions could never be stifled nor bought. Let us hear what Channing had to say:—

"Freedom of opinion, of speech and of the press is our most valuable privilege, the very soul of republican institutions, the safeguard of all other rights.

"If men abandon the right of free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rulers succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but that which approves them; if men in power—farewell to liberty. The form of a free government may remain, but the life, the soul, the substance is fled."

The memories of those men inspired many other Americans to emulate the stirring example, that these men had presented to them, amongst whom was Wendell Phillips. Let us give ear to what Wendell Phillips had to say:—

"Freedom for every man's lip, no matter what his doctrine; the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range; no check on peaceful assemblage! Let us consecrate ourselves to the effort to do better than those who went before us and widen the circle of their principle to the full growth of its significance."

In concluding these statements, we beg to draw to your attention to just one more statement, and that is one from that gifted American writer, Emerson:—

"The martyr cannot be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of flame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side. The minds of men are at last aroused; reason looks out and justifies her own, and malice finds all her work is ruin. It is the whipper who is whipped and the tyrant who is undone."

We did not intend publishing this one, because few people will really believe that it was ever uttered by him. But just to let you know how men change, we will quote the following saying of President Woodrow Wilson:—

"If there is one thing we love more than another in the United States, it is that every man should have the privilege unmolested to utter the convictions of his mind."

DO YOU REMEMBER?

Do you remember in the days of the World War, when a bunch of business men would rush into your office and failing to induce you to assist in the financing of the war, through the purchase of Liberty Bonds, how they would tell you that you were weak-kneed, backboneless and that you had not got the guts to fight? You remember those days alright! We do!

Do you often think about what they told you then and what they are doing now? We do. As we write this, we are packing our bag, making ready for a trip to Chicago, in the custody of an Illinois State official. We have been arrested for conspiring to overthrow the United States by the use of violent methods. We cannot figure it all out, but it does seem mighty strange that a fellow who has not got the "guts" can be arrested and charged with conspiring to overthrow a Government of one hundred million people.

We kind of wonder, if we are, what they say we were or are we, what they say we are? Either we have the "guts" or we have not? Suppose it all depends as to who you are fighting for, and what you are fighting for. Just thinking that if we were possessed of the strength, that they say we possess, we might venture into the ring with Jack Dempsey, because you can make more money by knocking men to sleep, than you can by waking them up. You ask a teacher. Teachers receive less wages than policemen, so there must be some truth in it.