

THE PROLETARIAT HAS TWO FIGHTS

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

"WE have never been utopists, and never imagined that we could build up the communistic society with the PURE hands of PURE communists who would be born and educated in a PURE communistic society. Such would be children's fables. We must build up communism on the ruins of capitalism, and only that class which has been tempered in the struggle against capitalism can do this. You know very well that the proletariat is not without faults and weaknesses of capitalistic society. It struggles for socialism, and at the same times against its OWN defects."

—Lenin.

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

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!

No. 24

14.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1920

WHOLE No. 154

FIVE CENTS.

"I know LABOR is narrow; I know she is aggressive; I know she arms herself with the best weapon that a corrupt civilization furnished--all true. Where do we get these ideas? Borrowed them from CAPITAL, every one of them; and when you advance to us on the level of peace, unarmed, we'll meet you on the same. While you combine and plot and defend, so will WE."

—Wendell Phillips.

91. W. W. RESENT PLEA THAT JAILED MINDS

Willis Forbids Men Who Plead Guilty to Criminal Syndicalism to Talk to Socialists, but Lets Them Join A. F. of L.—Feels for Legion Raiders.

By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL.
Staff Correspondent.

LOS ANGELES.—Nine members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who were induced to enter a plea of technical guilt in criminal syndicalism cases here, are bitterly resentful against those who caused them to make that plea.

They declare now that they didn't understand just what it would lead them into, for in making their pleas they inadvertently swore away so many liberties that, though out of jail, they feel they are no longer free beings.

These defendants fear, too, that their own comrades will look upon them as betrayers. In making the compromise sought by the state authorities "to save expense to the state," the nine industrialists declared thus: "We believe we are not guilty of any crime; but if simply being a member of the I. W. W. is a crime, then we are willing to admit that we are members."

Swear Away Liberties.

Commending the American Legion for its raids on halls occupied by radical labor organizations, Superior Judge Frank R. Willis sentenced the defendants to serve from one to 14 years in prison, then suspended the sentences and placed the men on probation for five years.

Under the terms of this probation the nine men are bound by the following rules:

They must not sell nor circulate copies of Upton Sinclair's book, "The Brass Check," nor any other literature dealing with the class struggle.

They must not visit the rooms of the Shelley Club, a conservative Socialist organization.

They must not visit the office of James H. Ryckman, labor lawyer and president of the Los Angeles unit of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

They must not enter any restaurant bearing the designation "cafe". They must not visit skating rinks.

They must not be on the public streets at "late or unusual hours of the night."

They must report at the probation office on the first Sunday morning of each month until 1925. Can Join A. F. of L. Because—

Although Judge Willis forbade the industrialists from associating with Socialists, whose whole program is based on lawful, orderly political action, the court told them they were free to be members of the American Federation of Labor "because it is in favor of securing all the rights due to working men by legislation."

"That is not what is termed a radical organization," declared Judge Willis.

This comment aroused broad smiles in the courtroom, for before

this very judge, in the Stein and Steelink I. W. W. trials recently, evidence had shown had ever developed in strikes fostered employed in A. F. of L. strikes that that vastly more violence had been by the I. W. W.

In sentencing these nine men Judge Willis uttered one of the most naive commentaries on the attitude of the judicial mind toward the class struggle of which there is record. No evidence was offered to show that the nine men ever committed any act of violence; the only offense charged against them was that they were members of the I. W. W.

Judge Doesn't Like Violence, But—

Terrible beatings were administered to the Wobblies when their hall was raided last autumn by some 60 returned soldiers and sailors and others. Men who helped in the raid boasted in their clubs subsequently about the effective use they made of baseball bats and blackjacks. The affair was reminiscent of the first mob at Centralia—going through the Wobly hall "like a swarm of rats."

But in reviewing this in his admonition to the nine defendants, Judge Willis said:

"While the court cannot advocate violence, I can readily see the reason why these soldiers, coming back from revolution-torn countries and seeing that you advocated revolution in this country, felt that they had had enough revolution, and that you had been arrested and those of you who were out of jail were frequenting the I. W. W. Hall, they concluded that the law was acting too slowly and they took the matter in their own hands."

"These young men are going to see that no revolutionary orders spring up in this country, anyhow not with their consent, and while a person does not have the right to violate the law by breaking into halls or mistreating people, still that is why it was done, and the sentiment they expressed they will continue to express—that there shall be no revolutionary organizations springing up in this state nor revolutions in this country."

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Blockade the Counter Revolutionaries

The Polish offensive continues. Born of hatred, fear, and the meanest treachery, it is kept alive by the same passions and double dealing.

What was the situation but yesterday?

The heroic Russian masses, with a courage and endurance unmatched in history, had effectively disposed of the butchers Denikin, Koltchak, and others. These bribed tools of finance, and their armed forces, had been completely smashed; their Churchill tanks and siege guns the booty of the revolutionary workers.

To accomplish this the Communists made superhuman efforts and suffered as no pen can describe. To the agonies of the battlefield were added the agonies of the murder blockade. But Russia, free if hungry, willingly suffered that her territory might be cleared of counter-revolutionary pests, and that the creative energy of the labour Colossus might be unhampered in its true task: the economic re-organization of the country on the basis of Communism.

Peace and order reigning within her confines, the military armies were being changed into labour armies; the conquest of nature, not nations, in the interest of all, being the objective.

At this time, when Russia was giving overwhelming evidence of a desire for peace, for peaceful trading with other countries, and when the most treacherous and lying

of statesmen could find a pretext for continued war only by recourse to shady devices that a gutter thief would disdain—at this moment, when the policy of peace persistently pursued by the Bolsheviks admitted of no doubt whatsoever, another offensive is launched against Russia by Poland, aided, directed, and threatened by the master bandits of London, Paris, and New York.

These enemies of the human race fear the economic consolidation of the regime of Lenin. Their fear is well founded. It will expose their uselessness, their robbery, their pretensions. But what strikes fear into the breasts of the vampires should inspire hope and gladness in the hearts and minds of the labouring masses.

That the peasants and town workers will conquer in industry and agriculture as they have triumphed so signally on the battlefield, admits of no question.

We urge the workers here to take action in support of their Russian comrades, not because we fear for the Revolution, but because continued war retards the regeneration of Russia, spreads death, pestilence, and suffering among the workers in both armies, and adds to the paralysis of economic life generally.

Communist Russia will meet the new menace with vigour. Her morale is unweakened. But the war-front is not only in Eastern Europe; it exists in every country possessing

wage workers and capitalists. The fight is not between capitalist Poland and Communist Russia only; it is between capitalist bandits and workers generally. The exploiters, to retain their privileges and plunder, are openly and secretly supporting their mercenaries.

What is Labour doing? What does it propose to do?

The propaganda campaign of the Hands Off Russia Committee, of the B. S. P., has made clear to the organized workers in this country what Soviet Russia stands for, what it seeks to accomplish.

They know that Communism threatens only the anti-social practices of profiteers and Imperialists. Knowing this, what are the organized workers prepared to do in support of the Soviet and to crush the native profiteer and Imperialist? The situation cannot be met with resolutions.

The food, clothes, guns, airship of the Polish army are supplied by Allied countries. All these are made and transported by organized labour.

Organised workers! The executives of the ruling class, their Governments, are blockading the Revolution, and arming the counter-revolution. You must immediately retaliate by blockading the counter-revolution. No arms, no guns, no stores for Poland! Refuse to handle them! Don't ship them! Don't transport them! Dare to be men and make solidarity a fact.

W. H. RYDE.

CZECK PEACE ENVOYS SPEEDING TO MOSCOW

Legation Here—Maintains Silence—Event Embarrasses Wilson's Policy of Hostility to Russia.

By PAUL HANNA
(Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, June 3.—Without mention in the press and carefully ignored by the American State Department, an official delegation has left the capital of Czechoslovakia for Moscow with instructions to conclude peace with the Russian Soviet government.

This event is exceedingly embarrassing to the Wilson administration, which continues to issue several times each week batches of gossip about hard conditions in Russia, which have been gathered up by diplomatic agents newspapers in the Baltic countries. The evident purpose of these "handouts" is to bolster up the official American pretense that the Soviet government is still "about to fall."

While the peace negotiations with Moscow are reported on the best of authority, the Czech legation here maintains a prudent silence on the subject. When they shake hands with the Russian workers the Czechs know they will cause the keenest pain at the White House and State Department. Yet shake hands they must, it is said, for the various reasons that the Czech workmen demand it, the Czech population needs Russian food and materials, and finally because a real alliance with Russia may be necessary to save Czechoslovakia from Polish expansion southward.

Also there is the British example to bless the overtures. Concerning the warm official welcome given in London to the Soviet mission headed by Gregory Krassin, official interest here centers for the moment in the reported episode of King George's invitation to Krassin

to visit him at Buckingham Palace.

Krassin is said to have accepted the invitation, on condition that his visit to the King be publicly announced in the press. But Tory nerves in Britain are not yet settled enough to resist such an open shock. King George, it seems, had hoped merely to administer to Krassin in private a position of the diplomatic sedative which history shows, has proved so effective—notably in the case of President Wilson.

So Krassin was told the visit must be in secret. "Then I shall not come," replied the Soviet envoy.

Taught by Experience.

The central committee of the German Communist Party has issued a statement on parliamentary action, in the course of which it says:

"In December, 1918, our party boycotted the elections to the National Assembly in the secret hope that the proletariat would succeed in preventing its meeting. In this it failed. Quite the contrary, the power of the proletariat has

MURMANSK, YOUNGEST SOVIET, HELPS RUSSIA

English Retreat From Territory Now Under Workers' Control Reveals That Troops Had Been Prepared for Prolonged Occupation—Left All in a Hurry.

Patrick J. Quinlan, an Irish labor organizer, who was active in the movement here, is now observing the workers' republic in Murmansk, in the northern part of Russia. In the following story he tells of the opera bouffe retreat of the English from the north of Russia and the establishment of the youngest Soviet republics at Murmansk.

By PATRICK J. QUINLAN.

Located on the borders of the Arctic Circle is one of the smallest, but by no means the least important, of the federated republics of Soviet Russia. It is also the newest.

It was born on February 21, this year of peace and peace, and, though, comparatively speaking, a baby, it is taking itself most seriously. And it ought to indeed, for it is the chief physical connecting link between the capital of Socialist Russia and our commercial profiteering civilization. It has a splendid ice-free port with shipping taken from the late White Government of Northern Russia.

Unlike its neighbors, Norway and Sweden in the northern parts, Murmansk has splendid resources which, when properly exploited, will yield rich returns, both to the local Soviet and to the national state. It has forests, fisheries and plenty of arable land.

Above all it has a hard working, peaceable population whose only ambition is to be let alone and work out their own salvation as their wants and purposes determine. They are willing to trade with their neighbors in Norway and Sweden on equitable terms. Though a considerable distance from the heart of Russia, the people here feel they are as much a part of the life and work of that great country as if they were enjoying the excitement and enduring the privations of complex Petrograd and storied Moscow.

Workers in the Saddle.

It is not my intention, however, to write about Murmansk district or describe the details of its Soviet governmental affairs, except to say that the proletariat dictates here in everything. They are the official class, the wood cutters, the railroad workers, the steamship operators, the fishermen, sanitary officers, fire department, cooks, telegraph operators and everything else.

since then been markedly dissipated, it has been driven off the streets, and now we have the power of the bourgeoisie, of the Noske Guards. So long as the working class is not strong enough to become master of the streets and so long as its power is not great enough to offer a good chance of overthrowing the bourgeoisie in a decisive fight, all means of political warfare must be made use of, in order to besiege the fortress of the bourgeoisie."

They had a theater to relieve the ennui and they must have had real talent to entertain them, for on the stage entrance are the words that thrill all "hamfats." "Only artists allowed here." Whether the artists were to the manner born I cannot say, but they certainly didn't lack equipment. Curtains, furniture and scenery they had galore.

British Desert Everything.

And the music the British had must have been fantastic, bewildering and exciting, judging from a huge bag of it stored in the tower of the orthodox church. They had samples from every country at war, it was profane and sacred, opera

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

MILITARISM IS A PART OF CAPITALISM--THE PART THAT CLUBS THE WORKINGCLASS INTO SUBMISSION

Diplomatic Duplicity Of The Allies In Plots Of Gold and Steel Against Soviet Russia In Far East Revealed In Official Notes

Correspondence Between Moscow and Entente Powers in 1918 Show that Tchitcherin Demanded Allied Agents Lease Siberian Conspirators to Overthrow People's Rule.

A small brochure has come to The Truth office, telling the story of the relations of the Entente powers with the government of the Russian republic in the period between April 6, 1918, and July 29 of the same year. The story is told in a series of official documents without any comment.

It is a tale of diplomacy equivalent to duplicity.

The documents are grouped to cover three different phases: The rise of the Czechoslovaks; the landing of hostile forces in Murman and in Vladivostok; the deportation of the foreign representatives from Volodga.

Some of the documents are in English, some in French, some in translation from Russian. We let them unfold their own story:

Russia Demands Allies Explain.

April 6, 1918.

To Mr. Genard, Consul General of France:

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs refers to the declarations which you have made to the ad interim representative of the People's Commissar about the extremely possible impression that has been produced in Russia by the landing of Japanese and English troops in Vladivostok whose activity was evidently directed against the Soviet government, and about the influence, unfavorable in the highest degree, which this violent intrusion of a foreign military force upon the soil of the republic must have upon the relations of the latter with the country you represent.

The Commissariat considers it indispensable to recall to you the extremely tense situation that has been created by this measure, which is evidently hostile to the republic and its political form; and to indicate once more that the only issue that can put an end to this situation is the immediate removal of the landed troops, and that precise declarations in regard to the attitude of your government toward the event that has taken place in Vladivostok are absolutely necessary as quickly as possible.

(Signed) TCHITCHERINE.

A similar letter has been sent to the American representative, Mr. Pool, and to the English representative, Mr. Lockhart.

British Consul Pleads Innocence.

Moscow, April 10, 1918.

Dear Mr. Tchitcherin:

Referring to our conversation this afternoon, I send you herewith a statement from the British government relative to the landing of Allied troops at Vladivostok. After describing the murder of two Japanese subjects in Vladivostok and the circumstances which induced the Japanese admiral to take this action, the British government requests its representative in Moscow to assure the Russian government that this landing has taken place with the sole object of securing the lives and prosperity of foreign subjects in Vladivostok, and that it should not be regarded in any other light than as a measure directed solely to this end.

The message, as you are aware, contains a further assurance of the government's desire to support the Russian government in its efforts against Germany.

(Signed) R. H. B. LOCKHART.

TRANSLATION.

Report of the American military attaché, Walter Drysdale, sent to Pekin to study the situation of the war prisoners in Siberia.

Walter Drysdale went from Vladivostok to Irkutsk and stopped at all the camps of war prisoners, examining them carefully. On March 29 he went back to Pekin and reported as follows:

Hungarians Go Over to Soviets.

"From Vladivostok to the Chinese frontier there are no armed war prisoners. All the war prisoners are well supervised by the Russians. In the region of Irkutsk are a certain number of Hungarian war prisoners, social revolutionists, who were enrolled in the 'red army' to fight against Semenov."

"From Omsk arrived a train with 50 war prisoners armed with guns and mitrailleurs, sent for this purpose. According to the testimony of those who well understand the local situation, they are deserters that have gone over to the side of the Russians and are completely penetrated by internationalist ideas."

"They don't want to go back to Hungary in any case, and they have decided to share the lot of the Russian revolutionaries. They have occupied the Swedish Red Cross at Omsk and also taken possession

of sums of money and other stocks, and they have sent to the Austro-Hungarian government an ultimatum in which they threaten opposition to the return of all the Austrian prisoners if they do not receive a complete amnesty and the permission to carry on Socialist propaganda after their return to their own country.

"It is said to this end they will stop all trains at Omsk in case their government leaves them without any answer. The relations of these war prisoners with their officers are very bad. Their armament in a certain measure be a danger for the allies, and on this point publications might take place. It could be indicated that it would be admissible to give war prisoners in general a freedom of movement, but that the creation of an American consular commission would be desirable, whose activity should extend to the Siberian railway."

Unearth Plots In Far East.

"I believe that American soldiers acting in that sense would be well received here and could best solve this problem. It is desirable to support this project. Seeing that the Allies desire, no doubt, to have a guarantee as to the future action of the war prisoners, it would perhaps be possible to change a small number of American soldiers with the supervision of every camp of war prisoners."

"There exists no immediate danger that the railroad will be taken possession of by armed war prisoners."

April 26, 1918.

Note presented to all foreign representatives at Moscow:

The Soviet government has long been informed about the intrigues and the military preparations of a band of counter-revolutionary conspirators concentrated at Pekin who have adopted the high-sounding title of "Autonomous Siberian Government."

We have long known that this little grouping of chiefs of the oppressors and exploiters of the people who are repudiated by the great masses, refugees in the Far East and in certain other localities, cast all their hopes upon the support from outside and find sympathy among the aggressive imperialist parties of different countries.

Documents found at a domiciliary visit to the agent of the Pekin conspirators, Kolocoff, at Vladivostok, unroll a complete tableau of the friendly relations that exist

between the local consuls of the countries of the Entente, sometimes even with the embassies, and the counter-revolutionists of the Far East who are preparing a coup d'etat and are ready to open a way to the foreign invaders in order to be able to establish anew their domination over the enslaved people.

Tchitcherin Asks For Open Play.

The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs has informed the representatives of the foreign powers at Moscow, in its notes of April 25, addressed to the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, and has indicated to the governments of these powers the necessity, first, to recall the consuls mixed up in this affair; second, to proceed to a public inquiry as to the activity of the latter, as well as to the participation of the embassies at Pekin in that conspiracy; and, third, to publish a clear and precise declaration about the attitude of these governments in regard to the band of counter-revolutionary conspirators who call themselves the Autonomous Siberian Government, likewise as to other analogous groups.

Making this known to the representatives of all the foreign powers at Moscow, the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that the reply of the Entente powers will be such that in the future it will be made impossible for their local agents to participate in the actions and attempts directed against the existence of the Soviet government. The support offered to these attempts must have a highly unfavorable influence upon the relations of the Russian Soviet Republic and these powers.

TCHITCHERINE.

May 26, 1918.

To M. Fernand Grenard, French Consul General at Moscow:

It is with the greatest regret that I am obliged to attract your attention to the deplorable circumstance that, in the affair of the Czechoslovaks (which has taken such considerable dimensions, since several of their detachments have revolted in Siberia and made themselves masters of certain lines of railways as the result of bloody battles), not only telegrams have been seized showing that relations exist between the rebels and governments of Russian counter-revolutionists, but also that representatives of France have actively participated in the movement.

France Finances Counter-Revolution

French military are found among the Czechoslovaks who are fighting our government, and some of our local military commissioners inform us that proofs have been found showing that subsidies received by the rebels have come from French sources. We are persuaded that you will be all the more eager to agree with us in our efforts to put an end to this unfortunate affair.

People's Commissar Trotsky has already addressed General Lavigne in this regard, and I, on my part, join in his desire that the French military authorities in Russia will apply the most energetic measures to bring the rebels to a laying down of arms. We are ready to facilitate the departure of the Czechoslovaks on condition that our soldiers still remaining in France be restored to us; but, in any case, we demand in the most formal manner that the Czechoslovaks be disarmed immediately, and we count with full confidence upon your friendly aid to this end.

G. TCHITCHERINE.

May 28, 1918.

To the chief of the British Mission:

Dear Mr. Lockhart: You are already acquainted with the extremely displeasing affair of the Czechoslovaks who have openly mutinied in Siberia and have seized there some railway lines as the result of battles accompanied by much bloodshed. Telegrams written in conventional language have been seized, showing the connection between this movement and counter-revolutionary plots.

Now military commissaries are informing us that connections have been disclosed between the Czechoslovaks and the British representatives.

When we learn details of this affair we will communicate with you. At the present moment we request you to use your moral influence upon the Czechoslovaks in order to induce them to cease the struggle and to deliver their weapons. We agree that they should leave the country, but they must be immediately disarmed. The affair is very serious and we are sure that you will help us in breaking the opposition of the mutineers.

G. TCHITCHERINE.

Russia Sought Peaceful End.

June 12, 1918.

To the chief of the British Mission, Mr. Lockhart.

To the Consul General of France, To the Consul General of Italy, To the Consul General of the

British and French Inciters to Counter-Revolution Found in Czechoslovak Forces—Russia Took Action Only After Much Unprovoked Bloodshed, Papers Prove.

United States of North America.

On June 4, the representatives of the four powers, England, France, Italy and the United States, issued a declaration in relation to the Czechoslovak question, in which they indicated that if, the disarmament of the Czechs was executed, the powers in question would consider it as a hostile act directed against them, seeing that the Czechoslovak detachments were allied troops under their protection and enjoying the support of the Entente powers.

The peoples commissariat for foreign affairs has the honor to state on this subject the following:

"The disarmament of the Czechoslovaks can in no case be considered as a hostile act against the Entente powers. It is above all provoked by the circumstance that Russia as a neutral state cannot permit in its territory the presence of armed detachments that do not belong to the army of the Soviet republic. The immediate cause of the application of severe and decisive methods for the disarmament of the Czechoslovaks were the latter's own actions."

"Long before the actual counter-revolutionary outbreak in Siberia, which is not yet suppressed, the Czechoslovak detachment opposed the application of the rules for the railway and the transport of provisions. The Czechoslovaks took possession by force of the camps of war prisoners in certain localities and committed acts of violence against the internationalist Socialists."

Czechs Provoke Firm Action.

"In spite of all this, the Soviet government tried hard to find a peaceful settlement of the situation that had become increasingly threatening. But the more and more provoking attitude of the Czechoslovaks, and finally the immediate danger created by the acts they committed with armed force compelled the Soviet government to adopt with reluctance the measures necessary for the disarmament. It was only the clearly counter-revolutionary insurrections of the Czechoslovaks against the Soviets which obliged the Soviet government to use force against an armed insurrection."

"The Czechoslovak insurrection

began on May 26 at Tiliabinsk, where they seized the railway depot, occupied the city, took possession of the arms they found there, arrested the local authorities, deposed them and began firing upon our troops when summoned to desist from their inadmissible acts and to lay down their arms."

"The spreading insurrection led to the occupation of Penza, Samara, Nove-Nikolaievsk, Omsk and other cities by the Czechoslovaks."

"Simultaneous with the insurrection of the Czechoslovaks everywhere, Soviet authorities were arrested and executed and so-called local governments erected as a part of a counter-revolutionary organization. The Czechoslovaks acted in common with the White Guards and the counter-revolutionary Russian officers. In certain localities French officers were found among them. Wherever the Czechoslovak counter-revolution occurred, the old authorities, deposed by the Soviet Republic of the Workers and Peasants, were established. The events which took place showed that what happened was an insurrection of White Guards, reactionary officers and the counter-revolutionary elements supported with armed force by the Czechoslovaks upon whom the counter-revolutionary movement relied for support."

Again Give Allies Chance.

"The Soviet government has adopted the most decisive measures for the suppression of the Czechoslovak insurrection and demands in any case their disarmament, since no other way out is possible at this moment. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is persuaded that, after the explanation given their representatives, the Entente Powers will no longer consider the disarmament of the Czechoslovaks as a hostile act against their allies entitled to their protection; on the contrary, they should consider the measures taken as necessary. Besides, the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs hopes that the representatives of the Entente powers will condemn the Czechoslovak detachments for their counter-revolutionary armed insurrection, which means an audacious open interference with the interior affairs of Russia."

"TCHITCHERINE."

Murmansk, Youngest Soviet, Helps Russia

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and rag. Yes, blest and damned.

Nor was the field of literature entirely neglected. All kinds of stories so, sentimental and sordid, realistic and romantic. Yes, don't laugh, I found Andre Tridon's "I. W. W." among a religious set of books. They had a few serious and technical books, I suppose to give a learned and high-brow air to the aggregation. Oxford and Cambridge grads must know something. Tone is necessary, don't you know.

Of course the English had to lay out football and cricket and lawn-tennis grounds. If they didn't they would not be English.

Indeed, nothing was overlooked. They had everything that makes life worth while to the governing class of England. Nothing forgotten. Everything from the internal and external spirits to the lawn tennis and richly furnished club house, was theirs in this military paradise.

Then something happened. My bewildered mind is unable to tell the mystery. I don't know whether it was the constant battles between the Irish and English soldiers' prospective, or a fight with the Red army, or he ghosts of the murdered Russian men and women, or an order from Downing Street, or the fear that "Pussyfoot" Johnson would cut off their splendid supply of beer and booze and champagne, or what, but they folded their tents.

Those necessary utilities they left behind—in fact, they left war equipment, rifles, ammunition, guns, railroad cars, all their fur-

niture telegraphic equipment, tools light and heavy railways, milk, and instruments of all kinds, fine flour, meat, and food of every kind; toilet articles, clothing and uniforms of every rank, everything, in fact, except the booze that they took with them.

Workers Reap Harvest.

It must have been a wonderful retreat. O'Sullivan from Bantry to Cavan, Napoleon from Moscow to Leipsic, Xerxes and his 10,000, all those faded away into a blur, a haze, a splash or any kind you like to call it, compared to Churchill's Boozellers. Kipling or some other English poet will yet mourn the Olympian heights and warble on the great achievements of this historic expedition, by giving us a poem that will make Homer look like Florenz Ziegfeld's poet laureate.

If the military feats of this gallant English band were worth this sketch, their indirect contribution to futurist art deserves greater notice and more recognition. Space does not permit me to do justice to this phase of the North Russia English expedition. The best epitome of what took place is to be found in the uniforms they left behind them. A private is doing duty at the magazine in the uniform of an English colonel, but his commanding officer has the clothes of a private. There are uniforms of the Czar's old police and army, uniforms of English officers and privates, of Scots and Irish soldiers, of Red Cross folks, etc., and worn by men and women here without regard to rank or position.

It is all very funny to look at, but a practical Socialist, while laughing at the picturesque contrasts and almost Gilbertian situa-

tions, cannot help regretting that the English did not stay a little while longer and build some more houses out of the material they left behind. They might have built a furnace to cremate their bottles, cans, old clothes, and beer waste. Had they done that, I'd say they had rounded out their existence admirably. But, then, I was always hard to please.

9 I. W. W. Resent Plea That Jailed Minds

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Judge Praises Poor House. "You advocate in your literature that the poor man has no chance. But take the laws of this state—they are all made for the poor man. The poor man has no income tax to pay; the rich man does. The rich man makes a little profit, and they take it away from him by excess profit taxes."

"A rich man gets sick and goes to the California Hospital and pays from \$25 to \$1,000 a week. If a poor man gets sick he can go to the county hospital. If a rich man gets old he has no one to care for him; he has to do the best he can; but if a poor man gets old he can go to the County Farm."

The restriction against selling Sinclair's book and visiting the Shelley Club and Attorney Ryckman's office was specified in a conversation between Judge Willis and T. Nilsida, who conducted a bookshop here until it was raided and wrecked. Ryckman is the attorney for whom tar and feathers was advocated recently in Judge Willis' court by District Attorney Thomas Leg Woolwine, who is seeking reelection on a 100 per cent. American platform.

WORTHY REGIME BLOCKS INQUIRY INTO TERRORISM

Under Pretext That Italian Socialist Deputies Were "Spreading Discontent Among Prisoners," Hungarian Premier Revokes Permission to Investigate Conditions.

(By Federated Press.)

VIENNA, May 6 (by mail).—No real investigation of conditions obtaining in the internment camps and jails of Hungary, where languish many thousands of the victims of the reactionary regime that succeeded the overthrow of Bela Kun last summer, will be permitted by the Horthy government.

This is the report brought back to this city by Deputies Della Setta and Vella, Italian Socialists sent by their party to look into the charges of inhumanity and wholesale persecution of labor men and Socialists that have shocked the working people of all countries.

Upon their arrival in Hungary the Italian deputies were assured by Premier Simonyi-Semadam in the presence of Commissioner in Budapest, that they would be allowed to inspect not only the internment camps and the prisons but also the hotels occupied by the Pronzy and Castenburg groups of army officers, the leaders of the gangs of irregular troops that apparently make away with "inconvenient" labor men or alleged Communists on their own initiative and "unknown" to the government.

The first visit to the camp at Hajmasker was enough, however, to show power behind the throne, according to the views of the Italian delegates, as Premier Simonyi-Semadam promptly seized upon their few remarks of encouragement to the interned men as the pretext to forbid further investigations.

Premier Halts Investigation.

It appears that upon their arrival in the camp at Hajmasker, the Italian Socialist deputies were made the object of an ovation by the prisoners, whom they greeted in the name of the Italian Socialist party, a member of the Third International, and bade them be of good cheer, as there might come an improvement in the internal political situation in Hungary. Furthermore, they told them of the presents being collected for them in Italy.

The reference to the internal conditions was the ground upon which the Hungarian premier based his charges that the Italians had preached communism and revolt to the interned men and that, consequently, he could not permit them to continue their investigation.

The Hungarian government's version of the affair is given in a

dispatch sent out through the Hungarian Telegraph Agency from Budapest on April 29, telling of an interpellation in the National Assembly as to why the Italians had left Budapest so suddenly.

This question gave the premier his wished-for opportunity to describe, in detail, the great enthusiasm displayed by the prisoners at Hajmasker when the investigators arrived, their "unjustified" complaints about food and clothing, and the alleged incendiary speeches of the deputies. He declared that such activities could not be permitted and that, if he had known what the Italian Socialists had intended to do, he would never have allowed them to enter the camp.

Italians File Protest.

Deputies Della Setta and Vella filed a protest with the Italian High Commissioner against the halting of their activities and left for Vienna.

They had questioned Premier Simonyi-Semadam in a memorandum previously sent to him through the Italian diplomatic representative at Budapest, regarding the crimes laid against his government, and in some of his replies he had made little effort to deny the charges, saying that "The red terror was succeeded by the white. This occurred automatically, like the swinging of a pendulum. Only since two months has Hungary had a legal government that is trying to restore legal order, something which thus far it has not entirely succeeded in doing."

The premier did not deny that no serious attempt had been made to bring to justice the officers who had murdered Editor Somogyi of Neprava the Budapest Socialist

organ.

Although the Hajmasker camp had evidently been cleaned up in anticipation of the deputies' visit, conditions were found bad enough. The chief complaint of most of the interned men was the fact that they had received no hearing and had not even been told what they were held for. Among the prisoners in the camp were 100 striking coal miners from Salgo-Tarjan. There were also a dozen Austrian citizens who had been held up on their return from captivity in Russia and Rumania and interned for months on the pretext of having been exposed to contagious diseases. Many of the prisoners are said to be seriously ill and there are many old persons among them.

In the meantime, the prosecution of ex-members of the Communist government continues. A late Budapest report tells of the sentencing to four years' imprisonment of Professor Faber, a former teacher in a commercial college and the liquidator under the Bela Kun regime of affairs pertaining to education and cults, for having allegedly incited the people against the bourgeoisie, especially the clergy. Faber was a priest himself at one time.

Scandinavian Socialist Local of Duluth, meets every Tuesday Night at Workers Hall — (Formerly Bricklayers Hall) Corner 19 Ave. W. and 1st St. Comrademeetings. 1st and 3rd meeting. — New members welcome.

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COMMUNISM WILL TAKE THE COMMERCIALISM OUT OF PATRIOTISM

CALL A HALT!

We trust that some kindly disposed person will obtain the attention of the editors of the Milwaukee Leader and the New York Call and assure them that the Communists are tired of hearing the same old story about stool-pigeons writing the platforms of the C. L. P. and the C. P. We know for a positive fact that they did NOT write the C. L. P. platform, because we were on the committee that did, and if they wrote the C. P. platform, then more power to their elbow.

The Socialist Party press is harping upon those "stool-pigeon" stunts with a view to discrediting the Communist movement, but from all accounts the Communist movement is better situated as regards finance and active members than the S. P. How can the Socialist Party expect to retain the confidence of the working-class, when it adopts a platform and program that is less revolutionary than that of the REPUBLICAN MAYOR OF CHICAGO? On the other hand the Communists come to the workingclass with a message of hope. They do not ask the workingclass to give them soft political jobs. They appeal to the masses to educate themselves and take power into their own hands. Their slogan is not "VOTE OR US", but ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS! The Socialist Party draws up a platform that will appeal to all sections of the country, with the hope that they will be able to elect their men to office. The Communists draw upon the every-day struggle of the worker in the shop. The principles of Communism were not thought out in the Rand School, they are the reflection and the generalization of the class struggle that is going on before our eyes. The Communists tell the workingclass the truth, and that is, that they rule who possess P-O-W-E-R. Not the power of the politician, which after all is but the power of words, but the power of the organized might of Labor. The man who preaches the message of Communism, whether he is a stool-pigeon or not, cannot harm the cause of the working-class. But the man who advises the workingclass to place its power in the hands of the politicians, that man, is worst than a stool-pigeon he is a fool. In a crisis, give us the stool-pigeon before the fool. We know how to deal with a stool-pigeon, but who knows how to deal with a fool?

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS!

The British, it appears, are grabbing the Russian business, whilst Pied Palmer of Pennsylvania hoodwinks the United States businessmen. But alas and alack business is business hence the following editorial, taken from the Chicago Daily News:—

Americanize the State Department.

This state department of ours at Washington seems to belong more to a faction in Russia than to America. Every few days, out of the tomb in which it lives with Korpilov and Kaledines and Kerensky and Kolehak, it issues another conversation in which it tells us once more that the soviets of Russia are on their last legs. Is our state department working for us Americans? Or is it working for its Russian friends?

The state department has put people into its Russian division who by marriage or by exclusive ties of social acquaintance in Russian antisoviet aristocratic circles were just about as likely as Kolchak himself to be able to take a cool and candid American view of the contending factions in the Russian civil war. With the help of such people, and with the help of its own prehistoric preserved Russian Ambassador Bakhmetev, out of the stone-dead age of Kerensky, our state department has spent two and a half years putting last legs on the Russian soviets—that is, on Mr. Bakhmetev's Russian enemies.

But Mr. Bakhmetev's Russian enemies seem to be able to make wonderful use of all the last legs that he and our state department can send them. On last legs the Russian soviets are now receiving delegates from the British labor movement at Moscow and are about to receive official political delegates from Czechoslovakia. On last legs they are in receipt of the equivalent of governmental recognition from Italy. On last legs they have run several hundred miles to a conquest of the oil wells of Baku and several thousand miles to a conquest of most of Siberia and then back, westward again, across Asia, and across a third of Europe, to a new war with Poland in the course of which the Polish government is already obliged to adopt a budget calling for expenditures which are at least six times as large as its revenues.

Above all, however, the Russian soviets have taken their latest consignment of last legs from Washington and have jumped on them all the way to London; and there, through their representative, Gregory Krassin, their minister of trade and commerce, they are conducting negotiations face to face with the diplomats of the world's most expanded world empire. Now it is announced that as a result of these negotiations the soviet government has been authorized to open immediately a central trading office in London, there to exchange Russian goods for the wares of British traders.

Mr. Bakhmetev is still—by our act—by our state department's act—the custodian of the supplies bought in America for Russia in 1917 with American public money loaned to the Kerensky Russian government out of the American public treasury. Mr. Bakhmetev—Kerensky's ambassador—is still the custodian of the cash secured by the selling of those supplies. He lives on his continued diplomatic recognition, by our state department.

For two and a half years our state department has maintained a Russian embassy which is nothing but its own Russian annex of favorite Russian factionists, and for two and a half years our state department has been continuously wrong on the facts and on the developments of the facts in Russia.

The question here is not. Should we recognize the soviets? The question here is, Should we get the facts?

We are kept from the facts by a Russian embassy representing a Russia which exists only at the bottoms of glasses on tables of luxurious exiles in Washington. We are kept from the facts by a Russian division of the American state department which tells us that the soviets are falling until they fall securely into the hands of British traders!

We Americans need a state department which is not so good for Mr. Bakhmetev and not so good for the British, but is better for America and for the truth.

WHITE COLLARS AND OVERALLS.

(By A. J. M.)

If you have been reading the newspapers and periodicals lately, perhaps you read of the formation of "Middle Class Unions" especially in England. In this country the movement is very new and has, thus far, mostly taken form as associations of tenants to combat rent increases.

Strictly defined, this middle class would be described as a section of the proletariat, but as its members have preferred

to consider themselves somewhat above the "working class" there is no harm in allowing them the pleasure of this delusion. Usually this type of worker receives a salary—so much per year, payable weekly or monthly. Unlike the wage-workers, they do not punch the time-clock, and are paid for time lost on account of sickness, etc. In England, where this movement seems to have gained considerable strength, the word "salariat" has been coined to describe them.

The position occupied at present by these "white-collar slaves" or "salariat" is both peculiar and painful. With the forces of organized labor and organized capital entrenched and waging a bitter economic warfare, the "salariat" finds itself occupying No Man's Land. Labor has met the rising cost of commodities with more or less successful wage demands. The "salariat" has had to pay the increased costs without receiving the benefits of increased salaries, and as a result, finds itself compelled to accept a lower standard of living—or fight.

This "salariat" is in reality a servant class. There is little difference between a cook and a bookkeeper. The cook prepares his master's meals; the bookkeeper counts his money. The clerk attends to the details of his master's business; the butler shines his shoes. The servant is essentially a servile animal; and servility has been the outstanding mark of the "salariat". There may be some doubt as to who will do the dirty work under socialism, but all the world knows who it is that does the dirty work under capitalism.

These people, who feeling the pinch of poverty, are forming the "middle class unions" "Tenants' Associations" and the like, are the very people who have, since the beginning of the capitalist era, done the dirty work. It is this class that has the preachers, the teachers, the writers, the politicians. They have offered their services time and again as strike-breakers. They have heaped vilification upon the heads of labor. At every attempt of the workers to gain a better livelihood, they have poured out their poisonous lies, sneers, and denunciations. Not only is this true of the petty servants, but also of the great ones. Men of science, inventors, university professors, poets, novelists,—all have groveled at the feet of the master. As Paul Lafargue so well said of them, "The higher they raise their heads, the lower they bend the knee."

In some quarters this awakening of the intellectuals, this partial consciousness of their class position, is hailed as a sign of promise. It is true that the "salariat" occupies a position of power in the present system. Thorstein Veblen pointed out in a recent series of articles that this class is actually in control of the social machinery. Without them, the capitalist class would be as helpless as a babe in arms. But until such a time as they discard their smug respectability and cringing servility, there is little assistance to be expected from them.

In the past, numbers of intellectuals have affiliated with the socialist movement. The Socialist Party, of odorous fame, was completely under their domination—and is yet. But they, for the most part, brought their respectability with them into the Party. From this source came pacifism, reformism, opportunism. Securing jobs as writers and lecturers, they displayed the same cringing, faltering attitude as their brethren. As the wind changed, so did they change. Initiative and courage are qualities not to be expected of those reared in servants' quarters.

There are exceptions to every rule. While we must distrust any overtures from a class that has displayed such contemptible qualities we should not overlook the fact that from this same class come many able and courageous men such as Marx, Engels, Lafargue, Liebknecht, Labriola, Lenin and a host of others. It should be noted, however, that such men usually have not been at any period in their lives enlisted in the service of capitalism. For the most part, too, they belong to the earlier stages of our capitalistic era, and obtained their early training in groups of revolutionary students. The conditions which produced them have never existed in this country.

It is significant that the attack of the "Salariat" is directed against the high rents and the increased prices of food and clothing. They complain, not because they are underpaid, but because they are overcharged. They do not protest against the pittance received for their services, for that would ill-become good servants. Because they come into personal contact with their lords, it is required of them that they present a pleasing exterior. They must be well dressed, and likewise they must live in a style that becomes the servants of the great men whom they serve.

The recent threat of this class to wear overalls is at least amusing. Picture a bank teller in the greasy garb of an engineer! White collars, too, are to be discarded according to their radical leaders—but even discarding the white collar and the putting of overalls will do little good. A white-collar-slave in any garb would smell no sweeter. What is needed is a stiffening of the knee and a straightening of the spine.

ARE WOMEN REVOLUTIONARY?

The idea is sometimes put forward that woman is more revolutionary by temperament than man. This is based on the belief that she acts more on intuition and emotion than by reasoning things out logically, and is therefore likely to act more quickly.

Yet woman may also be intensely reactionary on intuitive or emotional grounds.

This is often so. The conservatism of women was an argument used against giving them the vote, and many feared the dead-weight of their numbers against social change.

Benjamin Kidd, in the "Science of Power," builds up a case for what he calls "the Emotion of the Ideal" as a great revolutionary factor.

Women, in his view, are to bring the influence of a great new ideal into the world. Men are alleged to be moved more by egoistic or self-regarding impulses, and women by altruistic or other-regarding impulses. The care of the woman for her child; the fact that she lives so much for others is supposed to have developed in her a new principle of world-shaking power which is opposed to the hard, selfish outlook of the male.

The case seems to be very much over-stated.

There are selfish women and unselfish men as well as the reverse. The love of a woman for her family may tend, instead of leading to a wider human sympathy, to restrict her outlook and cause her to disregard the feelings and desires of others outside her little group.

What is true is that the emotional power of woman is played upon by conditions.

In ancient society, when descent was reckoned through the gens or totem of the women, then women were more important socially than the men. There was nothing to make them revolutionary. They had full rights and full freedom.

With the rise of property this was altered. The gens broke up. The patriarchal system commenced. The man wanted private property for himself and his heirs; he also

desired the labour of his wives and children. Lewis Morgan deals elaborately with this in "Ancient Society," and Jenks, in his "History of Politics," gives a short, clear account of the change.

The word "family," he says, is derived from an Italian word "fameli," meaning slave. This indicates the earlier conception of family relations.

The prevalent customs of marriage by conquest or by purchase show that no idyllic and beautiful relationship between man and woman existed at the beginning of the patriarchal system. The system involved slavery for the woman, and the conception current then has persisted under varying forms ever since.

In fact, at periods of Roman and Grecian history the courtesan was regarded as higher in the social scale than the married woman, who was simply part of the husband's "goods and chattels."

During feudal times women were treated with a chivalrous regard which emphasised inequality and the pride of possession. There was something of the "harem" view about it. Women were valuable hot-house plants not allowed to grow freely; sheltered from the wind and the rain and carefully trained to satisfy the taste of their owners.

From the Renaissance to the Restoration certain women, both in this country and in the salons of the Continent, did achieve recognition as people of intellect and influence, but later on, in the days of the Whigs, women were stifled in the full drawing-rooms of the middle class, who set the tone of the age. To take an interest in the real problems of life was regarded as being unladylike. Women who revolted against this in the sphere of literature was compelled to adopt men's names in order to avoid condemnation.

When the slender stock of reasonable ideas possessed by the average middle class man was eliminated from his intercourse with women one may imagine how empty and ignorant their lives were.

Cicely Hamilton, in her book, "Marriage as a Trade," refers to the kind of ideal woman desired by man as half-angel and half-idiot. Yet this silly angel type is often held up as a pattern even to-day.

Luckily, working women have a far greater practical equality with their men-folk than their sisters of the upper and middle class. The necessities of life inculcate a truer comradeship between the working-man and his wife, who does not lead a sheltered or artificial life.

Yet the poorer women have to contend with terrible economic evils. Sweated labour and women labour are very nearly synonymous terms. Their weakness is an excuse for exploiting them more than the men. We see here the ugly reverse side to the conventional ideas of chivalry which shows how hollow these ideas really are. Contrast the position of the destitute man with that of the woman. The man can tramp in search of work; he can stay in cheap lodging-houses, and can rough it in various ways. But women cannot do this. The morality of capitalism does not give them a chance. The streets claim them by thousands. The horror and infamy of the present social order in connection with poor friendless girls has never been fully explained and exposed.

There are two tendencies behind the modern feminist movement. One stream of thought coming from the middle-class women emphasises equality in education and the right to enter various professions; the other stands for the interests of women in industry. The revolt against the general servile status of women and against the more precise economic evils both contribute to the strength of the movement.

The war has overshadowed the movement which flamed out in the years immediately preceding it. Yet that movement is worth attention. It was characterised by enthusiasm, intrepidity, and ability. The middle and upper class women who took a leading part were smarting from the sense of sex inferiority.

The vote to them was a symbol of the equality of the sexes. They reacted against the accepted conditions and standards.

The leaders of the militant movement declared that they were out to insist women to destroy property because the Government cared more for property than for life. This note was insistently struck. Clearly, underlying the demand for the vote was a sense of irritation at the whole of the property status of women, and this expressed itself vaguely in attacks upon property.

Women seem either to meekly accept the conventional standards or else they feel a fierce sense of revolt against the indignity and degradation which those standards involve. They are realising, too, that their freedom is bound up with the ending of the private property system. The successful business man who decks his wife with jewels and shows her much as he would display a fine motor-car which indicates his wealth is typical of the times. Yet many of the women in the upper class recoil from the logic of their movement towards freedom. When it comes to choosing whether they will throw up their position as members of a privileged class in order to gain freedom as a sex they feel class interests first.

If the feminist movement is not to be futile it must join up with the labour movement, otherwise it is tied to a social order which regards women as inferior, and its activities are paralysed.

Long ago, in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx shrewdly analysed the common charge that Socialists stand for the "Socialisation of Women." He pointed out that Socialists stand for the common ownership of property, and as the defenders of the present order regard women as property, naturally they think that women are included too! They have not an inkling of the truth, which is that Socialism proposes to raise women from their property status and give them economic and personal freedom to exactly the same degree as that possessed by man. As the women realise this more and more, the Socialist movement is bound to gain their support.

R. M. Fox.

YOU SAID IT!

The American Defense Society is sending out frantic appeals to BUSINESS men to donate sums of money in order to conduct a campaign against the radicals. We wish them well!

This as a sample of the brains of the capitalist class:—"Do you know that the radical's battle cry is 'TO HELL WITH THE GOVERNMENT, TO HELL WITH THE LAW, TO HELL WITH THE CHURCHES, TO HELL WITH THE RIGHT OF ANY PERSON TO BE POSSESSED OF ANY PROPERTY?'"

The above reminds you of the manufacturer who did not want to go heaven, because his business had gone to hell. This kind of an appeal is being circulated broadcast throughout the country. Notice that the appeal is directed solely to business men! Who said there was no war in America? If there is no class war in America, why make the appeal only to business men? Simply because the business men

realize that there is a class war and they realize that there is a struggle taking place and that POWER will be the deciding factor.

In the next paragraph of the appeal they state:—

"THE REDS' NEXT WEAPON IS THE GENERAL STRIKE, THE FIRST ONE THEY WIN SPELLS THE BEGINNING OF THE END."

Later on they pay us following tribute:—

"THE REDS ARE ARGUING, PREACHING, TEACHING; ALWAYS PROSELYTING, ORGANIZING THE UNSUCCESSFUL, THE DISSATISFIED. EVERY DAY THEY GAIN CONVERTS, THEY ARE A TIRELESS, SLEEPLESS, CONSTANT MENACE TO LAW AND ORDER."

The law and order they mean is the law and order that protects the manufacturer that sweats and enslaves the children as they climb out of their cradles. It protects the department store owner who makes his fortune out of the degradation of women. That kind of law and order we are most assuredly a menace to. Let the American Defense Society continue on with its appeals. All the dollars of America are powerless when opposed by the organized power of Labor. Let the workingclass arouse and educate itself and we will hand over the United States Treasury to the American Defense Society, never fearing the ultimate outcome.

In the meantime what is YOUR reply to the American Defense Society?

PALMER THE?????

Attorney General Palmer, has the nerve to seek the position of President of these United States. Palmer has proved himself to be nothing more nor less than an unprincipled politician and conceited fool. We characterize him as a fool, because we hesitate to believe that he is conscious of his own wrong-doings and that he really understands what he is talking about. He reminds us of a certain English politician, who when he arose to say anything he did not know what he was going to say; when he was talking he did not know what he was talking about and when he had sat down, he did not know what he had been saying.

In his latest outburst, Palmer states that the Communists financed the recent "outlaw" strikes. They did this by means of a TWENTY FIVE CENT STAMP. Now understand that there are at least 275,000 switchmen out on strike. That means that to ensure these men \$1.00 per week, the Communists must sell over one million stamps. To give these men five dollars per week, they must sell five and a half million stamps. Can you imagine what kind of a statesman Palmer is, after he makes such an idiotic statement? Words fail us! Fancy the Communists financing a strike of the switchmen and at the same time they are unable to even raise bail for the members of the I. W. W. who now lie in prison! It's a great life!

Let us leave Palmer alone and get down to the real cause of the present unrest. In June, 1914, the actual circulating medium of the country was \$3,402,015,427. On the first day of February 1920 the circulating medium had risen to \$5,846,171,213. With the inevitable result, and mind you this is taken from GOVERNMENT FIGURES, that the price of the necessities of life had increased something like 150 per cent. In other words the wages that gave only a bare existence in 1914, are only able to purchase two-fifths of what they formerly purchased. But you say that wages have increased also. Yes that is true, but have wages increased as high as 150 per cent? Study the figures of the government and you will find that wages have not even increased as high as 75 per cent. Therefore the standard of living of the workingclass has decreased and you know what that means. It means resorting to less of the good things of life and buying the cheap things, cheap meat cuts, cheap bread, cheap butter, cheap clothes. In fact the worker is living too damn cheap. Why should the workingclass be forever content to live cheap? Who is Palmer that he should dictate to the workingclass and lie about their struggles? This is the time, members of the workingclass, when you must come out of your holes and stand erect as men. Do not allow men to fool you with all that bunk they call "Americanism". "Americanism" to that outfit means that you should lie down and be walked over. If you are men, you will line up with your class and stop living cheap. Let those who do NOT work live cheap. You fellows should get together and commence to enjoy the things that you produce. If you are content to live cheap, don't complain if someday you find your kids being buried in a cheap coffin, due to fact that their cheap fathers were content to live in cheap houses, in slums of course, and eat cheap food.

Open my eyes to visions girt

With beauty, and wonder lit—

But let me always see the dirt,

And all that spawn and die in it.

Open my ears to music; let

Me thrill with Spring's first flutes and drums—

But never let me dare forget

The bitter ballad of the slums.

From compromise and things half-done,

Keep me, with stern and stubborn pride;

And when, at last, the fight is won

God keep me still unsatisfied.

Louis Untermeyer.

THE INTERNATIONAL, SECOND OR THIRD?

(Translated by Miss N. Capaldi.)

In the discussions around the Two Internationals too many Socialists see only a sort of business rivalry. It will be our mission to show them that the Berne International is the instrument of the past, and the Moscow International the foundation of the future, society; that the Second is the friend of the bourgeoisie, whilst the Third is its mortal enemy. Too many Socialists have shirked their personal responsibility for deciding between the two, and are trusting blindly to their "leaders". We will show them that too many "leaders" have failed, and that every Socialist must decide such questions for himself; for the strength of a party lies not in the decided obedience of its members to their "leaders", but in the knowledge and strength of every individual composing it. Too many Socialists talk revolution and act reform, whether consciously or not. We will show clearly the contradictions between the two, and Socialists must choose between Reform or Revolution. In fact, too many Socialist underestimate the value of their individual effort in preparing the people for action and confine themselves to "unburdening their conscience" at party meetings. We will endeavour to lead their energy into the task of preparing the Revolution by showing that, in order to accomplish the Revolution successfully, not only must historic and economic conditions be revolutionary, but that the working class also must be revolutionary.

BORIS SOUVARINE

(Writing on the "Third International in France.")

They never fail, who die in a great cause; the block may soak their gore; their heads may sicken in the sun; their limbs be strung to city gates and city walls.