

U. S. GOVERNMENT IS CRIMINALLY RESPONSIBLE!

It is an established fact that ordinances, regarding explosives, are violated every day in the city of New York, by BUSINESS MEN. It is also true that a powder wagon passed through Wall Street, prior to the explosion. It is also true that the wagon belonged to Du Pont's or some other powder firm. It is also true that if these people admit responsibility for the explosion, that they will be compelled to pay millions of dollars in damage. Yet the Du Pont factory, would rather see some innocent person sent to the electric chair than admit responsibility. Where is the United States Secret Service? Are they asleep on the job? The Government must accept the responsibility of the explosion. A responsibility that amounts to criminality. It is another example of how capitalism places the dollar above human life.

THE WORKING CLASS RIGHT OR WRONG

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TCHITCHERIN EDUCATES SECRETARY COLBY

W. J. Flynn Wants Another Money Cace

Australian Republic May Be Expected

Australian Workers Are Talking Of Setting Up A Republic. Poor John Bull's Bull Does Not Bulldoze Australia.

By W. FRANCIS AHERN.
Australian Staff Correspondent for
The Federated Press.

Sydney, N.S.W.—The workers of Australia have lately been treated to visits by certain overseas notables. First there was General Pau, then General Birdwood, then Admiral Jellicoe — each with his own explanation why Australia should have a large army and navy, stand close to England in any future trouble, and be prepared to find soldiers for future wars in which England or the Allies might be entangled.

There has also been a collection of lesser lights who have expounded on the virtues of Imperial Federation and other subjects which can only have the effect of enslaving the free Australian people.

It seems to be a general impression in the minds of the gentry who run the British Empire that the people of Australia, as well as of other countries where the Union Jack flies, are willing tools and flunkies to be used in the interests of the capitalists of Britain. The war opened the eyes of the Australian people and allowed them to see matters in quite a different angle to what they viewed it prior to the Butchers' Holiday in Europe.

Thus it became clear to the British diplomats that if the Imperialistic capitalists were to increase or even maintain their grip on the British Empire, a great drive must be made to bring nearer together the outlying section of that Empire on which the sun is supposed never to set. Hence the visits from leading militarists, navalists, and spokesmen for Imperial Federation—including the latest one of the Prince of Wales.

Lately for the same reason, the bourgeoisie statesmen of Australia, aided by the powerful capitalist press, have been creating enthusiasm for the Empire. They have gone to great pains in their endeavor to show that the British Empire is the finest thing the world has ever seen, though they have omitted to tell the Australian people that it is a finer thing for the capitalist gentlemen behind the scenes.

Just as a ready market can be created for some shoddy commodity by the aid of effective publicity

work, so the statesmen of Australia are using the visit of the Prince of Wales to that country in their boost for the Empire.

Every day the press serves up its budget of servile utterances and painful platitudes for the purpose or 'doping' the Australian people. Column after column of offensive sycoplancy and contemptible snobbery in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales is rushed before the public of Australia in order that they may incline more than ever towards the rule of British Imperialism.

For behind it all is imperialism with its greedy fingers distended to clutch, and its gloating eyes fixed on the objective of which the Prince of Wales is doubtless an unconscious agent in advance. Likely the Imperialists hold the opinion that once the Australian people are "doped" sufficiently, a desire for peace will come over them, during which time they will be able to get in their work of making the overseas countries subservient to and in the complete control of the gentlemen in Downing Street who are running the British Empire for the gentlemen behind them.

But it is hardly probable that the Australian people, leastwise the Australian workers, will be caught napping. They are extremely wide awake to the present publicity campaign in the interests of British imperialism, and have the benefit of knowing how British imperialism is operating in those countries which have already been subjugated to British rule in its entirety. It may be a little too early to essay a forecast, but the Australian people are nearer to cutting adrift from England and founding a republic than most people are aware.

KEEP OUT WOODY!

By The Federated Press.

PARIS, France.—President Wilson is evidently to have no part in the settling of the Fiume question. Premier Giolitti in a conversation at Aix Les Bains, indicated that Italy will deal directly with the Jugoslavians.

INVESTIGATE DU PONT'S!

Wall Street Disaster Being Used To Crush Reds. Eye Witnesses Prove That Wagon Of Powder Was At Scene Of Disaster.

By The Federated Press.

NEW YORK, — Failure by the police and federal authorities to follow up clue indicating that the Wall street disaster was caused by criminal carelessness on the part of the police themselves and the explosive companies marked the first three days in the investigation of the explosion which killed 36 persons and injured 200.

Stories of eye-witnesses that they had seen a red powder wagon bearing the customary red flag going up Wall street immediately before the detonation have been brushed aside.

Powder Companies Not Investigated

Instead, the detectives have taken up the theory that the explosion was a crime by radicals. They have refrained from investigating the books of the Du Pont de Nemours Company and other powder concerns to learn whether or not explosives were being transported Thursday in the financial district. These companies have denied having wagons in the district at the time, but this statement has not been investigated.

Likewise, the police permitted spectators to pick up significant pieces of debris immediately after the explosion, thus allowing vital clues to escape.

Morgan In Europe.

The theory that an enemy of J. P. Morgan tried to blow up his private bank is weak in view of the fact that all members of the Morgan firm were unhurt, Morgan himself is in Europe, and the bank building was widely known to be bombproof.

Henry P. Davidson, one of Morgan's partners, was absent at the time of the explosion. The majority of victims were messengers and clerks.

Tenable theories are that the disaster was perpetrated by a homicidal maniac, or by criminal disregard of the laws regulating transportation of explosives. The first of these theories is strongly borne out by the message of warning sent by Edward F. Fisher, who was arrested Friday in Hamilton, Ont., and placed in an insane asylum there.

N. Y. Police Lax.

New York's police are known to be lax in habitually permitting explosive wagons to go through the financial section without permits, because of big construction jobs being rushed there.

The attitude of the police in ignoring the eye-witnesses who saw the powder wagon is akin to the deliberate refusal of the San Francisco authorities in 1916 to entertain testimony by many creditable persons who swore they saw the Preparedness Day bomb thrown from the top of a building.

Mooney Case Cited.

This testimony was rejected because it did not accord with District Attorney Fickert's theory that Tom Mooney and others had placed dynamite on a basement stairway. Fickert has since been shown up as an arch-conspirator who framed with big financial interests to get rid of Mooney and other radical unionists whose organization activities endangered their profits.

"OUR CONSCIENCE IS CLEAR"

Special Correspondence "Work-ers' Dreadnought." London, Sept. 2nd (By Mail.)

By BELA KUN.

So be it! Better to break than to tolerate the confusion which hinders the ideal, the theoretical revolutionary growth.

It is better to perish than to tolerate and condone mediocrity and irresolution.

LENIN.

We know that what we are about to say will arouse the bitter resentment of those who, hide-bound in their middle-class prejudices, are incapable of ever becoming true revolutionaries. It will enrage the revolutionary defeatists, whose fickleness and instability leads them to perpetual moralizing, and whose petty dilettantism betrays itself in constant vacillation. No doubt they will say that it is easy to talk boldly from a safe distance. Let them.

They will launch their fiery denunciations at our heads. Let them. Denunciations have become their daily bread. They will accuse us of attacking men who are helpless in Horthy's power. Let them. It is part of their aimless demagoguery to do so.

What we are about to say must be said. It must be said, because we must make good our own errors. We have to make good our own errors. We have to make good what we lost through sentimental weakness, and through miscalculation. We have to make reparation for having only vaguely warned, and not sufficiently impressed upon the proletarian masses, that among their leaders, were men who were sabotaging their cause, who, from malevolent intention, or from weakness and inconstancy, were supporting the counter-revolution, and betraying the power of the workers. We must make reparation, or at least do penance for the sin of having

tolerated men, who gave the impression that they were leading the march of revolution, when, in reality, they were limping in the rear; men, who by their evil example and counter-revolutionary conduct, were tripping up and opposing the onrush of revolution. By delaying to speak, we should become their accomplices.

Crime to Tolerate Revolutionaries.

We shall shock the senile dodderers; the morphia-slaves and the degenerates who, plagued with an evil conscience, and who can never come to any resolute decision, will be outraged. They will say we are aiding Horthy and his gang in their hangman's work. Nevertheless, we must speak—it is our duty as revolutionary Communists. If what the bourgeois press is telling the world about the utterances of these two former Peoples' Commissioners (Continued on page 3.)

Swedish Workers Support Russia

Demand Unqualified Declaration Of Neutrality Be Made. (Special Correspondence "British Communist.")

London, Sept. 2nd (By mail). The workers of Stockholm held a monster demonstration last week in the Vasa Park in favour of peace, neutrality and friendship with Russia. The meeting had been forbidden by the Police, but the right to hold it had been upheld by the Stockholm Communal Council and the Government had the good sense to remove the veto.

Frederick Strom spoke on the last World War. As the Right Socialists could not prevent that war, so they could not prevent the Versailles Peace, which only meant new wars sooner or later. A new power had come into being, the World Proletariat in the Third International. Hence the present situation. What must Sweden's workers do? Follow the lead given by English workers and by all and any means defeat a Government that may try to make us accomplices in Capital's war against Workers' Russia.

Z. Höglund spoke on 'Solidarity with Soviet Russia,' giving a masterly speech on the historical

aspect of the last couple of years, concluding, "We know its victory (Soviet Russia) is the victory for the whole international working class. Its defeat is the defeat of that class. The workers must see it and recognise it. In the hope that Sweden's workers, in spite of being misled by Social Patriots, will show their solidarity with the fighting Russian Proletariat, I cry: 'Long live Soviet Russia!'"

The following resolution was carried:— "This meeting demands of the Swedish Government—in case a conflict between the Entente and Soviet Russia should lead to war or a new blockade—that a decided and unqualified declaration of neutrality be made. As a guarantee for the honesty of the present Government's policy of neutrality we demand that the Government immediately enter into normal trade relations as well as diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Long live the English and French dockers' action for peace! Long live the Russian Soviet Republic!"

SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SAYS SECRETARY SEEKS SUPREMACY FOR BANKING GROUPS

By W. NEWER.
(Staff Correspondent for the Federated Press.)

LONDON, Sept. 17.—The complete failure or deliberate refusal of the American government to grasp what the Russian Soviet republic is driving at, was held up to the light in a dispatch received yesterday from George Tchitcherin, Soviet commissioner of foreign affairs, by Peace Commissioner Krasin. The message answers Secretary Colby's note to the Italian ambassador.

"Secretary Colby's note," says Tchitcherin's dispatch, "contains an attack on Russia's integrity so unusual in diplomacy that Russia cannot leave it unheeded. The American government supports the principle of territorial inviolability and indivisibility of Czarist Russia. The only exceptions it makes are Poland, Finland and Armenia. Colby

considers the demands for independence by these nations legal, inasmuch as Czarist Russia annexed them by force. He indicates that other oppressed nationalities not annexed by force, who desire independence or federation with the Soviet, are making illegal demands. Colby would not sanction such action by the Georgian, Azerbadjian, Lithuanian, Latvian, nor Ukrainian peoples.

"This distinction is incomprehensible, and is probably the result of insufficient information. Colby's condition of friendliness to Russia is that our government be non-soviet or any other form than at present. His view of economic unification of the world means domination of Russia by American financiers. His desire to maintain the inviolability of Czarist Russia is totally opposed to Britain's policy. Obviously the groups he represents perceive that

(Continued on page 3.)

DEFECTIVE PAGE

MOSCOW WELCOMES THIRD INTERNATIONAL FRANCE and WRANGEL

"We Were Deeply Grieved That Representatives Of The Capitalist Powers Were Not Present At Our Demonstration: For Even They Would Have Had To Understand That Soviet Russia Is An Unconquerable Force."

Special Correspondence "British Communist."

The day was devoted to a great demonstration in honor of the Congress, organized by the Moscow Soviet in the Red Square, before the walls of the Kremlin. Around the Square were set up artistically decorated trophies of the war against the Allies—guns, a tank, a searchlight station, flame-throwers, etc.—with suitable inscriptions, such as "Clemenceau's gift to the Third International." Opposite the Kremlin there had been erected a red arch, with inscriptions in honor of the Congress: the walls all round were decorated with shields, placards, banners, etc., with inscriptions in various languages. Above the Square floated two large silver-grey kite balloons, from which leaflets greeting the Communist International were thrown in the course of the day; aeroplanes also appeared during the demonstration.

Delegates Guests of Honor.

The latter began with the parade of the Red garrison at 11 a. m. By noon the Square was filled with troops of all arms, drawn up in mass, while the adjacent Revolution Square was filled with columns of

the civil population from the districts. Shortly after noon a great artificial mound of green and scarlet in the midst of the Square, erected by the School of Military Camouflage, began to be filled by members of the All-ussian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, etc. The guests of honour—the delegates to the Congress—arrived in motors at about one, and ascended the tribunes on either side of the mound to the strains of the "International," while Trotsky, who had accompanied them, inspected the ranks.

Trotsky Reviews Red Army.

At 2 p. m., with the sound of a gun, Trotsky, together with the Presidium of the Congress, began to take the march-past of the troops. During this period the guests on the mound were presented with a banner, bearing the words: "The Moscow Council of Workers' and Red Army Deputies to the Communist International, the supreme guide of the united proletarian armies of the world, 1905-1917-1920." After the soldiers came the demonstration of civil population—first the serried ranks of the armed workers undergoing militia training; then thousands upon

thousands of working women in white holiday dresses and red kerchief round their heads Phrygian fashion; then long columns of unarmed workers, followed by the proletarian sports associations, in gymnastic dress; then a long line of decorated lorries filled with children; then column after column of boy and girl scouts, who on being given the challenge, "Be Prepared!" by Trotsky from the tribune, answered "Ever Prepared!" in chorus. The march past went on ceaselessly from shortly before 2 p. m. to after 6 p. m. Over 400,000 persons, it is calculated, participated.

At 7 p. m., in all the districts, concert meetings were organized by the Moscow Soviet at which delegates to the Congress were present. Until 1 a. m. splendid fireworks and illuminations, in the centre and suburbs of Moscow, marked the continuation of the fete; but long after this hour the streets were filled with crowds inspired with the enthusiasm of the celebration.

Radek on the Demonstration.

Karl Radek, at the end of an article on the demonstration, wrote: "We were deeply grieved that representatives of the capitalist Powers were not present at our demonstration: for even they would have had to understand that Soviet Russia is an unconquerable force. No one can henceforth strike out of the pages of history this mass of millions, which has grown from a mob into an organized army of Communism Red army which has created an internal discipline such as the capitalist world does not possess, and against which it could bring up only mercenaries in soldiers' greatcoats."

The demonstration of July 27th was a demonstration of preparedness for battle in face of gigantic world happenings. "Be prepared!" was the call which, at yesterday's demonstration, was sent forth by the Communist Party to the labouring millions of Russia. "Ever prepared!" answered Petrograd last week. "Ever prepared!" answered Moscow yesterday. "Ever prepared!" say the millions of fighters in the Red Army. "Ever prepared," will reply Soviet Russia.

Treaty Terms Between Wrangel and France.

The London Daily Herald publishes the following agreement which comes from Stockholm:

"For the promise of official recognition by France, and military and diplomatic support against the Soviet Government, General Wrangel engages himself: (1) To recognise with priority all debts due to France by the Russian State and municipalities, to be paid in compound interest.

"(2) The Soviet Government having been overthrown, France converts all Russian debts to a new loan, at a yearly interest of 6½ per cent. for 35 years, with partial yearly amortisation.

Huge Mortgages.

"(3) The paying of interests and the yearly amortisation of capital is to be guaranteed by:

"(a) The handing over to France for exploitation of all railways of European Russia for — years.

"(b) The handing over to France of the right to draw customs and port charges at all ports on the Black and Azov Seas.

"(c) The placing at the disposal of France of the surplus of the corn of the Ukraine and Kuban districts during — years, the export before the war to be taken as the basis.

"(d) The placing at the disposal of France of three-fourth of the exported quantities of naphtha and benzine during — years, according to estimate of before the war.

"(e) The surrendering of one-fourth of the quantity of coal in the Don district during — years.

"Note: The number of years for points (a), (c), (d) and (e) to be settled by a special agreement, not yet drawn up.

To Take Effect at Once.

"Points (b), (c), and (e) take effect immediately after Wrangel's conquest of the corresponding territories. The sums obtained by the export of raw materials should be used for the payment of interest for old debts.

"(4) To the Russian financial, commercial, and industrial ministries shall be attached officials of the French financial and commercial Chancelleries, whose rights shall be settled by a special treaty.

"(5) Russia engages itself to restore liability to military service upon the same basis as before the war.

"(6) France undertakes to restore the Russian rifle and munition factories and the primary equipping of the new army. France and Russia enter into a military offensive and defensive alliance for 20 years.

"By a secret treaty is settled the policy of France concerning the border States separated from Russia and their mutual relations to Russia."

British Labor Tenders Scott Nearing Rousing Welcome

By The Federated Press.
LONDON, England.—Warm welcome was extended by delegates at the British Trade Union Congress in Portsmouth to Scott Nearing, American publicist, when he appeared quietly at that gathering. Nearing has been sojourning with friends here.

It's Coming Comrades!!

By The Federated Press.
STOCKHOLM.—"The war into which Poland has been forced is the last offensive of internationalism against the Revolution." With these words Frederic Strom, official representative of the Soviet government, brought a mass meeting of 5,000 Swedish left-wing Socialists to its feet cheering.

Without a dissenting voice, resolutions were adopted demanding of the Swedish government that it maintain absolute neutrality in its dealing with Russia and Poland. The resolution further demanded that, as a token of its neutrality the Swedish government resume commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia, thereby placing this country on a footing of equality with Poland.

WAR IS OVER, BUDDY!

By The Federated Press.
CHICAGO.—Caught selling pamphlets "to aid wounded soldiers," Reuben and Charles Chason, former service-men, were held to the federal grand jury here under bonds of \$1,000 each for illegal use of the army uniform.

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Liberty--American Brand

BY SCOTT NEARING,
Staff Writer For The Federated Press.

Once every two weeks the American Civil Liberties Union publishes a list of violations of civil liberties that have occurred in the United States during the preceding fourteen days. The lists read like table of railroad accidents.

There are federal cases, state cases, deportation cases, injunctions, mobbings, lynchings. The capitalist press of the United States, in the palmiest days of its propaganda against Soviet Russia, never had a tithe of the material that is contained in this cut-and-dried story of the crucifixion of popular liberties in the United States.

The American people are not free. They are jailed for talking. They are mobbed for advocating a new form of social and economic life.

Their teachers are throttled; their papers are owned; their public men serve "interests". Strikes are forbidden. Labor organizations are barred. Even during the presidential campaign, speakers are not free to talk.

Occasionally the papers published in Europe mention the United States. They report lynchings. They recount the stories of outrages committed against the liberties of the American people, and they speak of them in the same terms that they formerly employed when speaking of government of the Car of Russia. There was a time when the antithesis of LIBERTY was spelled RUSSIA. Today, in the minds of thinking people, the antithesis of LIBERTY is spelled UNITED STATES.

"Our Conscience Is Clear"

(Continued from page 1)

corresponds with the truth — and from our experiences of the Dictatorship, we know that was a crime to have tolerated them in our ranks, and above all to have tolerated them in the ranks of the Communists. The sin is ours, we must acknowledge it, and we shall have to labour long in the cause of the proletarian revolution.

We shall be told that it is easy to talk from the security of a foreign country, and that those who sought safety in flight have no right to question the courage of others. These admonitions do not perturb us. Our conscience is clear. Nevertheless, all our sympathy — our active sympathy, as far as it lies in our power — is with the revolutionary proletarians, who are languishing in Horthy's dungeons, planning how best to escape the gallows and their ruthless inquisitors. When the Dictatorship fell, we fled from Hungary, refusing to allow ourselves to be imprisoned by Pled's government, which incarcerated Otto Korvin and so many of our martyred brothers. Every proletarian knows that by fleeing the country, we are not renouncing or betraying the revolution. They fled — or stayed at home — so that they might sell the Bolshevik cause to which they had professed allegiance so that they might call those who had fulfilled their revolutionary task Red hangmen; so that they might sell the skin of the working-class to the bourgeoisie — who, nevertheless, acquired it, not by purchase, but by armed violence, rejecting the aid of these social democratic accomplices.

Flight Not Cowardice.

In itself, flight is not cowardice; nor is it heroism to remain at home. The test is why one stayed at home. Was it to labour for the revolution and the emancipation of the workers, or to betray the revolution and the workers? Still further. Did he do it in the expectation that by staying at home he could go on working for the emancipation of the working-class, or to protect himself — that is the vital question — or to take service with the bourgeoisie?

Those who are labouring for the revival of the revolution and for the re-establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the only means of emancipation, the workers can safely affirm that the two men whose names form the title of this article, and who formerly figured amongst the fighters in the ranks of the working-class, must from henceforward be counted with the betrayers of the working-class. They are the Communist Van-

tus, and the Social-Democrat Haubrich. We do not wish to harm them through these lines. We cannot thus damage them in the eyes of Horthy's judges more than they have damaged themselves by their own declarations, in which they confessed to sabotage of the Dictatorship and to counter-revolutionary activities.

It would be sheer stupidity to expect a Communist, even the most heroic, to make his defence before his executioners on an occasion for Communist propaganda, unless he had abandoned all hope. The virtue of consistent veracity becomes a criminal folly in the face of the declared enemy.

It may sound paradoxical, but these two men are to be counted betrayers of the working-class just because they did tell the truth while on their trial before Horthy's judges. They stated that they had sabotaged the proletarian revolution even in the days before the Dictatorship of the workers, by their intemperate habits, by slackness and indolence, by bad example, and total neglect of their duties. They were telling the truth when they asserted that they had accepted important posts in the Proletarian State, without conviction or enthusiasm, at a time when the conscientious execution of duty was a matter of life or death for the working-class. They accepted these posts, not from conviction, not because they felt they possessed superior political gifts, not from mistaken, but, nevertheless, honest intentions. But — why?

One of them publicly acknowledged that he had participated in the counter-revolution, which during the Dictatorship, as well as afterwards, was responsible for the lives of many heroic proletarians.

They are prepared to bring witness to prove their betrayal, and they will succeed.

This corroborates Haubrich's assertion, that the reason why he did not flee after the fall of the Dictatorship, was because he did not feel in any way guilty. We, who fled because we did feel guilty towards the bourgeoisie, and, far from being repentant, were planning to add to our guilt the fresh offence of a new revolution, we ourselves, can stand witness on their behalf, and affirm that they are not guilty in the eyes of the tribunal which is preparing to send them to the gallows.

What is the White Terror?

That these men too should stand in fear — and justifiable fear — of death before their judges, reveals the true character and full significance of the White Terror. It proves that the White Terror is a White Terror. It proves that the White

BRITISH COMMUNIST IN RUSSIA

Special correspondence "British Communist."

By W. McLAIN.

Greetings to all comrades from Revolutionary Russia, and from the Second Congress of the Third International.

I am, of course, very pleased to be back again, but I say that with mixed feelings. To the Communist, Russia is now home in a very special sense. At the first meeting I addressed in Soviet Russia I said that Quelch and I already felt that we were really in our own country and that we were comrades in the midst of comrades. That feeling never left us for a moment. It has been my good fortune to know what is meant by real comradeship here in Britain, but in Petrograd and Moscow and indeed in many other towns as well, the real loving-kindness shown to us made us feel that we were being shown a new life. To live for ten weeks in the midst of a people whose only form of salutation is the good word "comrade," means that one has known a social atmosphere as different from that of Britain as the physical atmosphere of the planet Mars is believed to be from that of earth. That is for me the most abiding memory.

The Revolution Securely Established

I have been asked if I think that the Communist Party feels secure in its position as the directing and guiding force of Russia. In a way, the question came as a surprise. During the whole time I lived under the Red Flag I never once thought it necessary to think otherwise. Everywhere there is complete confidence. We had one formal interview and several informal con-

versations with Lenin; we talked with Trotsky, Zinovieff, Radek, Bukharin, Balabanova, and many other of the Communist leaders, and at no time heard a word or suggestion of anything but confidence — complete and absolute. More important still, we attended innumerable meetings and demonstrations — to which the people need not have come unless they had desired to do so — and the enthusiasm of the people was positively boundless. Even when we visited small towns and villages in the Volga region — hundreds of versts from the Governmental centre — we found vast crowds waiting to receive the revolutionary message either from the Russian comrades or from one or other of the delegates. To see us and hear us they willingly waited for many hours, because they wished to hear more of Communism and what it is going to mean in the future for them and for the world. At all times and everywhere it is to the Communists and to Communism that the people look, because the Communist leaders have fought with them, are known and trusted by them, and will be followed by them — if need be — to the very end.

The Poles' Regret.

But there will be no end, for the revolution is now so much a part of the peoples' lives that nothing can possibly destroy it. Certainly the criminal antics of the Poles and of our own Churchillian element may make things a little more difficult, by causing new drains to be made upon the manpower of the country and by continuing the blockade which half strangles the people, but every Capitalist dog has

this day, and the Poles who are just now barking for the Imperialists of the world will soon regret it — are regretting it. Of course, Russia has no desire to fight the Polish people; her only interest in Poland summed up in the question, "When will the Polish Soviet Revolution come?"

In the Throne Room.

The Congress of the Third International was the greatest gathering of the revolutionary forces of the world that has yet been known. To say that the Second International is dead is now to repeat the obvious; to have taken part in the Moscow Congress was proof final and conclusive. Sitting in the gorgeous, glittering, gilded Throne Room of the Kremlin, listening to and assisting in the various discussions, one felt completely that "From Throne Room to Congress Hall" typified the great transition that is now stirring every land under the sun.

Correct Revolutionary Policy.

I went to the Congress with certain ideas in my mind. I was prepared to listen and if need be to be convinced if my ideas were proved to be wrong, but it so happened that every view we had of what constituted the correct policy for a revolutionary party working under circumstances such as we know in this country, was upheld by the great majority of the delegates present, and was practically upheld by the Russian comrades. True they made us feel that we have so far done very little real work, but they certainly feel that we are working on the right lines.

BRITISH LABOR IN RUSSIA

Observations on conditions in Russia made by the British labor delegation, and summarized in this story by Felix Morley, constitute what is probably the most reliable report on the Russian Socialist republic that has yet been issued.

By FELIX MORLEY.

Staff Correspondent, Federated Press.

LONDON, Sept. 20. — "The Russian revolution has not had a fair chance," declares the British labor delegation to Russia in its report, just issued by the British labor party. Continuation of the blockade is denounced by the delegates, and they urge the necessity for an immediate peace with the soviet government.

"We cannot say, whether under normal conditions this particular Socialist experiment would have been a success or a failure," the re-

Terror aims at destroying, not merely the members of the working-class movement, who actively defended against the murderous capitalist regime, but the working-class in general, even those whose participation in the Revolution was of positive advantage to the bourgeoisie. That is why the White Terror is a White Terror. The feature, among others, which distinguished the White Terror from the Red, was that the working-class was magnanimous, and always will be magnanimous. They showed the bourgeoisie unlimited mercy; the Red Terror was extended only to those who sought deliberately, and by force of arms, to damage the supremacy and the future of the working-class.

The White Terror, the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, will only permit so much of the working-class to live as is necessary for the continuance and security of its own parasitic existence.

We write this, to make reparation for our grievous offence, the offence of having both before and during the Dictatorship, permitted the responsible posts of the Revolution to be filled by men, who, consciously or unconsciously, served the enemies of the proletariat, who, deliberately or from dereliction of duty, made it easy for the bourgeois counter-revolution to shed torrents of proletarian blood.

We write in the full conviction that we are not damaging these men in the eyes of Horthy's hangmen. We would willingly save them from their hands and preserve them until the time of a successful revolution, and then put them on their trial before the revolutionary tribunal of the triumphant proletariat.

port continues. "Extraordinary difficulties confronted those striving for social transformation.

Immediate Peace Is Need.

"Peace now and at once — that is the great need of Russia and of the world, and in the name of the humanity of the world we call upon our nation to insist that peace be made now, and that Europe be allowed to turn from the terrible specters of war, famine and disease to a rebuilding of its homes, and a reshaping of its shattered civilization. . . . Russia can give much to us from her natural resources, and Russia needs much from us. . . . To pursue a policy of blockade and intervention is madness and criminal folly which can only end in European disaster."

Six weeks were spent in Russia by the delegates, which included Ben Turner, chairman; Margaret Bondfield and Robert Williams. They visited Petrograd, Moscow, Smolensk and the Polish front, and numerous towns and villages on the Volga from Nishni-Novgorod to Astrakhan.

Blockade Seen Everywhere.

Everywhere they saw marks of the blockade. In the villages, while food was fairly satisfactory there was a great lack of clothes, agricultural implements and machinery. In the towns food was very scarce, and the ability for work, of many of the artisans in the industrial regions, the delegates found to be greatly reduced, owing to their physical condition. This was chiefly due, the delegates consider, to the fact that the transport, which should have been bringing food from the country into the towns, was mainly occupied in conveying food, munitions and men to the front.

Locomotives, which might otherwise have been working, were standing idle on the rails for want of spare parts for their repair, which the blockade had not allowed to enter Russia. The workshops which should have been making tools, agricultural and productive machinery, they found to be mainly occupied in manufacturing guns, bombs and tanks.

Inequalities Wiped Out.

In industrial life the Russian revolution has effected a social transformation. "The glaring inequalities of fortune which form so great a scandal in capitalist countries; the striking difference in economic position between the rich and poor; these things no longer exist in Russia. This equalization applies to

education and entertainment as well as to food, housing and clothing. The greater part of the tickets in the principal theaters, which formerly the poor never dreamed of entering, are now allotted to the various trade unions for distribution to their members at low fixed prices."

Great efforts have been exerted for economic reconstruction. Between the end of Denikin and the Polish attack, the red army had been partially transformed into a labor army. Work had been begun on new transport and electrification projects. Voluntary and unpaid labor on Saturday afternoons, in which communists take the lead, "has become one of the regular features of town life."

The delegates expressed their conviction that these and other achievements have been bought at a heavy price. Freedom of speech and press "is severely repressed in the case of all those whose activities are supposed to threaten the soviet regime. Arrests constantly take place for alleged political offenses." These methods are held necessary by the government because of "the dangerous situation created by foreign attacks and the maintenance and encouragement of internal conspiracy by foreign agents."

Communists Work for Power.

Regarding the position of the Communist party the report states outright that "all possible means" are employed to obtain its dominance in the soviet elections. Moreover, these elections become less frequent and more formal" while power tends to be concentrated in the hands of executive committees.

On the other hand, all sincere Communists are endeavoring to meet the responsibilities of automatic power. The proclamation of the last Communist congress that "the most inconspicuous and roughest work in the economic sphere is to be considered responsible party work," is carried into effect by the Communists in their daily lives.

Observing that continued foreign oppression may yet create a militarist spirit which may lead Russia to destroy Russia's eastern empire, the delegates emphasize the present sincere desire for peace which animates the soviet leaders.

Peasants Satisfied.

While few of the 90,000,000 Russian peasants are as yet confirmed Communists, virtually none are opponents of the bolshevik govern-

OSAWATOMIE

By CARL SANDBURG.

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*I don't know how he came,
shambling, dark, and strong.*

He stood in the city and told men:

My people are fools, my people are young and strong, my people must learn, my people are terrible workers and fighters.

Always he kept on asking: Where did that blood come from?

They said: You for the fool killer,

you for the booby hatch

and a necktie party.

They hauled him into jail.

They sneered at him and spit on him,

And he wrecked their jails,

Singing, "God damn your jails,"

And then he was most in jails,

Cumny among the crazy in the dark

Then he was most of all out of jail

Shambling, dark, and strong.

Always asking: Where did that blood come from?

They laid hands on him

And the fool killers had a laugh

And the necktie party was a go, by God.

They laid hands on him and he was a goner.

They hammered him to pieces and he stood up.

They buried him and he walked out of the grave, God

Asking again: Where did that blood come from?

SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SAYS SECRETARY SEEKS SUPREMACY FOR BANKING CROUPS

(Continued from page 1)

British interests have established a new status for themselves. Colby sees no way to combat them except abolish the independence of these states.

"Soviet Russia's policy, which calls for a complete renunciation of exploitation of other peoples, totally differs from American and British policies. We maintain the right to self-determination by workers of every nationality. On this ground work Russia strives for friendly relations with new states and for a system under which the workers, having removed the exploiters from power, govern themselves as their only defense against domination by other exploiters. This is the reason for Colby's implacable hostility and false accusations.

"Colby affirms the Soviet is not based on representation of the masses, but by brute force, whereas the Soviet is the only system under which the workers are liberated from the heel of the privileged few. "Brute force now dominates all countries under parliamentary regime. The chief characteristic is unorganized working masses, subordinated and strongly organized political parties subservient to financial groups.

"Under so-called democracy seeming liberty is really insidious rule by financiers, achieved through the press, politicians, courts, poisoned schools, writers and clergy.

"Today the Soviet system is the only permanent organization where, by the working masses become the real possessors of supreme executive power. In every locality is a local Soviet permanent organization working for the masses on the spot. The structure of the system gives such power to masses and draws them into everyday activity in the administration of the government to such an extent that any suggestion of a central power being able to rule against the will of the masses is sheer absurdity. But the masses themselves, during this bitter struggle for liberation and sanguinary civil war, see the necessity for a

firm centralized revolutionary power to carry on the war to crush the last resistance of the exploiters. They realize the struggle must be sustained against capitalist government of world.

"These government are united against the workers and peasant of Russia, and try to crush them by armed force blockade and perpetual conspiracies.

"Russia's workers realize that only by a proletarian dictatorship can they defend the revolution against attack within or without. Communists rule Russia only because the masses consider them the only effective means for a successful struggle. The communist party provokes Colby because it is the heart of the revolutionary movement everywhere. The struggle of the classes is a fact rooted in actual conditions, but Colby attempts to explain it as Russian propaganda. This is not the first attempt of American financial groups to discredit the Soviet by calumnies. We cannot forget the forged documents alleged to prove that Bolshevik leaders were German agents.

"Colby covers the Soviet with coarse slanders, alleging we violate promises, that we conclude agreements, intending to break them. This is unsupportable by a single fact. Even the Brest-Litovsk treaty, imposed by violence, was unflinchingly observed.

"The elementary economic needs of the peoples of Russia and other countries demand normal relations and the exchanges of goods. The first conditions of such relations are good faith and non-intervention by both sides.

"Colby is profoundly mistaken in thinking that normal relations are possible only if capitalism prevails in Russia. On the contrary, it is necessary to the interests of both countries, to establish friendly intercourse. The Soviet government is convinced that both American workers and business men will reject Colby's policy as shameful to America and that soon Russia will establish amicable relations with America and Britain despite wide differences in social structures."

ment. For this the delegates give two reasons:

1—The fact that the peasants have acquired land by the revolution.

2—Their experience with Denikin, Kolchak and other counter-revolutionaries has shown them what to expect if the bolsheviks are overthrown.

The chief difficulty the government has with the peasants is in getting wheat for the cities while the cities have little to give in exchange that the peasants need. The following statistics of wheat delivered to the government shows, however, that this difficulty is being solved:

1918 20,000,000 bushels
1919 73,333,000 bushels
1920 (to May) 116,000,000 bushels

At the same time the area of the state co-operative farms had increased from 23,509 desiatins in 1918 to 650,000 desiatins in November, 1919. (A desiatin is 2 1/2 acres.)

Blockade Causes Deaths.

"At the very lowest," says the report "the mortality from typhus fever alone must amount to 200,000 or 300,000. A large number of these deaths could have been prevented had it been possible to check the spread of the fever by cleanliness, by washing with soap and by disinfection. Soap, however, is a commodity for which Russia is dependent on the outer world, as she is also for disinfectants. In the deprivation of these two prime necessities of public health the allied policy of the blockade stands condemned as the cause of many thousands of deaths."

The restrained language of the report and its concentration on positive facts make its plea for the restoration of normal relations with Russia the more telling. The conclusion that "the present Russian state co-operative farms had increased from 23,509 desiatins in 1918 to 650,000 desiatins in November, 1919. (A desiatin is 2 1/2 acres.)"

TRUTH

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Direct Action.

The capitalist press, and, we are sorry to state, the Labor and "yellow" Socialist press, is denouncing the direct action tactics of the labor movement.

Why should we condemn the action of members of the labor movement, if after having being tricked and betrayed by the politicians, they resort to the ONLY action that has so far proven effective? Did not the working class vote for Wilson, because they really believed that he represented that feeling next to their heart, the feeling of wanting to have peace instead of war? The great masses of the people had read stories of the European War, with the result that husbands, wives and sweethearts joined together to elect President Wilson, with the hope that his election would mean PEACE. They were deceived. Instead of peace they lived to see the same President declare war, within one month of his re-election. They have lived to see fifty thousand members of the American race lie dead upon the field of Europe and thousands more return home crippled for life. Not alone the people of this country. The peoples of the earth have never wanted the war, only insofar as their emotions have been aroused by subsidised papers, like the French press, in the case of Turkey and the American press, in the case of Mexico.

The diplomats and the politicians have ALWAYS betrayed the people. Have you ever really thought what the world war meant, to the working class? If not, then read these figures:—

Russia	1,700,000
Germany	1,600,000
France	1,305,000
Austria	800,000
Britain	706,000
Italy	460,000
Turkey	250,000
Belgium	102,000
Bulgaria	100,000
Roumania	100,000
Serbia and Montenegro	100,000
UNITED STATES	50,000

We venture to say, that fully 90 per cent of the above people were members of the working class. You never find the rich man so prominent in the actual fighting of the war. This is proven by the newspapers for, when a rich man dies in battle, all the papers give him full page write-ups, because they know that such instances are very rare. Therefore, if the working class have to fight the wars, and if the people they elect, vote for war, contrary to their election promises in the name of all that is fair, tell us what else can the working class do, only resort to action on the job? They have tried your so-called constitutional method, Mr. Palmer. IT HAS FAILED. Seven million, three hundred and fifty four thousand people have proved by their death that it has failed. Yet.....

The other day the British Government was about to declare war upon Russia and join in with the Polish nation. The labor movement of Great Britain massed its forces and said NO! There was no declaration of war, furthermore, the British labor movement made sure that no war supplies would be sent. It was the threat of direct action that kept England and France out of the Russo-Polish war. If you, the ruling class of the world, do not think there is much to this direct action, we feel sure, that the wives and mothers of men of the working class do.

Members of the labor movement, you have power. It is the greatest power in the world. It is your power to stop industry. Your masters have power also. They use that power to bribe newspapers. The newspapers inflame your minds and they incite one against the other. They use their power to influence legislatures, congress and even to buy judges. They are justified in using their power to advance themselves. May we not suggest that you are also justified in using your power to advance yourselves?

The world today is fast crumbling to its ruin. The Italian masters have admitted that they cannot carry on and give to Labor a living wage. The English and French masters also cry out that bankruptcy pursues them. All over this country the demand by the big financier for the limitation of credit, in order to stave off disaster, means the bankruptcy of thousands of small business men who cannot carry on their business without credit. The world's markets are ruined! The world war has left behind its deadly effect. Chaos stares the whole world in the face. Upon your shoulders rests the responsibility of creating the new social order. Yours the task and yours the duty. Will you undertake that task and engage in that duty? Direct action may not suit your masters, but it does suit you. It delivers the goods, that is why your masters object. To engage in effective action you must organize your forces in such a manner, that when necessary you can act as one. Working together, you can strike as you work. That means the ONE BIG UNION.

THINK IT OVER!

WALL STREET DISASTER

The country and the world is startled by the explosion that took place some few days ago in the city of New York. As is to be expected, THE REDS HAVE BEEN BLAMED FOR IT.

Let us examine the facts of this outrage and see what they can show us:—

1. Thomas Lamont, partner in the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, states that it was an accident.
2. Miss Epstein, a stenographer, states that she witnessed a powder wagon passing through Wall Street, with a red flag at the back. (The red flag is used to warn people of the danger of colliding with the wagon.)
3. Construction work was going on in that part of the city. They needed powder for the removal of rock.
4. The explosion took place outside of the office of Morgan.
5. Morgan and his family are in Europe.

Thomas Lamont is a well-known financier. It is safe to assume, that if there was any semblance of a plot, that Lamont would not give the reds the benefit of the doubt, Miss Epstein witnessed the wagon with the red flag passing through Wall Street, just before the explosion took place. Construction work was going on, in the direction the wagon was proceeding. Viewing these facts, and let us remind you, that they have been taken from the capital, 1st press, it is safe to assume that the wagon containing the powder was run into, hence the explosion. Du Pont's will not come out boldly and state that it was their wagon, because they know that they will be responsible for the damages incurred, and they are also open to arrest for sending a wagon of power through New York City without a government license. Du Pont's are willing to see some innocent red go to the electric chair in order that they might escape paying out a few million dollars. THAT IS THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM. DOLLARS BEFORE HUMAN LIVES!

Of course Bill Flynn, the movie detective is convinced that it was a red plot. Bill, in these days of moonshine, can see almost anything. AS FAR AS BILL FLYNN IS CONCERNED, THERE HAS TO BE A RED PLOT, AND THAT IS ALL THERE IS TO IT! Bill has lost his proud reputation. He lost it looking for the reds, and so far he has never recovered it. But Bill is going to recover it. You betcha these detectives will discover a plot. Bill is a wise guy. He knew it was a red plot, because the fellow who planted the bomb, went to the nearest post-office box and posted some red literature. You see the "red" had to let his "comrades" know that he had done the job. So after he planted the bomb he left a clue behind, to prove that it was him that did it. Of course, after you have read the foregoing, you will think the editor a damned fool. If the editor really believed what Bill Flynn said, he would be a damned fool.

The explosion in Wall Street was purely an accidental affair. All the talk of private detectives will not alter that fact. But the private detective must live and in order to have a job, he must prove that he is required. Hence the numerous red plots that are being discovered day after day. You can recall how a New Jersey banker refused to take out burglary insurance. The next evening his bank was robbed. He took out the insurance alright. We are not thinking what you are thinking, but then we don't blame you for coming to that conclusion. Private detectives are responsible for more crime than they have ever eliminated. It is their business to encourage crime, because they live by playing on the fears of those that are responsible for the driving of many workers to a life of crime. The reds are not going to kill anybody. They would rather see Mitch. Palmer as janitor of the White House, under a workingclass government, than see him shot. There is a job, standing before the steel furnaces of Duluth, waiting for Hizzoner Judge Gary. There is another one, in the mines of Colorado, waiting for Jawm, D. Rockefeller Jr. We understand that Senator Clark of Montana is going to be the night watchman for the Butte Daily Bulletin. There are a lot more people on the list and the jobs are waiting for them. The "reds" do not want to kill anybody because the more people there are working the less we will each have to do.

We can inflict more damage to the capitalist system by the use of mental dynamite, than we can by the use of the other kind. We will not engage in plots, but organize the workers. In organization there is strength, the strength to win. That is what our masters fear. They would like to see the workers throw bombs, it would give them the opportunity to send out the gunmen and shoot them down. They fear organization. Especially the organization of the enlightened and class-conscious workers.

GO TO IT COMRADES!

Lest We Forget!

On the night of March 24th, 1907, in the city of Chicago, at the Auditorium, there was a meeting of citizens held. W. J. Bryan was the chairman of the evening, and the speaker was Alexis Aladin, of the Russian Duma.

Aladin said at that time:—

"LEND NO MONEY TO THE RUSSIAN BUREAUCRACY. EVERY DOLLAR YOU LOAN WILL BE STAINED WITH THE BLOOD OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. I WARN YOU THAT IF YOU LEND MONEY TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WITHOUT OUR CONSENT, WITHOUT THE DUMA'S SANCTION, WE WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE. AND EVERY BOND YOU MAY GET FROM THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT WILL BE REPUDIATED WITHIN TEN YEARS. WE SHALL NOT PAY BACK WHEN WE TAKE CHARGE."

Yet the capitalists of this country and many other countries, despite the warning of the accredited parliamentary representatives of the Russian people, loaned money to the Czar. This money was used to keep up an infamous spy system, with the result that many Russian men and women were sent to Siberia. When the cell doors were thrown open, after the Russian revolution, all that remained of these people was their bones. They had died and rotted in the prison cells of Siberia.

If you were in the position of the Russian people would you pay back those loans? Would you? OF COURSE NOT!

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

A RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT A REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Whereas, the I. W. W. has for fifteen years been unalterably opposed to all wars in the interests of the imperialistic capitalist class who are seeking through the international bankers trusts and the allied industrial groups to exploit the world's workers under a system bordering on industrial peonage.

And, whereas, they are now trying to crush the only real workers' government in existence, the Russian Soviet Republic.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World in regular session urge all members to refuse to give aid to the piratical designs of international capital or their attacks against the Russian Workers, and be it further resolved.

That we endorse the action of the special Conference of the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain in creating a council of action which has forced a reversion of attitude by Premier Lloyd George in his attempt to send the British Workers to another wholesale slaughter house by giving aid to the Polish Government which had violated the integrity of Russia by invasion.

MARX ON THE JOB!

Word comes to us that Charles H. Kerr & Company will put out a Correspondence Course in Applied Marxian Economics this fall. The Course will come in fifteen Lessons and will be conducted by Mary E. Marcy.

Comrade Marcy has always insisted that unless Marx be applied to the job, Marxian students were inclined to isolate themselves and develop into a cult which made them worse than useless so far as the Class Struggle is concerned.

The methods of teaching Marx employed by the Central Labor College of England, which have met with universal enthusiasm, are to teach Marx to the workers in the industries and to help them to apply Marx there. As a result whenever a strike is planned, the Marxians, co-operating with their fellow workers, get out brief outline histories of the industries showing capital invested; profits taken out; salaries and wages paid; cost of production; price to the actual consumer. They also show how the surplus value taken from the workers is divided among various parasitical groups.

The result has been a widespread education of the workers and of the Public on sound economic lines, and the support of the Public of the workers strike. It has also served to inform every worker on the job about the facts of the industry he helps to run.

Comrade Marcy hopes to stimulate the American workers to similar activities through her coming Study Course. It is hoped the Course may develop into something much bigger and more effective.

The Course will be \$5.00 and booklets will be supplied of Kerr & Company. The fifteen Lessons will be ready October 15th. Those interested should address: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 343 E. Ohio St., Chicago, Ill.

The Cant of Parliamentarianism.

By ANTON PANNEKOEK.

The question of democracy appears to be a great and debatable one. By the word "democracy" is understood a people's governing power: the people should be governed by themselves. No one should have the right to govern them. They ought to have a free will to decide their fate.

If the above principles are taken as a basis, and applied to present-day society, then in reality they cannot be translated into practice. There is no people in the world to-day (except the Russian people) which has the right to decide its fate, because humanity is divided into two classes. The exploiters and the workers are ranged against each other in a bitter struggle. These two classes have no common interests, or if they have they are secondary ones. Therefore they cannot have a common will. If, abiding by the principles of the old democracy, they have representatives in Parliament according to their numbers, will it be possible for them to govern the country in co-operation?

When we speak of the people we have in mind the poor, the masses of the people, as distinct from the rich, the minority. And those people, the workers—the proletarians—ought to govern themselves. Proletarians everywhere appear in a majority. Therefore proletarian interests should be decisive. The proletarians only should rule society. The interests of the bourgeoisie should be ignored. Reformers tell us that in bourgeois society the interest of the workers are partly considered. But we, having before us two opposing objects, can pursue only one of them. I have criticised before, as I do now, the principle of universal suffrage. A man who does not work, but lives from his capital, is a parasite on the community. He should not have equal voice with the worker, whose work supports the community. This is a perfectly ethical consideration. But it may be said further, our aim being to establish society on a Socialistic basis, is so much against the interests of the bourgeoisie that they will obstruct in every possible way the building of the new society. And, building a house, may we accept as assistants people whose object it is not to help forward but to impede the work? If the masses of the people once clearly understand that to establish society on a Socialistic basis they must exploit their political power, they will put aside any idea of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. There will then be no question of the interests of capital. This, practically speaking, is not a formal "democracy," but in reality it is the highest, the best democracy—the workers' democracy—defending the everyday interests of the great masses. This is the order which was named by Marx "Proletarian Dictatorship," which formerly was called Communism, and is now called Bolshevism. The beginning of this order was the Paris Commune of 1871. What is happening now in Russia remind us of the Paris Commune in a more developed form. The Workers' Delegates Councils (the Soviets) in the towns, and the Peasants' Councils in the villages, are the elements from which is created the Soviet Government.

Town Councils are elected by the town Workers' Councils. Factory Workers' Councils of one branch of industry elect Boards of Administration for their branch of production. Congresses of all Councils from time to time decide the general policy.

Special congresses meet to consider questions of production, education, food transport, health protection. To these the local Councils send their specialist members in order to derive mutual benefit from the experience of others and consult as to the best plan or future action.

The Russian people have built this moving apparatus to aid them in successfully building the new order of society. This apparatus is the organ of the proletarian dictatorship: the bourgeoisie have no hand in it. They are automatically thrown out of the country's governing organs.

No; for the bourgeoisie there is no place in this organization. The reason lies in the fact that the governing apparatus is at the same time the Government, which relies not only on the people, but on their work as well. He who does no work takes away the right to have any influence in the nation's fate. A director or manager of a factory, who agree to continue his work as technical instructor (under the control of the Workers' Council) may have an equal share with any other worker in running the factory. All members of such councils are bound to the working masses, who periodically elect, exchange, and replace them by others, and in this way prevent the creation of a new bureaucracy. This can be fully realized, thanks to great determination to learn and to teach others. Knowledge thus ceases to be the monopoly of a few individuals.

Examining this, it is possible to see clearly a real people's Government, and to realise how then the most democratic Parliament cannot give expression to the people's governing power. Such a Parliament can establish nothing but Parliamentary government. Parliamentarians, once in four years, or let us even say once in a year, have to gain the confidence of the people. With beautiful speeches, promises, and programmes, they get a majority of votes on their side, and then they are masters. Not being directly under the influence of the people, they influence only one another. During their Parliamentary period they make long speeches and enact laws. They look all-powerful, but only from the top; in reality the governmental power lies in the hands of the office-bearers, and bureaucrats. The later, and not the government, govern the people. In the most democratic republics, distribution of administrative power is nothing but camouflage to conceal the real state of affairs from the people. The masses are told that they govern themselves, but in reality the Government is one of capital.

In the French, American, and Swiss democracies the people are under the reign of capital and are exploited by it. Notwithstanding the right to vote, the masses remain powerless and unable to better their conditions. They are oppressed by machinery consisting of Parliamentary Government and bureaucrats. Only from time to time, during an election, may

the people make their influence felt. And then they are deceived by clever speeches and programmes which can only partly be realised.

And even if the Parliamentarians are anxious to give attention to the will of the people, they very soon sink into the Parliamentary pool: party discipline, side-scene rummaging, intrigues, and chattering. Parliamentary government, consisting of Party leaders, establishes itself independently of the people's will. But so far as the power of the Government is concerned, it is powerless against the strong organisation of the State bureaucracy, against administrative power which regards the people as foreigners in a conquered country. The continued existence of parliament is the professional politicians' watchword, and in their speeches they always insist on the necessity of that institution. They fear Bolshevism, for its coming threatens their reign. When it comes it will be necessary for them to do some kind of useful work instead of to make long speeches. Hence their opposition to Bolshevism.

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

SEDITION.

(Contributed by Gertrude Nafe, Treasurer)

Kentucky is the twenty-ninth sedition-law state. It in serve as a model for other States not yet possessing a of that kind.

The law might be a pattern for "free" America, not only as regards the penalty, which smells of the Middle Ages, but also the punishment that even the police officer received if he fails to perform his "duty"

"It shall be unlawful for any person or persons, by speech, writing, or otherwise, to arouse, incite, of fix enmity discord or strife, or ill feeling, between classes of persons for the purpose of inducing tumult or disorder."

The penalty is 21 years and \$10,000 fine or both.

The American working class will take note of increasing "liberty" in the United States.

AWAITING TRIAL.

Workers out in Kansas were rounded up as "suspects." They were put in jail "awaiting trial." They stayed there a year and two months "awaiting trial."

They were not proven guilty of any crime whatever. Legally they were as innocent as the attorney general.

They were put in a prison, the middle part of which is called the "bull pen." The floor of the pen is of sheet metal; the ceiling the same. In hot weather, the place boils. Anything striking the metal makes a fearful sound through the whole pen. The shoes of prisoners walking up and down make a nerve-racking noise. A tin cup dropped on the floor makes one jump as if shot.

Some of the prisoners have gone insane. They were only "awaiting trial" in a prison that the State considers proper for American workmen in the year 1920.

FORMER ENEMIES AS BEDFELLOWS.

During the war, nothing foul enough could be said about the Germans. They should have been wiped off the face of earth to satisfy many Hun-eaters.

Now that the war is over, they have changed into angels. For the past three months, German sailors who during the war manned submarines and sent many a Danish boat to the bottom, have been used by the self-same Danish shipping companies as scabs.

Oh, what our capitalists don't do for the sake of money. How willing they are to forget for the sake of dollars.

Dear to the heart of the capitalist, is the scab.

WALL STREET IS PLEASED.

Why should Wall Street not be pleased?

Did not the government of the United States give the railroads MORE than they asked for?

The Eastern group of railroads asked 39.75 per cent increase in rates and got 40 per cent. The Western group asked 32.03 percent and received 35 per cent. It was considered that the roads were too "conservative" in making their estimates.

The United States Government GUARANTEES a return to the railroad owners.

The same government cut the railroad workers' demands in half and guaranteed them nothing, not even a job.

Of course, WALL STREET is more than pleased with the United States Government.

PROTESTS.

The United States Government has protested against Japan occupying territory in Siberia. It has also protested against the efforts being made by the British and French Governments and British and French capitalists to "corner" the oil supply of the world.

Every one knows what such protests mean. If the dispute becomes serious enough, there will be a clash . . . and then force will have to decide it.

That was the cause of the last war—that is the cause of every war.

What interest has the American working class in such disputes? They have no money in oil wells. They have no money invested in oil companies. Japan's invasion of Siberia is not their worry.

It would not worry the American Government, either, if Japan seized the whole Sahara Desert. It is because the Siberian territory, seized by the Japanese is rich in minerals, coal, and oil and timber which AMERICAN CAPITALISTS WOULD LIKE TO EXPLOIT, that the American government protests.

Of course, if war should result, the American government will use workers as soldiers. That is the way of present-day governments.

"AMERICANIZATION."

The following is a sample of the REAL americanization methods that bosses carry on with strikebreaking and stool-pigeon agencies.

"Dear Sir: We want you to stir up as much bad feeling as you possibly can between the Serbians and the Italians. Spread rumors among the Serbians that the Italians are going back to work. Call up every question you can in reference to racial hatred . . ."

America, the melting pot of the nations! America, that brings the people of all parts of the world together for productive work!

All goes on well till our bosses want to exploit the workers more intensely and brutally, and, therefore, stir up one nationality against the other.

This has existed for many years. But the last war gave the capitalists and the government a chance to talk of hyphenated Americans, and then of aliens. None of the hyphenated Americans (mostly supposed to be Germans) were bothered—not even suspected as spies. But workers who refused to be bulldozed and terrorized—even men who served in the war—were branded as aliens!

Well, what if they are aliens!

These aliens can tie up the whole country if they get together. They mine our coal. They operate our steel mills. They run our transportation industry.

And the government knows it. So it is "americanizing" them by stirring up racial hatred.

But what if they ALL do get together, along with the native American worker—as WORKERS!

Racial hatred might turn into CLASS hatred against the capitalists and their government.

And then . . . ?