

WE stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution! America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests.—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

THE TRUTH

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Stop War on Russia!

It Is A War On Socialism!

(REPRINTED FROM THE BRITISH LABOR LEADER)

THROUGH years of horrible oppression, under the vilest tyranny, the Russian people have struggled for their freedom. History records their repeated efforts to throw off the yoke of Czardom, and it records their repeated failures.

The glowing chapters that tell of the superb sacrifices of thousands of Russia's noblest men and women to liberate their unhappy country from the despotism under which it groaned, will ever be an inspiration to Socialists of all countries.

The fearful story of the 1905 Revolution and the

ruthless Campaign of suppression that for the time stamped it out in blood will remain one of the foulest blots on the foul pages of capitalist history.

Thousands of men and women were driven into the cold wastes of Siberia to drag their lives to an end in filth and in torture—removed from the world of men and women. Thousands were flung into the loathsome prisons of the old Russia, and thousands were executed.

Young women and young men suspected of sympathy with the revolutionary movement were torn from

their circles and banished without trial. It was the work of the Secret Police and of the Agent Provocateur, and it was work which made Russia a word of contempt upon the lips of free men everywhere.

While all this was happening in Russia, our governing classes were in cordial relationship with the Czar and the governing classes of the country. The Government of Britain did not publish white papers on the atrocities of Czardom. It did not send an expedition to unseat that Government. It did not give financial and material aid to the movement for freedom.

Shall We Now Consent To Murder Russian Freedom!

The 1905 revolution was suppressed, but the spirit of liberty in Russia was not crushed. It was fired to new resolve, to greater zeal, by these excesses, and when the Capitalists plunged the world in war they created the conditions which made a successful revolution possible. In March, 1917, the political revolution dethroned the Czar. But in November to the political revolution was added an economic revolution which shook the foundation of World Capitalism.

Fear possessed the Capitalists. They saw in the triumph of Socialism in Russia, the defeat of Capitalism elsewhere. They dared not permit the success of the Socialist experiment.

The Capitalists must at all costs prevent the success of the Economic Revolution in Russia.

Therefore they make war upon it, without declaring war. They support with munitions, tanks, poison gas,

and the equipment of war the Counter-Revolutionists who desire to overthrow the Revolution and restore the old regime of autocratic tyranny.

The Allies support Kolchak and Denikin in this disgraceful work.

And Britain is among them—Britain, with her traditions of liberty and free thought and democratic institutions!

But the British Government cannot assist in the destruction of the Russian people's Revolution without the silent consent of the workers of Britain.

Shall we thus betray the workers of Russia? Shall we be false to the International spirit of labor? Shall we permit this crime against an unoffending people when we have the power to prevent it? The Russian people want only peace. They do not wish for war. The Russian

Government has made repeated efforts to secure peace, and has offered large concession to Allied Capitalism in return for peace.

The Bolshevik Government asks only that it shall be left, unembarrassed by militarist attack from other countries, to develop the resources of Russia, and create social stability on the firm basis of a Co-operative Commonwealth untried yet by any great nation.

If we permit the triumph of Reaction by the aid of Allied Militarism we shall fasten upon ourselves the chains we forge for Russia.

If we help the Russian people to be truly free, we shall win a great victory in our own struggle for economic freedom.

Our cause is one with the cause of the Russian worker.

His success is our success: His failure is our failure.

LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!

VIVE L'INTERNATIONALE!!

THE BOLSHIEVIKI VICTORIOUS

By a Military Correspondent.
(London Call)

Is it too early to speak of the victory of Soviet Russia over its external and internal foes? Last winter great preparations were made for a simultaneous offensive from the north, the west, the south, and the east. Alliances were concluded with the Finns and the Estonians, military missions with technical troops were sent to various fronts, and abundant and heavy war material was distributed among the numerous armies under General Yudenitch, the conqueror of Ekaterin in the west, Admiral Kolchak in Siberia, and Generals Krasnoff and Denikin in the Don district, and northern Caucasus. It was expected that a joint onslaught from every side would result, in the space of a couple of months, in the capture of the two capitals, and the conquest of the agricultural and mining districts in the south as well as of the grain-bearing Volga regions. Most buoyant of all were the hopes for a rapid development in the north. The British forces at Archangel, strengthened by a flotilla of monitors, were to come down the Dvina, Finnish agents were to arrange for a comedy of self-determination at Olonetz, just opposite Petrograd on the other side of the Ladoga Lake, and Yudenitch was to move a mixed horde of Finnish and Estonian "volunteers" strengthened by a real Russian collection of White Guard officers. It was expected that in a couple of weeks Petrograd would be captured, while Kolchak, by moving on Viatka, would gain an open road to Moscow.

The whole plan collapsed like a house of cards. The move along the Dvina was the first to break down against the resistance of the Red front and the counter-attacks of the Red river flotilla. The comedy at Olonetz came off, but forces having been thrown against the Finnish invaders, Olonetz was recaptured, and in a counter-offensive the Soviet troops cleared the country of the White Guards, and are now standing on the Finnish frontier. Yudenitch's forces in the west were able to show a better success for the money and material they had received. Along the coast of the Gulf of Finland they penetrated almost to the vicinity of Peterhof, a few miles from Petrograd, and lower down to the vicinity of Gatchina, also quite near the northern capital. Further south the Estonians, with the German Balts, Letts, and Russians, captured Pskoff, the point where the Germans stopped at Brest, and penetrated further east. The triumph, however, was short-lived. The counter-offensive set in, and all of them rolled back, the neighbourhood of Petrograd being relieved and the enemies pushed back towards Narva and Pskoff.

In the meantime Kolchak's steamroller was moving towards Moscow. Early in the winter Kolchak had captured Perm, the mining town near the Urals, and from this excellent jumping board he was able swiftly to advance towards Viatka. But there his career came to an end. Revolts broke out in the rear, many regiments went over to the Soviet troops, and by a series of rapid blows he was thrown back, beyond Perm, and is now rapidly being driven back with great losses, along the Siberian railway, towards his "capital," Omsk. Simultaneously, as early as April, a crushing defeat was inflicted on Krasnoff in the Don region, but there the enemy, now led by Denikin, was able quickly to recover owing to the abundant supplies shipped to him by the British Government through Novorossisk, and resumed his offensive in the following month. Thanks to the tanks, the red front was broken through, and in a short time Tsaritza on the Volga as well as the entire mining district of Donetz, with Kharkoff and Ekaterinoslav as chief towns, was in his hands. At this advance Denikin compelled the Soviet troops to withdraw from the Crimea, which was there and then occupied by him with the aid of the British fleet, and soon from Kharkoff he began to threaten Poltava, the heart of the Ukrainian cornfields. There, however, his progress stopped, the usual counter-offensive movements set in, revolts broke out in his rear, Ekaterinoslav was recaptured, and the rearward movement began. He may or may not ultimately share the fate of Kolchak, but he is already being pressed back, and will, no doubt, soon lose Kharkoff and his grip over the mining area.

We witness everywhere the same spectacle; an initial success of the

Scandinavian Labor Organisations Protest Against The "White Terror" in Finland

Scandinavian Labour organisations have issued a manifesto setting forth some of the brutal measures by which the Finnish Capitalist reactionaries are revenging themselves upon the Finnish working class for its endeavour to establish Socialism. Whilst the workers' Red Government abolished the death penalty, the White Guard perpetrate mass executions both of armed and unarmed men and women, often without any investigation or even the form of a sentence. The manifesto states that official reports show "the military authorities have even issued orders to execute knowingly innocent people who are made to pay with their blood for the officers of those who have not yet been apprehended." Red prisoners in large numbers are dying of hunger and disease in the various camps through insufficient nourishment. This is vouched for not only by the prisoners and their friends but by members of the propertied classes. A great employer of labor publicly admitted: "The prisoners are dying like flies and in Sveaborg their misery is indescribable." Many Socialist members of Parliament are still in prison without investigation or trial. In Finland, for each Parliamentary seat a substitute member is also elected; the substitutes of the imprisoned Members and of those who are dead are prevented from taking their seats; the constitutional rights of the electors are thus infringed by the Capitalist Government. The "White Terror" has almost completely eliminated the Socialist Members from the Finnish Parliament.

WHY DON'T YOU RETURN HOME?

Comrades,—

The war is over, why are you not returning home? The people in England and America went nearly mad with joy when the long hoped for peace at last arrived. But why is there no peace for you, and for us? President Wilson and his colleagues are in Europe, the other Allied Governments have also appointed their delegates, and soon the Peace Conference will assemble. But in the meantime you are still condemned to fight and die, and with all its horrors is raging in Russia.

For many long, weary agonising months, perhaps years, your old folks, your wives your little ones have been overwhelmed with anxiety about you. Now in their innocence their anxiety has been turned into joyful expectation of your return. Can you not picture them—every knock, every footstep they hear makes their hearts leap in the belief that it is someone bringing tidings of your home-coming. But your dear ones will wait in vain; your masters continue to drive you through the valley of death, and you do not know but that your bodies may not in the mud and blood of the battlefield. Don't you want to mingle with your loved ones again?

The war is over. Why don't you go home?

For over four years your Governments have kept you at war, and have condemned millions of your fellow citizens to death, and millions more to a fate worse than death. You made these fearful sacrifices for what you were led to believe to be the defence of Europe against the domination of the Kaiser, and once and for all to relieve the world from the crushing burden of armaments, from the menace of Prussian militarism.

Well, this menace is now removed. Prussian militarism is crushed. The Kaiser is a fugitive. The German workers have risen in revolt, and have delivered a death blow to the power of the reactionary Junker class.

Why, then, are you still fighting? Above all, why are you in Russia? The help of the Allied Governments against Germany was never desired by Russia. It is now quite unnecessary. It was never intended that the Allied troops in Russia were to fight against Germans. This is perfectly obvious now since the war with Germany is apparently over, and yet the war against the Russian people still continues. Why? The reason is not far to seek.

The workers and peasants in Russia have done what your rulers fear you will do, they have swept the whole class of parasites, courtiers, landlords, and capitalists out of power, and have taken possession of the land and the means of production for the use of the whole people. The Russian people refuse to be the slaves of an idle class any longer. They are constructing a new order of society, in which the products of labour will go to those who work. The spirit which animates the Russian people has spread westward, and now the Austrian, Hungarian, and German people have overthrown their rulers, and are rapidly travelling along the same lines as the workers of Russia. It is the awakening of the real democracy that we are witnessing today. The common workers in field, factory, and mine are asserting their right and power to rule, and be masters of their own destiny.

Your masters see that the spirit of revolt is spreading to your countries. In both England and America the ideas of Bolshevism are making rapid headway. Great Labour demonstrations frequently take place, at which the workers demand that the means of wealth production shall be taken over by the workers. At these meetings strong protests are expressed against the invasion of Russia. Your masters know that the source and centre of the revolutionary world movement is Russia, and they are determined, therefore, to crush it out, and remove the menace to their power. That is why you are here. That is why your masters will not permit you to rejoin your loved ones who are eagerly looking forward to your return.

You see that the war has now been converted into a gigantic conflict between Labour and Capital. It is a conflict between Progress and Reaction, a conflict between those who are inaugurating a new era of social and economic liberty for the toiling masses, and those who desire to retain the present sordid commercial system, with its sweating, poverty, and war. And you who obey the orders of your Governments are fighting to maintain the old order, you are fighting on the side of Reaction against the forces of Labour and Progress.

Is this worth dying for? Do you really desire to bleed and die in order that capitalism may continue? Say no.

Form Soldiers' Councils in each regiment, and demand of your Governments, demand of your officers to be sent home. Refuse to shoot your fellow-workers in Russia. Refuse to crush our Workers' Revolution.

counter-revolutionary forces, and then a set-back, defeat, and hasty retreat. And everywhere the same factors are in operation: the Allied tanks and guns supply the initial success, as the Reds have nothing to oppose to them; but as the counter-revolutionary forces consist mainly of officers and young boys of the bourgeois classes dragging at their heels misguided or coerced peasants, the mechanical impetus is soon spent, the living force following it either proves insufficient or breaks down through desertion, and the Red army advances, being a mass-movement animated by a great revolutionary ideal, and therefore overwhelming in numbers, devotion, and energy. It is the story of the French revolutionary wars over again, it has no Napoleon, but it has its Carnot, in the person of Trotsky, and the same and even greater revolutionary zeal.

It is quite clear that tanks alone

will not conquer "Sovietia" for the counter-revolution. They may, and do, prolong the bloody civil war, protract and intensify the famine, kill of thousands of men, women, and children, but they will not settle the war. For that an army of at least half a million of Allied troops would be needed, but such an army the Churchills will not get either in this or any other country. Yet half the summer is already gone, and in two or three months all campaigning in Russia will automatically stop. If the workers in the Allied countries do but their duty and prevent their rulers from giving further help to the Russian counter-revolution in the course of the next few months, Soviet Russia will have won the war, because by next spring it will be so strong that no army in the world will be able to cope with it. That will be the final victory of the Bolsheviks and of the World Revolution.

Proclamation Issued By The Central Committee Of The Foreign Department Of The Finnish Workers' Government, Stockholm, Sweden

"Again we appeal to the workers in all countries. Comrades! Fightful is the fate of the Socialist workers in Finland. Four months have elapsed since the defeat of the revolution, but still the "White Terror" is raging in the country. It is obvious that the Finnish bourgeoisie intends to destroy all the organized thousand revolutionaries, who are now starting in detention camps in various parts of the country.

"From day to day continues the endless destruction of the organized workers. Hundreds die every day of hunger and disease. From day to day continue their executions, based on decisions of special field court-martials and instigated by the spirit of revenge and class hatred on the part of individual persons. In every detention camp the number of such murdered workers grows into hundreds upon hundreds. It is estimated in Finland that the "White Terror" has already killed almost as many people as lost their lives in the civil war—about 20,000 men, women and children. And this mad orgy of murder is not ended yet.

"More than 100 field court-martials pronounce their sentences upon the rebels. Death sentences, life imprisonment, long terms of imprisonment, the confiscation of the private property of individuals. They are not treated as prisoners of war, but as plain criminals who are accused of murder, pillage, etc., such verdict covering all the acts from the time of the Socialist Government and action taken in open warfare during the civil war. Arbitrary decisions of the courts and class hatred dictate the sentences."

"The White Guards themselves say that the life of a Socialist is not worth that of a dog, and without any penalty anyone may kill a Socialist at any time.

"Comrades, Workers, of all countries. Listen to the martyred outcry of the organized labour in Finland! Let your voice be heard. The "White Terror," which the Finnish Bourgeoisie does not want to stop, intends to destroy the proletariat of Finland to the last man and woman. We appeal to that international solidarity which has been proclaimed so long. Urge your Governments to take up the bloody question of Finland!

"Comrades, in Russia, who yourselves have experienced the cruelties which follow in the path of the White Guards. Remember the fate of the revolutionary workers in Finland and be ready to fight to the last drop of blood against the attacking enemies of the revolution, and arouse the workers in other countries in our defence.

"Comrades in Scandinavia and in the Allied countries! Arouse a storm of protest against the executioners of the people in Finland. Spread the news about our fate to the people of the world.

"Comrades in Germany and Austria! If our words reach you at all, we want to say to you: 'Rise and put down your Government!' It was the German army which defeated the workers' rule in Finland and which is now facilitating the reign of 'White Terror'. Do not say to us: 'Am I my brother's keeper?'—for it is better to die than to be an international scab and an executioner of the workers.

"The crucified workers of Finland appeal to their working-class comrades in all countries. Prove to us in practice that the international working-class solidarity really exists. Listen, comrades and workers in all countries, to the martyred outcry from Finland."

PARLIAMENT OR SOVIET?

TO AMERICAN AND BRITISH SOLDIERS

Comrades,—You are told that you are fighting for democracy. But what kind of democracy are you fighting for? On one side is the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on the other side the capitalist "democracies" of England, France and the United States.

The fact is clear, and you have to choose between two existing systems of management of public life—by the workers for the workers; or by the workers and capitalist for the capitalist. The political system under which you like appears to give the right to control public affairs to the people. But who actually controls affairs in your countries. Is it not the Morgans and Rockefellers, the Devonports, Rhondas, or men like these, big business men, capitalists and financiers? At elections they make fine promises, but when they are returned do nothing, and when some petty reform is demanded they wonder "where the money is to come from." If the workers get more insistent in their demands, these so-called representatives of the people will call out troops to shoot the people down, as they did at Ludlow (Colorado), Tonypandy (Wales), and Dublin.

In our democracy only the workers have a voice, only those that produce the useful things decide how to enjoy the results of their common efforts. We are a commonwealth of fellow workers and we don't want parasites and their supporters to interfere with our affairs.

This kind of democracy is not to the liking of those who wish to live upon the labour of others. Being a minority they want a democracy that secures the rule of the few over the many, and you are made to fight for this kind of "democracy".

You may argue: since we have general suffrage, it is our own stupidity if we elect the wrong representatives to Parliament and we are going to change this gradually.

But even if it was possible to secure a majority of the right people in Parliament, this would not help you out since Parliament is only one of the institutions of capitalist power, and not the most important either. There is the Government with its bureaucratic machinery, the police, the judges, the army. In the Parliaments the representatives are allowed to talk, but it is the executive power—the Government—that acts. And this Government in all countries is becoming more and more powerful, whereas the influence of the Parliament is on the decline. It would be absurd to believe that it will be possible to vote the capitalists out of power, out of their privileges. Parliament is a capitalist institution to further capitalist interests, and if it ceases to further those interests, it will be simply reorganised or abolished altogether.

More than that, political control is useless if it does not carry with it control of the means of life. In your country, Parliament has only a very limited control of industry. The means of production are owned and controlled almost exclusively by capitalists. Those who own the means of life own everything. In Russia the means of life are owned by the whole nation, and the control is vested in the local and National Soviets. The Soviets are elected from the workers in the factories, mines, or railroads, as the case may be. We have thus direct and exclusive labour representation. Ours is a real Labour Republic, and when you come against us to overthrow the Soviets and establish the kind of democracy that exists in your countries, you are attempting to overthrow the rule of the workers and re-establish the rule of kings and capitalists.

Fellow working men, refuse to be suppressors of your own class. Strive rather to establish your rule in your countries. Form Soldiers' Councils in your regiments. Send your representatives to your officers and demand to be sent home. And when you get home remove the sham capitalist democracy reigning there and establish true Republics of Labour as we have done in Russia.

TRUTH OF THE WAR ON RUSSIA ARTICLE FOR WHICH ROBERT MINOR WAS ARRESTED

"A FOUL CRIME"

Among the charges that were to be brought against Robert Minor, and which were afterwards withdrawn, was one of urging French Labour to act against Russian intervention.

That charge was based on an article found in Minor's possession. It was written by him, but never printed.

We print it below, as an example of the sort of thing which the International Secret Service considers a crime.

I have spent the greater part of the past year in Central Russia, and am in a good position to know what the situation in that country is. Nearly every article now being published to disparage the Soviet Republic is damnably false, and is propaganda financed by men interested in restoring the reaction.

False Witness

The persistent stories of bloodshed in Russian cities are false almost in too. I have read accounts of street battles in Moscow at times when I was there, and I can certify that such stories are ridiculously untrue. There is less disorder, and a man, woman or child of the bourgeois or any other class, is safer in the streets of Moscow than in any other city I have ever been in.

There is terrible hunger in Russia. But that hunger is due almost entirely to other causes than Bolshevik rule. The chief cause at the present moment is the blockade by the Entente Navis. Hundreds of thousands of women and children are being starved by the Entente and American Governments.

Allied Sabotage

The second greatest cause of Russia's present hunger is that the French Consulate, from May, 1916, until it left, Soviet Russia, was engaged in destroying all the locomotives that its agents could reach. Many men were sent out with "sauf conduits" from the French Consulate, and suit-cases, containing emery powder. By this "sabotaging" the railroad system, by placing the emery powder in the bearings of the locomotives, the French official representatives have contributed more to the death by starvation of Russian people than any mismanagement that the Bolsheviks could possibly be guilty of.

Propagandists claim that the Russian Government is not the choice of the Russian people. Well, let us remember that it was the population of Samara that drove the Czech-Slovaks out of their city and welcomed the Red Army's return, and that while under hostile military occupation Vladivostok re-elected the Soviet representative who were then in jail.

"God Save the Tsar"

The forces supported by the American and Entente Governments are the most reactionary forces in all Europe. Kolchak came into power by a brutal seizure and murder of Constituent Assembly members. Kolchak's officers, forced the musicians to play "God Save the Tsar", at the point of revolvers, at a dinner celebrating the arrival of French troops at Omsk last November, started the quarrel that ended in the swash-buckling adventurer naming himself Dictator.

Since the signing of the Armistice, I observe that the American and Entente Governments are systematically appeasing the discontent of their peoples by vague hints and promises to withdraw troops, but behind the promises they quietly proceed to strangle the Russian people with military operations of their own troops or of reactionary troops financed by them.

The invasion of the Belgian Kingdom was a crime. The invasion of the Russian Republic is a fouler crime.

ON WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU? WORKERS' OR CAPITALISTS?

The peoples of the world are not divided by nationality, but by class.

What interest have you in common with your master?

Even if he is your fellow countryman, even if he is of the same race as you are, does that prevent him from making you work as many hours as possible for as little money as possible?—Not in the least.

Even during the war, when you, the working people, are sacrificing your lives, your all, the capitalists have continued to exploit you and your families.

The sole aim of the capitalist is profit.

They make profit out of food. They make profit out of the uniforms you wear. They make profit out of the guns you use. The war has been for them an Aladdin's Cave from which to draw wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

What has been for the masses the cause of death, destruction, ruin, and despair, has been for the capitalists a means of piling up colossal fortunes, both now and in the future.

All profit is wrung from our class, from the sweat, and blood, and tears of the working people.

It is the same in all countries. In England, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in Russia.

Does nationality count?—No! It is class that counts.

Working class or capitalist class, on which side are you?

Capitalists have investments in all countries. Where their money is, there their hearts are also. There is no patriotism for them. But they always remain loyal to their class.

As against the working class the capitalists of all countries are united. They understand the class war.

There are only two camps, the workers' camp and the capitalists' camp.

In which camp are you?

The interests of the workers of all countries are the same. No matter where you live, in England, France, Germany, if you are a workman you must work for a master, and he will only employ you if he can obtain a profit out of your labour.

The workers are always opposed to the masters.

Real freedom, economic, and social freedom will only be achieved when the workers of all countries overthrow master class, and take control in their own hands.

We in Russia have done this. We have abolished Capitalism and Landlordism in Russia.

We have a workman's Government.

Your capitalists know that our revolution is a menace to them. They fear that the workers in other countries will follow our example. They are, therefore, supporting the Russian capitalists against us. They are determined to crush our revolution, and put the landlords, capitalists, and the Tsar back again.

And you have been brought here for that purpose.

What are you a workman or a capitalist?

If you are a workman, then you must be on our side, for we are workmen, too. We are of the same class.

Learn from the capitalists, and be loyal to your class.

An injury to the workers of one country, is an injury to the workers of all countries.

If you help to crush our revolution, you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourselves.

Refuse to do the work of our common enemy, the capitalist!!

Join with us in the fight against capitalism and War!!

Workers of all countries unite!!

SIX MONTHS WITH LENIN

By Albert Rhys Williams
Reprinted from "ASIA"

I saw Lenin first not in the flesh but in the minds and spirits of four young Bolsheviks. Able, alert and active party workers, they were part of the great tide of exiles flowing back into Petrograd in the summer of 1917. These men quietly assured me that in brains and character Lenin not only led all the Bolsheviks, but likewise everybody else in Russia, in Europe and in all the world.

For us who daily read in the papers of Lenin, the German agent, and daily heard the bourgeoisie outland him as a scoundrel, a traitor and an imbecile, this was indeed strange doctrine. It sounded fantastic and fanatical. But these men were neither fools nor sentimentalists. Knocking about the world had hammered all that out of them. Nor were they hero-worshippers. The Bolshevik movement was elemental and passionate, but it was scientific, realistic, unemotional to hero-worship. Yet here was this quartet declaring that there was one Russian great in integrity and in intelligence, and his name was Nikolai Lenin. The more we saw of these young zealots the more we desired to see the man they acknowledged their master. Would they take us to his hiding place?

"Be patient for a little while," they would reply, laughing, "and you shall see him." At last we did see him, and under the most dramatic circumstances.

While a tumultuous, singing throng of peasants and soldiers, flushed with the triumph of the November revolution, went stamping into Smolny, while the guns of the Aurora were heralding the death of the old order and the birth of the new, and while the whole world was holding its breath, Lenin stepped upon the tribunal.

We had already formed our own image of him.

The chairman announced, "Comrade Lenin will now address the Congress."

From our seats at the reporters' table he was at first invisible. Amidst tremendous cheering, he crossed the platform, the demonstration rising to a climax as he stepped into the speaker's box not more than thirty feet away. Now we saw him clearly and our hearts felt. He was almost the opposite of the image we had made of him. Instead of looming up large and impressive, he appeared short and stocky. His beard and hair were rough and unkempt. In his voice there was a harsh, dry note rather than eloquence. Thrusting his thumbs in his vest at the arm-pits, he rocked back and forth on his heels. For an hour we listened, hoping to discern the hidden magnetic qualities which would account for his hold on these free, young, sturdy spirits. But in vain.

He simply said, "We shall now take up the formation of the Socialist state," and went into an unimpassioned matter-of-fact discussion. The Bolsheviks by their sweep and daring had captured our imaginations; we expected their leader to do likewise. We wanted the head of the party to come before us, the embodiment of these qualities, an epitome of the whole movement, a sort of super-Bolshevik. We were disappointed.

So much for a first impression. Yet, starting from that first adverse estimate, I found myself six months later declaring that the first man and statesman of Europe was Nikolai Lenin. Incidentally, this was the verdict of Raymond Robins. From the start, menaced by hunger, invasion and reaction, the Bolsheviks drove their measures through without ruth or hesitation, while their enemies ransacked the arsenals of invective for epithets to assail them. To the bourgeoisie Lenin was the high-handed, iron-fisted one. At this period they referred to him not as Premier Lenin, but as "the tyrant Lenin," "Lenin the Dictator."

At this time came the humorous incident of the peasant. It was the night when the Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, throwing its support to the new Soviet government, celebrated with a glorified love-feast in the halls of Smolny. The intelligentsia had spoken for the village, there was a demand that the village should speak for itself. An old fellow in peasant's smock came to the platform. His face showed rosy through his white beard; he had twinkling eyes, and spoke in the village dialect.

"Tovarishche (comrades),

happy I was tonight as we came over here with banners flying and music playing! I didn't come walking on the ground. I came flying through the air. I am one of the dark people, living in a dark village. You gave us the light. But we don't understand it all, so they sent me here to find out. But tovarishche, we are all happy over the wonderful changes. In the old days the chinovniki used to be very hard and beat us, but now they are very polite. In the old days we could look only at the outsides of the palaces, now we can walk right inside them. In the old days we only talked about the Tsar, but they tell me now, tovarishche, tomorrow I can shake hands with Tsar Lenin himself. God grant him long life!"

The audience exploded. Astonished at the roars of laughter and applause the old peasant sat down. But the next day he was presented to Lenin, and later was the peasant's representative at Brest-Litovsk.

During these first weeks rigid order and discipline were appearing in all departments. One could note the stiffening of the morale of the workmen, a tightening up of the loose parts in the Soviet machinery. Now when the Soviet moved out into action, as for example in the seizure of the banking system, it struck hard and effectively. Lenin knew where to be precipitate in action, and when to go slow.

Once a delegation of workmen came to Lenin asking him if he could decree the nationalization of their factory.

"Yes," said Lenin, picking up a blank form. "All I have to do is to take these blanks and fill in the name of your factory in this space here and then sign my name in this space here and the name of the commissar here." The workmen were highly gratified and pronounced it "very good."

"But before I sign this blank," resumed Lenin, "let me ask you a few questions. First, do you know where the raw materials are obtained for your factory?" Reluctantly they admitted they did not.

"I presume," said Lenin, "you understand the keeping of accounts and have worked out a method for keeping up production."

The workmen said they were afraid they did not know very much about these minor matters.

"And finally, comrades," continued Lenin, "may I ask you whether you have found a market to sell your products?"

Again they answered no.

"Well, comrades," said the Premier, "you are unprepared to take over your factory now. Go back home and work over these matters; you will find it hard! you will make many blunders, but you will learn. Then come back in a few months and we can take up the nationalizing of your factory."

The same iron that Lenin was injecting into the social life he showed in his individual life. Stiches and bortsch, slabs of back bread, tea and porridge made up the fare of the Smolny clouds. It was likewise the usual fare of Lenin, his wife and sister. For twelve and fifteen hours a day the revolutionists stuck to their posts. Eighteen and twenty hours was the regular stunt for Lenin. Immersed in his work, Lenin was deal to everything, even his own sustenance. Grasping her opportunity when Lenin was engaged in conversation, his wife would appear with a glass of tea, saying, "Here, tovarishch, you must not forget to drink this." Often the tea was sugarless, for Lenin went on the same ration as the rest of the population. The Revolution was a great venture that they were all taking together. The soldiers and messengers adept on iron cots in the big bare barracks-like rooms. So did Lenin and his wife. Worn out, they flung themselves down on their rough couches, oftentimes without undressing, ready to rise to any emergency.

Despite the drain of this night and day ordeal, Lenin appeared constantly upon the platform, concise, alert, diagnosing the situation, prescribing the remedy and sending his listeners into action administering it. Emotionalism, as such, was absent, but in the response of his audience one could see the emotional value of logic and sheer intellectuality.

Only once did I see him miss fire. That was at the Mikhailovsky Manege in December, as the first detachment of the new Red Army was leaving for the front. Flaming torches lit up the vast interior,

turning the long line of armored cars into a group of strange primeval monsters. Swarming through the great arena and clambering over the cars were the dark figures of the new recruits, poorly equipped in arms but strong in revolutionary ardor. To keep warm they danced and stamped their feet and to keep good cheer they sang their revolutionary hymns and the folk-songs of the villages. A great shout announced the arrival of Lenin. In the half darkness the throngs looked up and listened attentively. But they did not kindle to his words. He finished amidst an applause that was far from the customary ovation. His speech that day was too casual to meet the mood of men going out to die. The ideas were commonplace and the expressions trite. There was reason enough for this deadness—overwork, preoccupation. But the fact remained, Lenin had met a significant occasion with an insignificant speech. And these workmen felt it. The Russian proletarians are not blind hero-worshippers.

When Lenin stepped down, Podvoisky announced, "An American comrade to address you." The crowd pricked up its ears as I climbed upon the big car.

"Oh, good—you speak in English," said Lenin. "Allow me to be your interpreter."

"No, I shall speak in Russian," I answered, heeding some reckless impulse.

I told them how inspiring was the sight of the working class that had always fought in the interests of other classes, now being out to battle in its own behalf. I wanted to tell them that if a great crisis came I should myself be glad to enlist in the ranks of the Red Army. I hesitated. The Russian work for "enlist" failed me. Lenin looked up and asked, "What word do you want?"

"Enlist," I answered.

"Vstoyet," he prompted.

Thereafter whenever I was stuck he would fill the word up to me and I would catch it and hurl it out into the audience, modified, of course, by my American accent. This, and the fact that I stood in the flesh, a tangible symbol of the internationalism they had heard so much about, raised storms of laughter and thundering applause. In this Lenin joined heartily.

"Well, that's a beginning in Russian at any rate," he said. "But you must keep at it hard. And you," he said, turning to Bessie Beatty, "you must learn Russian, too. Just read, write and talk nothing but Russian. Don't talk with Americans—it won't do you any good, anyhow," he added humorously. "Next time I see you I'll examine you."

How nearly it came about that there was no next time! As the automobile with Lenin in it swung out from the Manege there were three sharp reports and three bullets crashed through his car, one of them wounding Platten, the Swiss delegate, who sat in the seat with Lenin. Some assassin up a side street had tried and failed.

The Bolshevik leaders were of course in constant danger of their lives. The chief object of attention on the part of the bourgeois plotters was naturally Lenin. In his active brain they said, were wrought the plans for their undoing. Oh, for a bullet to still that brain! That was the prayer that every day fervently went up from the altars of the bourgeoisie, who wished the return of the old order.

In one such home in Moscow we were always welcomed with a lavish hospitality. The great table with its steaming samovar was loaded with fruits and nuts, a bewildering array of zakuska, and what Arthur Ransome called "sweets," his particular failing. The war had done very handsomely by this family. Speculation in all its branches, running goods by the underground route to Germany, and profiteering grand and petty had put this family upon the roof-garden. Now suddenly out of the darkness, knocking away the very foundations of the roof-garden, came the Bolsheviks. They wanted to put a stop to the war. Wild, unreasonable, these Bolsheviks wanted to put a stop to speculation, profiteering, everything! The only thing to do was to put a stop to them. String them up! Shoot them down! Begin at the top with Lenin.

"I have a million roubles this minute for the man who will kill Lenin," this rising young Moscow broker informed me gravely. "And there are nineteen other men whom

I can place my hands upon tomorrow, each with a million more for the cause."

But none of these risks worried Lenin. Along a path beset with mines and pitfalls he walked with the composure of a country gentleman, while crises that shook men's nerves and blanched their faces found him cool and unruffled.

The one historic session of the Constituent Assembly was a wild and turbulent scene as the two factions came to death-grips with each other. The delegates shouting, battering and beating on the desks, the orators thundering out threats and challenges, and two thousand voices passionately singing the International and Revolutionary march, charged the atmosphere with electricity. As the night advanced one felt the voltage of the place going up and up. In the galleries we gripped the rails, jaws set and nerves on edge. Lenin sat in a front tier box, looking bored. At last he rose, and walking to the back of the tribunal he stretched himself upon the red carpeted stairs. He glanced casually around the vast concourse. Then he propped his head on his hand and went to sleep. The eloquence of the orators and the roars of the audience rolled above his head, but peacefully he slumbered on. Once or twice, opening his eyes, he blinked about him, and nodded off again. Finally, rising, he stretched himself and strolled leisurely down to his place in the front tier box. Seeing our opening, Reed and I slipped down to question him about the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. He replied indifferently. He asked about the activities of the Propaganda Bureau. His face lightened up as we told him how the material was being printed by tons, that it was really getting across, the trenches into the German army. But we found it hard to work in the German language.

"Ah!" he said with sudden animation, as he recalled my exploits on the armored car, "and how goes the Russian language? Can you understand all these speeches now? You must go at it systematically. Break the backbone of the language at the very outset. I'll tell you my method."

He leaned over the box, with sparkling eyes, and drove his words home with gesture. Our fellow reporters looked on enviously. They thought that Lenin was violently exhorting the crimes of the opposition, or divulging the secret plans of the Soviet, or spurring us to greater zeal for the Revolution. In a crisis like this, surely only such themes could draw forth this burst of energy from the head of the great Russian state. But they were wrong. The Premier of Russia was merely giving an exposition of the learning of a foreign language and enjoying a little friendly conversation.

In the tension of great debates when his opponents were lashing him unmercifully, Lenin would sit in serene composure, even extracting humor from the situation. Only once did I ever see him hurried or rushed. That was in February, when the Tauride palace was again the scene of a fevered conflict, the debate over war or peace with Germany. Suddenly he appeared and with quick vigorous strides was fairly hurrying himself down the long hall toward the platform entrance. Professor Charles Kuntz and I were lying in wait for him, and hailed him with "Just a minute, tovarishch Lenin."

He checked his headlong flight and came to attention in almost military fashion, bowed very gravely, and said, "Will you be so good as to let me go this time, gentlemen, comrades? I haven't even so much as a second. They are waiting me inside the hall. I beg you to excuse me this time, please." With another bow and a handshake he was off in a full stride again.

In fact at times he seemed over-courteous, exaggeratedly so. This may have been due to his use of English, lifting bodily from the books the elaborate forms of polite conversation. More probably it was part of his technic in social intercourse, for Lenin was highly efficient here as elsewhere. He refused to squander his time upon non-essential persons; he was not easily accessible. It was hard to get at Lenin, but once you did you had all there was of Lenin. All his faculties were converged upon one in a manner so acute as to be embarrassing. After a polite, almost an effusive, greeting, he drew

up closer until his face was not more than a foot away. As the conversation went on he often came still closer, gazing into one's eyes as though he were searching out the inmost recesses of a man's brain and peering into his very soul. Only an extraordinary liar could withstand the steady impact of that gaze.

We often met a certain socialist who in 1905 had taken part in the Moscow uprising and had even fought well upon the barricades. A career and the comforts of life had weaned him from his first ardent devotion. He wore now an air of prosperity, acting as correspondent of an English newspaper syndicate and Plechanoff's Eidenstvo. Bourgeois correspondents were regarded by Lenin as wasters of time. But by playing up his past revolutionary record this man managed to secure an appointment with Lenin. He was in high spirits as he went away to meet it. Some hours later I saw him in a state of perturbation. He explained:

"When I walked into the office I referred to my part in the 1905 revolution. Lenin came up to me and said, 'Yes, comrade, but what are you doing for THIS revolution?' His face was not more than six inches away and his eyes were looking straight into mine. I spoke of my old days in the Moscow barricades, and took a step backward. But Lenin took a step forward, not letting go my eyes and said again, 'Yes, comrades, but what are you doing for this revolution?' It was like an X-ray, as if he saw all my deeds of this last ten years. I couldn't stand it. I had to look down like a guilty child. I tried to talk, but it was no use. I had to come away."

A few days later this man threw in his lot with THIS revolution and became a worker for the Soviet.

Lenin was gratified, of course, with each accession to the ranks, but he would not enlist a single recruit by painting in roseate hues the conditions of service, or the future prospects. Rather he tended to paint things blacker than they were. The burden of many of Lenin's speeches was: "The goal the Bolsheviks are striving for is far away—further away than most of you dream of. We have led Russia along a rough road, but the course we follow will bring us more enemies—more hunger. Difficult as the past has been the future promises harder things—harder than you imagine." Not an alluring promise. Not the usual call to arms! Yet as the Italians rallied to Garibaldi, who came offering wounds, prison and death, the Russians rallied to Lenin. This was a little disconcerting to one expecting the leader to glorify his cause and to urge the prospective convert into joining it. Lenin left the urge to come from within. He regarded his task as finished when he had presented all the facts in the case.

And they were indeed all the facts. His lines of information ran out in every direction, bringing him multitudes of facts. These he weighed, sifted and assayed. Then he utilized them as a strategist, a master chemist working in social elements, a mathematician. When Lenin attacked a subject one came away at the end of the discussion with the feeling that the whole field had been covered and that he had the right to make his pronouncement with finality.

Prominent Bolshevik leaders like Kameneff and Zinovief held that in the proposed November revolu-

tion it was impossible to succeed, Lenin said, "It is impossible to fail." The others held that though the Bolsheviks might take the power, they could not hold it. Lenin said, "Every day will bring us fresh strength." Trotsky pursued his tactics of juggling with the Germans, decoying them along, but refusing to sign the treaty. Lenin said, "Don't play with them. Sign the first treaty offered, however bad, or we shall have to sign a worse one." Not only in large affairs but in minor issues, later events had a faculty of vindicating his judgment. And while he spoke as one having authority, when he was in doubt he frankly said so.

In the usual outfit of the statesman-politician-bluff, glittering verbiage and success psychology, Lenin was lacking. One felt that he could not fool others even if he so desired, and for the same reasons that he could not fool himself. His scientific attitude of mind. His passion for the facts. In this glorification of the fact, bare, naked, there was something akin to brutality. It made him treat with caustic contempt the sentimentalist, the shouter of shibboleths, those taking refuge from reality in phraseology. He felt it his duty "to pour vinegar and bile into the sweetened water of revolutionary democratic eloquence."

When the Germans were making their drive upon the Red Capital a flood of telegrams poured in on Smolny from all over Russia, expressing amazement, horror and indignation. They ended with slogans like "Long live the invincible Russian proletariat," "Death to the imperialistic robbers," "With our last drop of blood we defend the Capital of the Revolution."

Lenin read them and then dispatched a telegram to all the Soviets, asking them kindly not to send revolutionary phrases to Petrograd, but to send troops; also to state precisely the number of volunteers enrolled and to forward an exact report upon the arms, ammunition and food conditions. With the advance of the Germans came the flight of the foreigners. The Russians manifested mild surprise that all those who had so loudly cried to them, "Kill the Huns!" now fled precipitously when the Hun came within killing range. It would have been good to join the beggars, but there was my pledge made upon the armored car. So I went to join the Red Army. Bukharin, the left-Bolshevik, insisted that I should see Lenin.

"My congratulations! My felicitations!" said Lenin. "It looks very bad for us just now. The old army will not fight. The new one is largely upon paper. Pskof has just been surrounded without resistance. That is a crime. The President of that Soviet ought to be shot. Our workers have great self-sacrifice and heroism. But no military training, no discipline."

In about twenty short sentences he summed up the situation, ending with, "All I can see is peace. Yet the Soviet may be for war. In any case my congratulations for joining the Revolutionary army." He rummaged a moment and added: "One foreigner can't do much fighting. Maybe you can find others." I told him that I would try to form a full detachment immediately.

By night we had formed the International Legion and issued our call summoning all speaking foreign languages to enroll in the new company. But Lenin did not drop the matter there. He was not content merely with inaugurating something in the grand manner. He

followed it up relentlessly and in detail. Twice he telephoned the Pravda office instructing them to print the call in Russian and in English. Then he telegraphed it through the country. Thus while opposing the war and particularly those who were intoxicating themselves with revolutionary phrases about it, Lenin was mobilizing every force to prepare for it. He sent an automobile with Red Guards to the fortress of Peter and Paul to fetch part of the counter-revolutionary staff imprisoned there.

"Gentlemen," said Lenin as the generals filed into his office, "I have brought you here for expert advice. Petrograd is in danger. Will you be good enough to work out the military tactics for its defense?" They assented.

"Here are our forces," resumed Lenin, indicating upon the map the location of the Red troops, munitions and reserves. "And here are our latest reports upon the number and disposition of the enemy troops. Anything else the generals desire they will call for."

They set to work and toward evening handed him the result of their deliberations. "Now," said the generals ingratiatingly. "Will

(Continued on Page 6).

SIBERIAN FARMERS SAY "QUIT"

"We Declare War on Allies to the Death."

PROMISES OF ORDER FALSE
The following document, which speaks for itself, is a proclamation issued in the east of Siberia in April.

The proclamation, which is issued by the Farmer and Workmen Volunteers of the Province of the Farther Amur, is in these terms:

"We do not recognize any Allied command, because the Japanese, English, Italian, and American Governments are endeavoring to bring pressure against the great Russian revolution, which marks the beginning of liberty for the working classes of the whole world."

"Profiting by the state of chaos in Russia, the Allied countries, with false promises of not interfering in the internal affairs of the country, have invaded Siberia with troops. In reality they desire only to satisfy their ambitions and to seize the railways, mines, and riches of Siberia. The Capitalists are temporarily in power, thanks to the Allied forces, but it is in vain that these foreigners seize railways and the wealth of Siberia in conjunction with the so-called Government of Omsk, because the workmen and farmers do not recognize it."

Straight Questions.
"According to your proclamation, you are placing troops here for the purpose of maintaining order, but on behalf of the workmen and farmers we ask you the following questions:

1. Who has asked you to re-establish order in our country?
2. Who has given you the right to do it?
3. How is it that the Allied troops take upon themselves the task of maintaining order in our country?
4. Is it for the purpose of maintaining order that they establish themselves through Siberia, lending a strong hand to the Kolchak troops, knocking down peaceable people and shooting them?

"We declare war on you to the death. Our aim is not only Shkoto-tovo but also, as you may know, Vladivostok, which is your main base of operations."

DID THE STRIKERS LOSE OUT?

W. L. FOREST

Organizer of the Railroad Brotherhoods
will speak on the above topic
At the

WOODMAN HALL - - SUNDAY, AUGUST 24th

There will be also a musical program
Refreshments Admission 35 and 15 cents
Commence at 8 p. m. prompt

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA

THE LEFT WING ANSWERS

By I. E. FERGUSON

Most of the objections to the Left Wing, offered by the Reformist Socialists, are simply subterfuges to distract from the real issues. But undoubtedly there are some who take these objections seriously, and this stands in the way of their study and understanding of the vital differences between Reformist and Revolutionary Socialism. In order to clear these side-issues out of the way, and to compel the critics of the Left Wing to meet the real issues, we make answer to the most common objections.

Objection: The Left Wing seeks to destroy the unity of the Party on account of a quarrel of phrases.

Answer: The progress of history has exploded a fake unity within the Socialist ranks of all countries. This was a unity of phrases, a unity having no more fundamental basis than agreement on reform politics within the scheme of capitalist democracy. Beyond this, some of the phrases of the class struggle, and more or less insistence that the political party of the working class must stand by itself.

The Left Wing seeks to create a real unity on the basis of the true Socialist program, a unity of understanding and of action. Such is the unity of the Communist International, which, however, rigidly excludes all elements not in complete accord with its fundamentals.

The unity which is illusory simply prepares for a separation just at the moment of crisis, as we have already witnessed in Germany, and as we witnessed in 1914 when the parties of the Second International chose to stand with their respective governments rather than with one another.

A change of our party tactics and propaganda according to the requirements of the revolutionary Socialist movement will make the party unsuitable as refuge for various reformist, petty bourgeois, sentimental elements which have hitherto dominated the party. The Left Wing is obnoxious to these elements, and the Left Wing will drive them out of the Socialist Party. Because for all losses of this sort there will be a thousand fold gain from the proletariat, which is rapidly developing revolutionary consciousness but which cannot be expected to regard with respect the programs and performances of a Socialist Party without proletarian consciousness.

Objection: The Left Wing plays the game of the capitalist enemy by dividing the forces of Socialism on account of tactical matters.

Answer: As already stated, the Left Wing unites the forces of Socialism. It separates these forces from confusing and destructive admixtures, which leave no meaning to Socialism, and which leave no body of men and women ready to engage in any common action—except the game of capitalist politics (in order to make Capitalism more endurable).

The capitalist enemy can only discover in this process that there is real life and a real understanding of the revolutionary implications of the class struggle within the Socialist Party. Of course a Left Wing defeat might be highly acceptable to the capitalists, because it would show them that there is no revolutionary consciousness in the United States even among the members of the Party dedicated to the social revolution. But a Left Wing victory shows the capitalists that the Socialist Party means what it says about the class struggle and the social revolution.

The present opposition to the Left Wing emphasizes how much the Party gained by casting off some of its social-patriots on account of the adoption of the St. Louis platform. The coming of the Labor Party and the Non-partisan League also is taken as a benefit to the Socialist Party in that it makes clear and emphatic the special mission of the Socialists (or Communists) as "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; having over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate goal

eral results of the proletarian movement."

Yet it was the very character of the Socialism which died with the world war of finance-imperialism that it sought as adherents elements which never could be expected to meet the tests of the class war.

The Left Wing is honest, both in its statements about what Socialism is, and in its desires to have within the Socialist Party only true Socialists of proletarian revolutionary consciousness. There is mighty little consolation for the enemy in that sort of a transformation of the Socialist Party, because anybody can see those who oppose the Left Wing, and make this the basis for trying to split the Party, are potentially the most dangerous enemies of the working class at a time of crisis.

Besides there is not so much discrimination on the part of the capitalists as might be imagined. They are largely ignorant about the Socialist movement, and their class viewpoint keeps them ignorant of Socialism until the time of revolution. Meanwhile they pay little attention to our party discussions. There is bound to be a new direction to the Socialist movement along with tremendous historical changes, and this is our special and most important business. In these adjustments of our policies and tactics there are bound to be a few whose minds are beyond the grasp of a new historical situation, who are bound to insist on their old habits of thought and action as against anything. It is our business to take care of our party according to the right ideas about what it should say and do, and in this we can very well ignore what anybody says about our internal adjustments.

After all, we will only stand together under a crucial test to the extent that we really agree on fundamental party policies and methods.

Objection: The Left Wing delights in revolutionary phrases leading nowhere except to idle shouting or outbreaks of violence.

Answer: The Left Wing insists upon the phrases which tell the truth about Socialism and the politics of the class struggle—and these phrases do, as a matter of fact, describe a revolutionary movement of the conscious proletariat to make an end to Capitalism.

In truth, however, it is the Reformists and Opportunists who play with phrases for their hypocritical purposes of alluring all sorts of persons through contrary interpretations. The Left Wing seeks the life meaning of all Socialist phrases, to convey life truths.

The program of the Communist International is a document of revolutionary Socialism, second only to the Communist Manifesto of 1848, and here is language with unambiguous meaning for any reader. The "statement of principles" of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, issued May 29, is a conception of phrases made by jugglers using the phrases of Socialism to mean all things and nothing.

It must not be overlooked, also, that the mere expression of revolutionary phrases is at time the very essence of revolutionary Socialist action. An illustration which challenged the attention of all the world was the speech of Karl Liebknecht to a street meeting in Berlin calling upon German workers to rise against the Kaiser's government. Another illustration which commanded world-wide attention and which will find its place in the pages of universal history was the revolutionary expression of Eugene Debs in the Cleveland courtroom.

It is when the revolutionary phrases seize the mind of the masses and become translated into revolutionary action that the proletariat wins its triumphs. The critic who scorns the revolutionary phrases with rare exceptions, is really the "Socialist" who is against the proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary phrases of Socialism have to do only with the mass power and mass action of the proletariat, and scorn the futile acts of individual terrorism violence which are unrelated to the

organized proletarian movement. Nobody ever was or could be urged to individual acts of violence or sabotage through the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism.

Objection: But the workers of the United States do not yet want a revolution.

Answer: That is the misfortune, because the United States is grievously in need of the Socialist revolution.

This is the master-phrase of the opposition to the Left Wing, calculated to work upon the nervous fears of the timid and cautious. And though timidity and caution have their complete justification, there is no justification whatever for making this objection to the Left Wing.

We say that the conditions for the social revolution are here: the high concentration of wealth and the advocated centralization of industry, to such a point that supreme control is now in the hands of the dozen chiefs of the central financial institutions; the existence of the class of permanent wage-workers as the overwhelming element of the population; the adaptation of the entire national life to the military adventures of extra-territorial finance-exploitation, with a gigantic expenditure of materials and life (this expenditure being in itself the most fruitful source of finance-exploitation), the complete negation of the parliamentary democracy by open control by the financial masters, as during the war and since, and as emphasized by the agreement of the different capitalist parties on all essential economic matters, such as tariffs, banking and currency, control of public utilities, suppression of effective labor organization, yielding up of former concessions to the petty bourgeoisie in the nature of anti-trust laws, taxation at point of consumption, with minimum of taxation at the point of net profits, and Monroe Doctrine insistence upon all of South and Central America as the special imperialist monopoly of American finance-capital.

American Capitalism has reached the stage where its further progress carries with it an inevitable and terrible toll of destructiveness. On the side of the working class there can be only a constant swelling of the ranks of unskilled, transit labor, in correspondence with the progress of the machine process and the spasmodic character of the market demands.

Capitalist mastery tends rapidly to a stage of military feudalism, turned to ruthless labor suppression and regimentation of the entire national life on the basis of a universalized militarism. The labor revolt rapidly acquires consciousness of the desperate nature of the combat, and of the futility of all processes except its own mass defiance.

The Socialism which proceeds in consciousness of this process—the Socialism of the living class struggle, not of the illusory game of capitalist parliamentarism, a play of words while the real decisions are made in the Star Chambers of finance,—this Socialism must be supremely aware of its own function in relation to this cataclysmic social conflict. The correct statement of the proletarian policy and tactics in relation to this crisis, whether abrupt or prolonged (which depends on the development of revolutionary class consciousness) is the immediate obligation of the Socialist movement. The mass expressions evolving out of the Socialist organization itself should take on the essential character of the general mass assertion upon which the revolution itself depends.

In other words, the school of revolutionary understanding and revolutionary activity cannot await the morning of the social revolution, else the proletarian mass protest against imperialist exploitation will yield only blood.

Objection: The Left Wing wants to substitute violence for political action.

Answer: Violence, in the labor movement, arises either by capitalistic provocation or by individual act unrelated to the organization propaganda or tactics. In the United States, today, we find the illustration of brazen capitalistic efforts to incite desperate workingmen to acts of violence, by fake examples and by constant suggestion of acts of individual violence

as part of the program of the revolutionary movement. We find also the wholesale organization of violence as the answer to proletarian propaganda, with its compulsion of quitting or resistance on the part of the workers.

The Left Wing wants to make the political action of the Socialist Party of the character of revolutionary Socialism. That is, the platform of the party and the role of its members in public office must be part and parcel of the entire propaganda of the party: all in the direct line of the revolutionary class struggle.

Our conception of political action must not be based on the rules and models of bourgeois politics, but must be in adaptation to the proletarian conditions of mass functioning. That is, the proletariat develops modes of power peculiar to its own circumstances, as its power to check the industrial processes by means of strikes, or its power to check military adventures by non-refusal of service. Whatever the method of expressing the proletarian mass power, everything comes within the terms of political action just as soon as it is turned to a political object, that is, the object of winning the state power, or of coercing the state power in relation to a particular policy.

The Reformists conceive of political action in terms of a modification of the political and economic regime of Capitalism. The Left Wing, on the other hand, regards political action from the angle of array of the revolutionary proletariat outside the capitalist state to coerce its actions, and, in final terms, to capture the state power in its entirety.

This difference is crucial. If the objection is that the Left Wing is not seriously concerned with the system of capitalist politics as a system, ranging in detail from the most aristocratic conservatism to the most radical Laborism, that is correct. Within this play of capitalist politics, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other. That consciousness can be affected by the use of the capitalist political machinery, and it is upon this basis that the Socialist Party enters into the regular political campaign, through it visualizes the real conflict as outside the parliamentary and administrative circles.

Objection: The Left Wing offers no constructive plan.

Answer: Making a catalogue of occupational and administrative reforms, as in our American Socialist Party platforms, is certainly no constructive program of Socialism. It is constructive of nothing, unless it be a more efficient Capitalism, a better-ordered slavery of the wage-worker.

The only "constructive" element of such platforms is that they may induce a few persons to vote for the Socialist candidates who are not in opposition to Capitalism as a system. They give the appearance of a "practical" program—because they contain features which appeal as reasonable within the terms of Capitalism. In so far as they are "practical," the enlightened capitalists assure their enforcement. This is part of the general social progress, not in any way the particular mission of the Socialists. On the contrary, it is a perversion of the Socialist movement to let it fall into the mesh of advocacy of capitalist reforms, most of which have a reserve effect against the fundamental interests of the working class.

The constructive work of the Socialist Party is to develop the proletarian consciousness upon which depends the overthrow of Capitalism; to develop the organization and tactical basis for expression of this consciousness; and to formulate the general program for the proletarian manoeuvres both in winning power and in using this power to make the basic economic changes upon which the Socialist order of society depends.

The Left Wing denies that there is any "constructive" policy of Socialism within the formulas of capitalist management. The Left Wing declares that the first constructive step is the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Only

IN COMMUNIST HUNGARY

By CRYSTAL EASTMAN

Reprinted from The Liberator.

Before the war, they told me, Bela Kun was an obscure Socialist secretary in a small city of Hungary, employed by a Workmen's Insurance Association. During the war he was one of those fortunate military prisoners in Russia who saw the Revolution. He organized thousands of Hungarian soldiers for the Russian Red Army, was prominent in the Revolution, served close to Lenin, and became an intimate and trusted lieutenant. Lenin had planned to send him to Germany, but at the last moment changed his mind and sent him to Hungary. He arrived last November, and at once began a revolutionary agitation. At the time, there was no Communist movement in Hungary. The present Commissars were for the most part inactive members of the Socialist party. Bela Kun had hardly arrived, however, before the strong men came out of their obscurity in the discontented ranks of the party, and joined him. By February they were all in jail—the whole Communist executive. Another executive was formed at once and the agitation went on, but this time completely underground. The proletariat was turning more and more toward the Communists.

During all this period Karolyi, the pacifist liberal who had dismissed the Hungarian army, was premier. There was no force to defend the bourgeoisie; the Communists felt that a single demonstration of power would deliver the city into their hands. They planned a coup. Two cannon were secretly placed on the mountain across the river, from which the city could be bombarded, and a great street demonstration was arranged for Sunday, March 23d. At the climax of the demonstration it was planned to demand the immediate release of Kun and the other leaders; and if they were not free within two hours, to bombard the city. But the demonstration never occurred. Hungary did not even come this near to a violent revolution. By Friday, March 21st, the

after this step can there be proletarian democracy and socialization of industry.

The thing to construct today, in the United States, is an accurate understanding and consciousness on the part of the militant proletarians of the character of the struggle in which they are engaged and of their organization requirements in relation to this struggle. An accurate understanding of the class struggle of itself indicates the general character of the Socialist transformation by which private-property exploitation is to be ended.

Objection: The Left Wingers are mostly "November Bolsheviks." They are emotionally carried away by the Russian Revolution.

Answer: Yes, many of the Left Wingers are "November Bolsheviks." None the worse, if they are Bolsheviks.

There has never been such a lesson in Socialism as that of the Russian Revolution, a lesson made universal by the experience of Germany in November 1918 and afterwards.

It is a lesson that is being intensified every day and in all countries. It is neither transient nor unique. Even the Opportunists are willing to admit its appropriateness for practically every country—except their own! And this is true of the Opportunists in each country! (Even in Russia!)

Naturally the new life of the Socialist movement comes as a direct response to the immediate revolutionary inspiration. This response must be given increasing consciousness and effective organization character.

Assuredly there is a large element of emotionalism in the response to the Russian Revolution, and emotionalism which is not harnessed to understanding is apt to prove effervescent. But such emotionalism is the very life of our movement. It must be tempered and tested. But without it we would be not a movement of flesh and blood, but a sectarian creed of abstract dogma.

Big Four's ultimatum had been received, making such inroads on Hungarian territory that even Karolyi was unwilling to accept it. He prepared to evade responsibility by handing the government over to the Social Democrats. But the Social Democrats were wise; they did not venture to accept it alone. They realized that they could not succeed without the co-operation of a certain group of strong men in the city jail. So they went to the jail, then and there accepted the Communist platform, and formed a government with Bela Kun, each group being equally recognized in the division of offices.

On that same night, Friday, March 21st, Bela Kun walked out of jail, ruler of a completely blockaded nation of nine millions, pledged to abolish private capital and establish a Communist society, and at the same time to lead his country in a desperate war of defense on four fronts—Rumanian, Serbian, Czech-Slovak and Italian.

Bela Kun is a young man (they are all young)—probably 29 or 30. He is stocky and powerful in physical build, not very tall, with a big bulging bullet-head shaved close. His wide face with small eyes, heavy jaws and thick lips is startling when you first see it close—I am told it is a well-known Magyar type—but his smile is sunny and winning, and he looks resolute and powerful. He has a superhuman capacity for hard work. His title is Commissar of Foreign Affairs, but there is not the slightest doubt in anyone's mind that he is in every sense the head of the government. He is described by his comrades as a "great agitator," a man of real revolutionary talent, a "genuine Socialist statesman," the "first statesman Hungary has had in seventy years." Their eyes glow with pride in him. "The rest of us are nothing," said Lukacs, Commissar of Education. "We do our part, but there are hundreds like us in every country." It is nothing to the European movement whether we are hanged to-morrow or not. If Kun were killed it would be a serious loss to the revolution."

Bela Kun gave me a written message to the workers of America, which I cabled for publication in the July number of The Liberator. He also gave me written answers to some of the questions that were in our minds in America. He said that they had learned much from the experience of Russia—on what to do and what to avoid. Perhaps it was a reflection of his own personal growth in Russia that made him say, "We certainly learned, from the Russian example, self-sacrifice."

He also said, "We learned the proper form of dictatorship there." I asked him whether the Hungarian dictatorship was more or less strict than the Russian, and he said it was more strict. "The Russians made many experiments," he said, "before they found the proper form of dictatorship. We have been saved those experiments."

I asked him whether he found necessary a complete suppression of free speech and press, and this is his reply: :

"We do not practice general suppression of free speech and free press at all. Workmen's papers are published without the intervention of any censorship. Among workmen there is perfect freedom of speech and of holding meetings; this freedom is enjoyed not only by the workmen who share our views but also by those whose views are different. The anarchists, for instance, publish a paper and other printed matter. There are also citizens' papers, for instance, the 'XX Szazad' (Twentieth Century), a periodical published by the society for sociology, without any control or restriction being exercised upon it. We only suppress bourgeois papers having decided counter-revolutionary intentions."

"We are doing this not because we are afraid of them, but because we want in this way to obviate the necessity of suppressing counter-revolution by force of arms."

He did not say how long he thought the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat would last, but he was very emphatic in describing it as a condition which belongs only to the period of transition from capitalism to communism. I quote his words again: "We consider the dictatorship as a transitional form of government only, justified by the state of revolution and war alone. As soon as the danger of counter-revolution is over and peace returns it will be possible to establish in all respects real and complete freedom of speech and press, which up to now has never existed. For up to now the so-called freedom of press was really a privilege of capitalist interests only."

In answer to my question about bloodshed—whether it will be possible for the Hungarian government to establish communism without violence except against invading armies, he said: "Not completely. It has happened several times that persons have attacked us with the force of arms and killed some of our political delegates. In such cases we have, of course, to make reprisals against the murderers. We are doing, however, everything in our power to persuade our former oppressors, by the demonstration of our strength, to refrain from every attempt to impose their yoke on us again. Our effort has been so far successful; only very slight bloodshed has occurred. What some foreign papers have published to the contrary is absolute falsehood."

In regard to the attitude which communists should adopt toward the ecenrists, the pacifists—men like Longuet in France and Robert Smille in England—he said: "We do not consider them adversaries and we profit by every occasion to distinguish them clearly from people like Renaudel and Scheidemann. We hope that within a short time they will come to see their place on our side."

Of course, we would all like to ask Bela Kun a thousand questions, seeing that we cannot reach Lenin, but these are the principal ones to which I secured his answer in his own words for quotation.

Another interesting figure is Lukacs, the Commissar of Education. He is thirty-four—"One of the oldest," as he quaintly says—a slender, fair-haired, studious Jew with blue eyes, and spectacles. His father was a very rich banker—the head of the biggest bank in Hungary. Lukacs was wholly a student. He asked nothing of life but leisure and a chance to study philosophy. He was a Socialist, but inactive because he was disgusted with the compromise parliamentary policy of the party. A month after Bela Kun's return he had become an active leader of the Communists. Now he is the Commissar of Education over Sundays, but acts as "political commissar" for one of the Red Guard companies at the front on week-days. He goes about in a leather uniform, an earnest little professor, very learned and intelligent, very kindly and humorous, and awfully amused at his sudden transformation—pleased, too, I think, especially at the army end of it.

Each company has a soldier in command, and a "political commissar," who acts as his colleague, to keep up the "revolutionary morale" of the Red Guard. I suppose he is the revolutionary counterpart of the chaplain and the Y. M. C. A. But he fights, he goes into battle with the soldiers.

Lukacs is interested in his educational reforms. Teachers' salaries under him have been raised to the highest rank—650 kronen a week. It is just what the commissars get. 650 kronen today is about \$35. But Lukacs is more interested now in the army. He is as proud of the fighting spirit of his company of Red Guards as Napoleon ever was of his chosen troops.

"When the Rumanians first attacked, our Red Guards quite simply ran away!" he says, "but now they are strong and eager. The army is five times as strong as it was on May 1st. It numbers between 80,000 and 100,000 men."

I found Lukacs and the others supremely confident of military suc-

cess. They smile at the suggestion that the small governments now surrounding them might defeat the Red Army. The power of the Entente to crush them they acknowledge, but they have a sure and smiling faith that the workers of the Entente countries will prevent this. All these young leaders live in confident hope of new revolutions. The only question debatable is where the next one will break out. Capitalism they speak of always in the past tense: "Capitalism was . . ."

Confidence, amazing confidence, not only in their power to establish Communism, but in the complete success of Communism when established, the power of this idea to save the world and make everybody happy, is the irresistible quality in these men. For instance, Julius Hevesi, Commissar for Social Production, who explained the whole process of socializing production to me, insisted that it had all been very easy. And when I asked about distribution—were there no difficult problems in distributing the product under Communism?—he could think of no problems. Distribution will be easy enough, once Hungary has possession of her coal mines and the other sources of raw materials upon which her pro-

ductive industries have always depended. Hevesi is an engineer, a university graduate, who was for years an ardent Communist—as it seems most of the Hungarian engineers were. He is a slight, dark man, very well dressed—a delicate oval face, black eyes and mustache. He might be a neat little French or Italian officer.

I will describe, if I can, the exact process by which private capital was abolished, as Hevesi explained it to me.

The morning after Bela Kun came out of prison placards throughout the city announced the establishment of the Communist Republic, and commanded all commercial and industrial establishments to close for three days, during which time they must make an accurate and exhaustive inventory and deliver it to the government, under penalty of death. The threat was believed, and all business men, both great and small, hastened to obey. After this was done, factories employing under thirty people were allowed to continue on condition of accepting the new scale of wages. All factories employing more than thirty people were as rapidly as possible "socialized"—that is, the government took the place of the shareholders. All who really did any work were left at their places. The owner was offered the post of manager at 2,000 kronen a month; if he declined, things went on without him. According to Hevesi, their plan differs very much from syndicalism. "Under syndicalism," he said, "industries could be continued that we do not consider important." Every factory is the common property of the whole people, and is under centralized control. The workmen elect a controlling council, which has general direction, but the final power rests with a special commissar appointed by the Central Government. I suggested that this sounded a little like State Socialism, but Hevesi reminded me that they had abolished private capital!

Wages everywhere were raised, wages of the unskilled the most,

on the whole. Sometimes they were raised as much as 100 per cent. Three classes of workmen were established:

Skilled to receive 5-8 1/2 kronen per hour (25-42 cents).

Semi-skilled to receive 4-5 1/2 kronen per hour (20-33 cents).

Unskilled to receive 3-5 kronen per hour (15-25 cents).

The workmen's controlling council in each factory determines which workmen belong in each class. Otherwise it has no control over wages.

The syndicalist tendency, however, is to express itself in an industrial parliament, or congress of production, to be made up of the commissars and delegates from the trades unions. But, according to Hevesi and Lukacs, the Communist State is not to be established on a basis of industrial representation as we have understood the Soviet State in Russia to be, but on a basis of geographical representation. All the workers in a certain district will elect a representative. It is on this basis that the present Buda-Pesth Soviet is constituted. And the first All-Hungarian Congress of Soviets—to be held on June 16th—is to be elected in the same way. The industrial parliament is to be a sort of co-ordinate advisory body. In the progressive adjustment of these two bodies, of course, lies a vital development for the future.

Unemployed relief is paid. If necessary, but nearly all the unemployed are absorbed by the Red Army.

Communist distribution is hardly as yet to be described, because, owing to the blockade, the lack of materials, the alarming shortage of coal, very little is being produced. Distribution of necessities is managed through the co-operatives with the aid of some small commercial shops, which are being incorporated as branches of the central distributing system. The plan is to have a distributing center for every five hundred families. Goods are also being distributed through a central bureau on requests by the unions. The distribution of luxuries in a starving country under blockade is not, of course, a pressing problem.

The stores are still closed. Gray iron shutters throughout the shopping districts deny you even that idle pastime of looking in the store windows at what you can't afford to buy. You know what a city is like on Sunday. Well, in Buda-Pesth, Monday, and Tuesday, and Wednesday, and Thursday, and Friday, and Saturday are, just like Sunday—and Sunday in a bone-dry town. Complete prohibition was almost the first decree of the Communists.

Houses
I shall never go into a big, comfortable house again, whether it is the house of a Socialist professor or a railroad president, without

quietly figuring up the number of rooms and the number of people, to determine whether the family will be allowed to continue in possession of the whole house when communism comes. So real was my experience in Hungary. Vago, Commissar of Housing, who looks like a college hero—big, brown, handsome, and built like an athlete—smilingly assured me that the new Communist rule of one roof per person, until all are housed, is actually in force in Buda-Pesth. Of course, each family is allowed a kitchen, and people who work at home—writers, artists, professors, etc.—may each have a workroom in addition. Many of the rich people have moved out of their big houses into hotels, or have left the country. Some, however, are living in the three or four rooms allowed them in their own houses. The housing room thus gained is being used as rapidly as possible to relieve the overcrowding of the poor. Of course, it is not simple. Kitchens have to be put in. But it is being done.

The summer villas on the mountain are turned into homes for convalescent children. I saw one, a great white palace of twenty-eight rooms, which had been occupied by one man with his son during only two or three months in summer. It is transformed into a gay and spacious getting-well place for thirty children, light tuberculosis cases, with doctor and nurses employed by the State. I did not see many people that looked happy in Buda-Pesth, but those children did. They were lying out on a big stone balcony in sea-chairs, wrapped each one in a red blanket, talking and laughing. They thought one of our party was Bela Kun, and roared a joyful greeting to him.

There are five hundred children on this mountain. There would be five thousand, I was told, if they could get beds. I thought for the thousandth time how bitterly tragic it is that these great experiments in government must commence at a time when material conditions are so desperate. But, as Lukacs said to me, "It is not an accident that revolution and starvation come hand in hand."

There is one commodity of which there is no shortage—water. Buda-Pesth is famous for its baths—big, well-equipped baths for the middle class and luxurious baths for the rich. For two days a week now all these baths are given over to the children of the city; 7,000 boys and girls from the public schools, between nine and fourteen, "go through" the baths every week. I saw five hundred boys in the midst of it. First they come along in line, naked to the waist, carrying their little coats and blouses, for a five-second medical examination, long enough for the doctor to discover heart weakness or skin trouble. Their heads are looked at, too, and shaved if not perfectly clean. Then they take off the rest of their clothes in little dressing rooms and run along down to the big steaming dark baths, first for a cursory scrub from one of the bathers, then into the hot tank, and at last, with a whoop of joy, into the big swimming tank, hundreds of them together.

The baths are dark, just as the hotels are dark, because there is such a shortage of coal that only absolutely essential ulbs can be lighted. When I was in Buda-Pesth the Hungarians had just one coal mine left in uninvaded territory. I could understand now, earlier in June, when in a victory over the Czechs they won back two coal mines, a great public rejoicing was held, with dancing in the streets. Lack of light would kill the revolutionary spirit in me almost sooner than lack of food. I shall never forget the dim and dreary gloom of the Hotel Hungaria, where I stayed and where the young Communist lived. Yet their eager spirits seemed untouched by it.

Banks
How about banks? How about farms? How about money? Food? I can hear your questions, but my time was very short. The Soviet State has taken possession of banks exactly as it has taken factories. The Soviet steps into the place of the shareholders, and hires the employees. Sometimes the rich banker becomes the manager, employed by the State at 2,000 kr. a month. That is what Lukacs' father is doing. I asked Lukacs how his father liked it, whether he was reconciled to the new order. He said: "Well, not quite. He doesn't say anything to me, of course, but I think he has some secret plans. I think perhaps he is plotting to overthrow us. And the funny thing about it is that the day he gets back his fortune is the day I get hanged!" Bank deposits have not been disturbed, but each depositor can

draw only 2,000 kr. a month, and that only if he proves that he has no other source of income. Jewels and other valuable private possessions in excess of a certain generous allowance were taken from the bourgeoisie at the beginning. The immediate purpose of these measures was to prevent anyone in Buda-Pesth from getting more than his share of food. In Vienna—another blockaded city—the poor are absolutely starving, and the former middle class, still living in comfortable houses and big apartments, look pinched and are obviously undernourished, while the rich are living well. In Buda-Pesth, as a result of these measures, everybody is hungry. There is that satisfaction. As Lenin is reported to have said about Russian Communism, "We have demonstrated that we can distribute nothing. It remains for us to prove whether we can distribute something!"

Hungary, it seems, was the one well-fed country of Central Europe during the war, and twenty miles from Buda-Pesth there are eggs and milk and good things to be had for real money to-day. But the small farmers, whose private ownership has not been disturbed, distrust the new government, will not take Soviet money, and, it is said, are hiding their food.

"All right, if they're hiding their food we'll go out with machine guns and get it," said Bolgar, the Soviet Ambassador at Vienna to me. (He, by the way, is an old American I. W. W., for ten years editor of a Hungarian paper in Boston.) But I have more faith in the distribution to the towns of surplus produce from the big estates, which are being communized and operated by Soviets formed of the former landlords' employees. With the blockade cutting off raw materials, and the foreign invasion preventing access to all but one of Hungary's own coal mines, it will be, of course, next to impossible for the city workers to make anything to exchange for the farm produce which they need. It is a pretty tight situation. The leaders know it, despite all their bold courage. There is almost a desperate note in the Hungarian appeal to the workers of the Entente countries:

"Comrades, the Russia and Hungarian workers alone cannot achieve victory for the revolution, not even if the German working class ranges itself beside them. Today there is only one power which can save the Russian and Hungarian revolutions and lead the international revolution to victory. And that one power is you, workers of the Entente countries. On your shoulders, comrades, rests to-day the tremendous responsibility for the future of the working class revolution, which is the future of humanity."

There is no use having any illusions about the revolution. It was born in starvation, and its first business is war. There is no freedom, no plenty, no joy, except the joys of struggle and faith. Cherished dreams of scientists, educators, artists, engineers, who were waiting for a free society, must be set aside, while the whole proletariat organizes in desperate haste to check the invading hosts of the enemy. And war means recruiting propaganda, conscription, military discipline, the death penalty, the whole damnable business of organized dying and killing. Max Eastman said in Madison Square Garden two years ago, "When our own war comes you'll know it, because it won't be necessary to conscript the workers to fight in it." I thought he spoke a profound truth. I do not think so now. When we heard about those democratic regiments formed in Russia after the first revolution, I thought, "This is a real workers' army." Now I know there can be no such thing as a democratic army. People don't want to die, and except for a few glorious fanatics they are not going to vote themselves into the front line trenches.

"We are in the war," said Lukacs, when I cried out against the shooting of six men from that first regiment which "quite simply ran away at the first fire." "In war, fugitives and traitors must be shot. If not, all right, then, let the Czechs in and the revolution will be lost."

I hope there is some pacifist revolutionary with an answer to that: I have none.

The Red Army was recruited at first by spontaneous volunteering on the part of thousands. It was encouraged later by unemployment. The closing of the cafes in Buda-Pesth, for instance, must have driven hundreds of workers into the Red Guard. It was stimulated by a brilliant and overwhelming propaganda. Finally they resorted to conscription—not as we know it, but through the trades unions. Decrees were posted calling upon each

trades union to draft a certain number of its members for the Red Army by a certain date.

Recruiting.
The Red Army recruiting propaganda interested me perhaps more than anything else I saw in Hungary. I remember when I first caught sight of big photographs of Lenin decorating a newsstand. It was the same friendly, quizzical, half-smiling picture we had on our January cover, and it suddenly peered out at me through the murky dimness of a country railway station, where our train stopped for an hour on the all-night trip from Buchs to Buda-Pesth. I must have been a little lonesome, because I felt like crying when I saw Lenin's face, and I said to myself, "Lenin is my father, and I am coming home!"

Next morning in Buda-Pesth I found the newsstands, the pillars, the pillars, the walls, every blank space, shouting with revolutionary posters. It seemed to me that for and the other Commissars of Propaganda, in the two short months of their war, had put the National Security League, the American Defense Society and all the other patriotic poster designers of America wholly in the shade. The revolutionary placards are all red, almost wholly one color. They are everywhere, on every wall of every street—enormous sheets many of them, some good drawings, some bad; very daring and simple; all emphatically modern. One is a great bold red figure running with a flag—"To Arms!" There is a soldier charging with a bayonet—"He who is not with us is against us!" "Save the Proletariat," "Defend the Revolution," "Join the Red Guard!"—these are the phrases repeated again and again—but never a word about Hungary, never a note of nationalist appeal.

At the moving pictures it is the same. All these recruiting posters are thrown on the screen. Then come Red Army scenes—soldiers marching to the front, warships on the Danube, battle scenes, wounded Red Guards. Everywhere the desperate appeal to arms, but never a suggestion of nationalism. This seems to me immensely significant. It is a tribute to the sincerity and purity of purpose, the intellectual integrity of these revolutionary leaders, that never, even in the darkest hour of despair, did they appeal to

the people to defend Hungary against invasion from its ancient enemies, Italy, Bohemia, Roumania. It would have been so easy, but it would have made impossible the tributes and pledges of faith and friendship which I heard given to the Buda-Pesth Soviet by Roumanian, Italian, Czech and Serbian workers' representatives. They brought greetings from workers of these nations to the Soviet government of Hungary, and proclaimed their devotion to that government almost within sound of the guns of their invading armies, marching to destroy it.

In all the theaters of Buda-Pesth now the International is played. In the movies the words are put upon the screen and the people sing it. You "have to stand up"—the same sort of social compulsion, perhaps, that our patriots exercised upon us in New York during the war. One day I met an American newspaper correspondent, who was cursing life under the Soviet regime. He could see no hope short of the day when "all these Jews will be hung up, there along the castle wall where they belong."

"Why," he said, "I used to love the Hungarian opera. Now I can't even go to that, because they play the International and you have to stand up. I wouldn't mind standing up for the Hungarian national hymn, but I'll be damned if I'll stand up for the International!"

It is a small incident, but I think it shows how rapidly all our passionate national hysterias—amazingly vital as they often are—will pale and disappear beside the deeper realities of this new struggle.

The great war is over. The Revolution has begun. And we've got to choose new sides. The other day in the British Parliament Winston Churchill, Secretary for War, in the course of his reply to Colonel Wedgwood's able arraignment of British intervention in Russia, turned suddenly to Wedgwood—a Liberal who recently joined the Independent Labor Party—and asked ironically:

"If my honorable and gallant friend is so enthusiastic about these Bolsheviks, why doesn't he go and join them?"

Without a moment's hesitation Wedgwood replied seriously: "If this is going to be a class war, that's my side."

And so it goes.

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HANDS OFF RUSSIA!

We have no apology to make for bringing out a Russian number of the TRUTH. It is absolutely essential at this time, more than any other, that the truth about Russia be scattered broadcast, into every nook and corner where workmen and workingwomen work or congregate. The Soviet government of Russia is the ONLY working class government in the world. You can examine the map and you will not be able to point out another country where the government is as democratic as the government of Russia. Because we believe that the Russian form of government is THE best, we bring out this Russian number, so that the workers of America might begin to make an attempt to understand the Bolsheviks of Russia and furthermore pursue the same tactics, so that they may obtain control of the government of this country and drive from this land the system—capitalism—that degrades and exploits all workers.

To-day the working class of this country is confronted with issues that inherently contain the factors which will eventually determine the future of the human race. Right throughout the war against Germany, Austria and other "enemy" countries, the capitalist class of this country, through THEIR spokesman—President Wilson, were demanding the intensification of industry. They stated that it was absolutely necessary to obtain the most of the industry, so that we might conclude the war as speedily as possible. In the essential industries every method was adopted that meant the obtaining of more work out of the workers. With the inevitable result more wealth was created during the war—by the workers—than had been previously known. Of course the object of speeding-up is twofold in character, first to obtain more wealth, in the same amount of time, and secondly to decrease the quantity of labor power necessary to carry on industry. The second means, in the normal course of life—unemployment, but due to the conditions brought on by the war, the unemployed were absorbed by the military and naval forces.

While these things were being done on the industrial field, the employers were exercising all their powers on the political field. They made changes and passed war(?) measures that would ensure the retaining of power and the consequent perpetuation of the present system of profit. The persecution of the Industrial Workers of the World was the first step taken by the ruling class, in their efforts to effectively keep the workers in subjection and the Espionage law was the first attempt of the ruling class to effectively gag the mouths of the workers. The worker was prevented, by the case of the I. W. W., from attempting to use revolutionary action to improve his conditions and furthermore he was prevented, by the Espionage law, from even discussing his relations to capitalism and the ruling class. The ruling class not only used the powers of Government to make secure their economic needs, but on many occasions the Government issued declarations calling upon the workers of the "enemy" nations to revolt against their rulers. They said, for instance, to the German workers, "Overthrow the Kaiser and his military gang and we will be satisfied." The workers of Germany have overthrown their rulers and we know now the result.

All the sweet phrases about "Making the world safe for Democracy," "Rights of Small Nations," etc., were but disguises to hide the real aims of the Allies. The counsel of revolt that was given to the German workers, was but a pretext on the part of the Allies to bring about the destruction of the German nation, because they witnessed in Germany a competitive imperialist organization that threatened the trade and commerce of the Allies. The Allies knew that a successful revolt in Germany meant the destruction of Germany as an Imperialist nation and consequently the conquering of new markets would be easier, and ultimately this would place this country and England in a position of leadership in world commerce, for a time at least.

How long this fraud it to be perpetuated, depends upon the attitude and tactics of the revolutionary movements of the working class.

Sooner or later we will ALL be called to take our stand, either on the side of the workers of the world or their oppressors. We must decide and decide NOW to either march to slavery with the degenerate and sordid forces of brutal capitalism or march with the inspiring throngs of revolutionary workers into a newer and grander civilization that the world has ever known. At present we are passing through a revolutionary twilight, and we will meet the dawn of a new age, that is if we are prepared now to struggle and fight for its achievement against our enemies—the international enemies of mankind—the imperialists of the world. We have reached that stage in social evolution marked distinctly by two economic tendencies, one which lead us eventually to a form of society known as Imperialist Feudalism, with a type of slavery worse than hitherto has been known in the history of mankind. Rome with all its barbarities and cruelties will pale into insignificance beside the barbarities and cruelties of Imperialist Feudalism. If the forces of Imperialism are allowed to gather strength, then our task will all the correspondingly greater, as the conditions produced by this Imperialist Feudalism will so capture the minds of the workers that they will become used to them and will merely function as automatons responding to the economic requirements of a Feudal-Imperial ruling class. We see today, for example, how the Imperialists of the world are prepared to recognize every atrocity and murderer that sets himself up as a dictator. Witness the recognition, by this democratic republic, of the bloody murderer of Finland—General Mannerheim. Also witness the recognition of the bloodthirsty autocrat Koltchak. The class of Russia never knew how to perpetrate the infamies and atrocities that Koltchak has perpetrated. Yet the Allies, the supposed guardians of democracy, recognize him

and furthermore they float Liberty Loans and out of these Liberty Loans they finance him. So remember workers of America that it is your hard-earned dollars that are financing Koltchak and Denikin—the twin-murderers of Russia. The rule of Koltchak is so brutal that to be even accused of harboring a democratic idea is to make yourself safe for the gallows. Whilst we are lending support to Koltchak we are knifing the workers of Russia in the back. The Imperialists of the world want to destroy the Russian Republic, so that they might stem the tide of working class revolt.

It therefore becomes our bounden duty to stand on the side of the Bolsheviks of Russia. We do not tender this advice with a desire to achieve notoriety, we have already obtained that, but with a view to making you realize that the crushing of the Soviet Government of Russia, means the destruction of your fondest hopes and the blighting of every ideal that you have cherished. It means the overshadowing of the sun of human liberty by the clouds of brutal reaction. We must erect an unsurmountable barrier in order to destroy the possibility of even preventing the Russians from erecting their Republic, much less destroy it. All our activities must be concentrated on exposing the callous, cruel and murderous tactics of the present ruling class in its campaign of lies, and slander, backed up by its military intervention into Russia. Every father and mother whose son is in Russia must demand in no uncertain tones, that troops be immediately withdrawn from Russia. In Russia and Hungary, members of the same class as you my fellow workers are engaged in the noble task of building a new social order. They are rebuilding the country in accordance with the principles of human progress. They are reconstructing society in order that the sunshine of life might enter the darkened homes of millions of Russian workers and peasants. They come with a message of hope and sustenance to the millions of Russian people who have been so cruelly oppressed by the degenerate, soulless and sordid rulers of the late Czaristic regime. Are we going to allow the ruling class of the Allied countries to trample the noble ideals of the Russian people underfoot and drown the Russian Soviet Republic in the seas of blood? Comrades, if we have never co-operated before let us do so now. Let us come together and join hands in one revolutionary army of the working class. We do not care what you call yourselves. Your first duty is to bring all your forces to bear upon the Imperialists of the world and PREVENT the destruction of the Russian Republics. For remember that if the Allies are successful in their campaign against Russia, then rest assured it will be your turn next. As Russia goes down before the onslaughts of the forces of Imperialism, so you will go down also. For the sake of the future emancipation of the working class get together and say in no uncertain tones that the troops must be withdrawn from Russia.

GERMER'S GRAND MARCH

Last Sunday Adolph Germer, ex-national secretary of the Socialist Party paid a visit to Minneapolis, in order to re-organize the Socialist Party of Minnesota, because it had gone over to the Left.

The meeting was held in the evening and Germer is the sorriest man in this country. The questions were fired at him from all sides and like all those who have no position to maintain, he indulged in useless abuse. The meeting created quite a diversion for the Minneapolis comrades and so it achieved something.

In the afternoon a secret meeting of the State Executive Board was held, along with Comrade Germer. One of the Left Wingers unaware of the time of the meeting strayed into the secret meeting and so the cat was let out of the bag. At this secret meeting, all referendums of the party that have just been voted upon were declared illegal. The membership of the State had overwhelmingly voted for the recall of the State Board and elected ALL Left Wing delegates to the National Convention. Thus does our comrade Germer proceed with his work of destroying the party. Like a burglar in the night he enters a secret meeting and without the knowledge of the membership plans to destroy the party. Truly an honorable position for a man like Germer to occupy. Official dis-organizer for the State of Minnesota.

On Monday evening the State Board, full of smiles came into the State Office and commenced to do its dirty work. But the State Secretary Dirba was wise to their game and the meeting was allowed to go so far and then it was disbanded by the State Secretary. Germer endeavored to use strong arm tactics, but he was unable to do so because there were other comrades present that would have been able to settle matters somewhat evenly. THE STATE CONVENTION WILL BE HELD NEXT SUNDAY MORNING AT COMMONWEALTH HALL, MINNEAPOLIS, 10 A. M. At this convention the rank and file of the party must decide what it is going to do. The talk about the elections being illegal is all moonshine, because all State organizations of the party have absolute control over the members of the language federation. This point was settled in the Finnish controversy of a few years back. The election returns for delegates to the National Convention is the reason for the illegal action of the State Board. Peruse those returns and then you will have some idea of how the Right Wing operates:

LEFT	RIGHT
Dirba	Friedman
Hathaway	Kramerman
Holm	Sahlman
Haglund	Sala
Skoglund	
Ungar	
Carney	

The returns provide the reason for the mad and foolish tactics of comrade Germer and the State Board. Therefore the rank and file of the party must act next Sunday and repudiate the tactics adopted by the Board and Germer.

A WORD TO THE R. R. SHOPMEN.

You have been forced back to your job, due to the treachery of your international officers, treachery we said and we might as well be frank with you. Your international officers were responsible for your going back because they publicly disowned you and so rendered aid and comfort to the enemy. But in going back, do not become discouraged. You have achieved a victory despite the fact that your demands were not immediately granted. You proved that you could carry on a strike, which came directly from the rank and file, in a word you advanced by introducing democracy into your union affairs. We have not had democracy and the introduction of same by you was a victory. Others may talk of the failure of your strike, but those of us who know you, know that you do not know the meaning of the term failure. So in going back we want to offer to you a friendly word of advice.

In the first place make your Chicago Council a permanent fixture. In Duluth the delegates that you appointed were a credit to your organization. The manner in which

you conducted your strike was the main thing that disturbed the local plutes. They expected a disorganized affair, with a few out here and a few out there and so when you all came out together, how they stared! They took fright. So keep intact your rank and file organizations, because you are going to need it again.

We also want to advise you to gain an understanding of the principles of industrial unionism. With the acquiring of such a knowledge your delegate organization will form the basis of an industrial union of the transport industry and when you create that industrial union your powers will be tremendous. For an example of the strength of such an organization gaze across the water and watch the workings of the Triple Alliance.

The cry that industrial unionism is a foreign product, like Bolshevism, cannot be raised. Because it was in America, the most highly developed capitalist country of the world that industrial unionism first took root. It came about due to the fact that the employers had had to resort to the trust, due to the onward march of industrial machine. With the result, the trade unions that had performed wonderful work in the days of small production, found themselves unable to combat the trust. The development of greater power by the employers meant the development of greater power by the workers. The Seattle, Butte, Vancouver and Winnipeg movements are but the conscious realization of the ever-growing power of the employers and the conscious realization by the workers of the best methods to adopt in order to combat it. Study industrial unionism and come closer together and by so doing you will prove stronger and will be better fitted to carry on your fight. In these days it is not sentimental appeals that win demands, it is power. Power of the strong right arm of labor. Organize that power in the most scientific manner and the most scientific manner we know of it industrial unionism.

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Say fellow-worker of the shop, the mine, factory and every place where workers have to sweat and slave, just between you and I, what are you really living for? Do you live for the mere sake of rising in the early morning and plodding off to work, then to return home for a visit to the pictures or an occasional game of pool? Tell me frankly, have you any real purpose in life? Do you really think that some day your son or daughter are going to grow up and do so well that you will be able to retire from work? If you do, let me tell you that is what your father and mother thought when they were rearing you in your infancy. Are you satisfied with the stupid inanities of life? Is the crowded home, with the insecurity of living sufficient to make you feel contented? If it is and you think that everything is alright and that the highest ambition of your life is to see your wife bending over a steaming wash-tub and your children slaving for a master, then I am not talking to you. I want to attract the attention of men and women whose blood is red and whose brain is always working. YOU UNDERSTAND!

But if your blood is red and you think that life is for the purpose of enjoying and you are NOT contented with the continual grind of your everyday life, then you are the man and woman that I want to say a word to. If you feel that life is a real thing, and that it is full of immense possibilities for the human race, then by all means you are the man and woman that I would like to talk to.

To understand and above all to appreciate and realize these possibilities you must join up with the Left Wing and the radical labor movement, whether it be the radical A. F. of L. unions or the courageous and heroic I. W. W. Every other movement is spoiled by the greed for the \$. The fine things of life, the glorious traits of the human race are marred and disfigured by the scramble for the \$. We do not ask you to come with us to make something in the line of a big bank balance, we ask you to come with us and enjoy life, not waste it chasing the \$. We, who come from the ranks of the working class, are the only movement that can face the world with an honest force and say that we stand for the freedom of our class, not for its degradation and exploitation. Say, honestly is that not something to be proud of and worth fighting for? Oh, sure you heard that we were out to destroy and not build up. Of course we are. The foundations of society is rotten and you can never repair it. You must clear away the debris and build anew on a decent foundation. You must have a foundation built on the love for human liberty and service. It must be cemented by the love of comrades, not a feeling that the man next to you is getting more than you are and so you must oppose him. But with the idea that we all stand to gain if we stand together and fall if we fight each other. The reason why other movements condemn us and abuse us is because we hit them where the hitting counts. We hit the boss on his solar plexus, his bank roll, and that is his fatal spot.

The President is a fine man. He went to college and Europe and he has written a lot of books. I know all about it. But the President, if he had the wisdom of a Solomon, the patience of Job and the miraculous power of a Jesus, he could never save you. The system of capitalism is bigger than any one man. The system will crush every individual that seeks to oppose it as an individual. But when you the mass, the mob as you are called by the newspapers, when you go out on strike, all stand together you can crush the system. We need the free play of your thought, your vigorous minds and above all things we need your decisive action.

If your red blood still courses through your veins and has not dried up, then listen to the appeal of your class that bids you come into its ranks. It is calling to you from every land and clime. The call comes from the throats of every race, whether they are black, yellow or white. It is a call for the building of a new life. It calls for the destruction of every sweat shop, factory hell and slum that kills our class in its youth. It calls to you to come from out of the fetid atmosphere of slums into the fresh air beneath the clear blue sky. The call comes from men and women with clean thoughts, clear visions and strong hearts.

On all sides can be heard the cracking of the ice, for we are now in the midst of the winter of capitalism. The rays of the rising sun of liberty are melting the ice and soon the dread winter of capitalism will have melted away before the approach of the summer of Socialism. The Bolshevik movement of Russia, the Spartacist groups of Germany and the many revolutionary working class forces of Europe—Socialism in its working class clothes—is preparing the way. There is no standing still; individually we are helpless; individuals like societies either advance or recede.

Therefore for the sake of the coming years when you will be asked as to whether your manhood or womanhood stood the test, in the critical years of working class fortunes, what will you say? Will you say that you took your part like a real man or woman, with red blood in your veins? If so, do not lag behind; do not hesitate; do not put it off for another day—COME IN.

SOCIALIST RUSSIA, CAPITALIST ENGLAND TO BRITISH SOLDIERS AND SAILORS WORKERS' OR CAPITALISTS?

Your Government has dropped all pretences about "helping Russia" or "rescuing Russia from the clutches of Prussianism," and now avowedly sends you to invade Russia for the purpose of rooting out Bolshevism. Rooting out is a most appropriate expression, it indicates how deeply Bolshevism is implanted among the Russian people.

Your Government endeavors to make you believe that Bolshevism is some dreadful disease which, if allowed to spread, will bring ruin to the World. Considering that during the last four years your Government, together with the other capitalist Governments have wrought death and destruction in half Europe, this sounds like a grim jest. What is this Bolshevism which your Government regards with such holy horror?

Bolshevism is Socialism. The Russian Revolution was a Social Revolution. Russia now really belongs to the Russian Working People. The land is the property of the nation. The peasants can work on the land and produce all they are able without having to pay rent to an idle landlord. The factories, mines, railways, etc., all the things that are necessary for producing the means of life are the collective property of the whole working people. Industry in Russia is carried on for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the people, and not for the purpose of making fortunes for capitalists. There are no landlords and capitalists in Russia now. All those who work will enjoy the product of their labour. Those who will not work will not eat. Labour in Russia is its own master. The factories and other places of employment are managed by factory committees, made up as follows: One-third consists of workers actually employed in the factory, another third representing the Trade Unions, and the other third who are technical experts is appointed by the chief management board of industry known as the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

In this way the workers have control over the conditions under which they work, and at the same time secure efficient management. We have accomplished in Russia what the workers in all lands are striving for, the emancipation of Labour from the domination of capital.

This is Bolshevism. Is it such an awful bogey? Do you think it is your business as workmen to try and crush it? Compare the social system in Russia with what goes on in England.

The land of England does not belong to the English people. It belongs to private landlords. Although you enlisted in either of the Services to defend your country, you really have no country. You are only the lodgers. If you do not pay rent, you have no right to live in "your" country. England is reputed to be a rich country. She has a highly developed industry. She carries on an enormous trade. But is this enjoyed by the people? You know it is not. The mass of the people, the workers who produce the wealth, are poor. England's great wealth is enjoyed by a comparatively few idlers. The worker has a continual struggle to make ends meet. Always there is the fear of unemployment. The children of the workers are ill-fed and badly clothed.

When the worker gets old he has to depend on charity or go into the workhouse.

This is Capitalism. This is the system you are defending when you fight against Bolshevism. If you crush Bolshevism you will perpetuate capitalism and the impoverishment of the workers. That is what your Government wants. When it speaks of what your Government wants. When it speaks of the "menace of Bolshevism" it means that Bolshevism is a menace to the power of the capitalists to exploit the workers. And so it is. Bolshevism is a menace to capitalism and is the hope of the worker. Which do you think should be crushed Bolshevism or Capitalism?

Comrades, do not believe the lies that are deliberately spread by our enemies and yours—the capitalists. Socialism is no menace to you, it is your only hope for a peaceful prosperous life for you and yours in the future. Your duty as workmen is to support Bolshevik Russia, not to fight it. Refuse to be the tools of the capitalists to crush your own class, the workers of Russia. Demand to be sent home, and when you get there, take your reckoning of the gang of plunderers who have devastated the world for their own profit. Sweep capitalism from England as we have done in Russia, and join with the workers of all countries in a League of Republics of Labour.

SIX MONTHS WITH LENIN

(Continued from page 2.)

The Premier be good enough to allow us more comfortable quarters?"

"My exceeding regrets," replied Lenin. "Some time, but not just now. Your quarters, gentlemen, may not be comfortable, but they have the merit of being very safe." The staff was returned to the fortress of Peter and Paul.

Lenin deferred not only to the military expert, but to the expert in every realm. If Karl Marx was for him the authority in revolutionary tactics, so Taylor was the authority on efficiency production. In his address to the Soviet he recommended that the proletariat turn its attention to the teachings of the latter as well as of the former and guide its action by the dictates of one as of the other. American technicians, engineers and administrators Lenin held particularly in high esteem. He wanted 5000 of them, he wanted them at once, and was ready to pay them the highest salaries.

It may be said that for two opposite classes Lenin had something that amounted to a passion. His enthusiasm went out to these: the highly trained and educated on the one hand, and on the other hand, the great masses of the untrained and uncultured. The former furnished the skill and technique to make the revolution a success, the latter furnished the drive to make it possible.

The workingmen and poorer peasants are the people to whom this man directs all his appeals. In his philosophy a new world can come only through them because in them alone is to be found the resoluteness, the faith, the heroism and self-sacrifice requisite for the task. From the upper classes he expects nothing at all. By the very nature of the society in which they find themselves they are driven to action cruel, selfish, imperialistic.

"If you are going back to America," said Lenin to me in April, 1918, "you should start very soon, or the American army will meet you in Siberia."

That was an amazing statement.

as at that time in Moscow we had come to believe that America was cherishing only the greatest good will toward the new Russia. "That is impossible," I protested. "Why, Raymond Robins thinks there is even a possibility of recognition of the Soviets."

"Yes," said Lenin, "but Robins represents the liberal bourgeoisie of America. They do not decide the policy of America. Finance—capital does. So presently you may expect your compatriots in Siberia. The German may then move upon Moscow and Petrograd. If they do we shall be driven into the Urals, a precarious position. But if the revolution really comes to our workers and peasants we can be saved."

Lenin explained. The spectacular episode of November 1917, the masses crashing up against the old order and initiating a new one, that was not the revolution. But these masses, becoming conscious of their historic mission, voluntarily passing into discipline and orderly work, and bringing into the field their great creative and constructive forces, that would be the Revolution.

"And as yet," said Lenin, "the revolution is only skin deep. The masses are inactive. And reason enough. They are war-weary, hungry and exhausted. But with the rest, a big psychological change will come. If it comes in time the Soviet Republic is saved."

Lenin was never certain that the Soviet Republic was saved. "Ten days more!" he exclaimed, "And we shall have lasted as long as the Paris Commune."

In opening his address to the Third All-Russian Congress in Petrograd, he said, "Comrades, consider the Commune of Paris. It held out for seventy days. We have already lasted two more days than that."

More than seven times seventy days the great Russian Commune has held out against a world of enemies. In their tenacity, their perseverance, their capacity to endure suffering, in their economic, military and cultural achievements, Lenin finds ample vindication for his zealous belief in the proletarians.