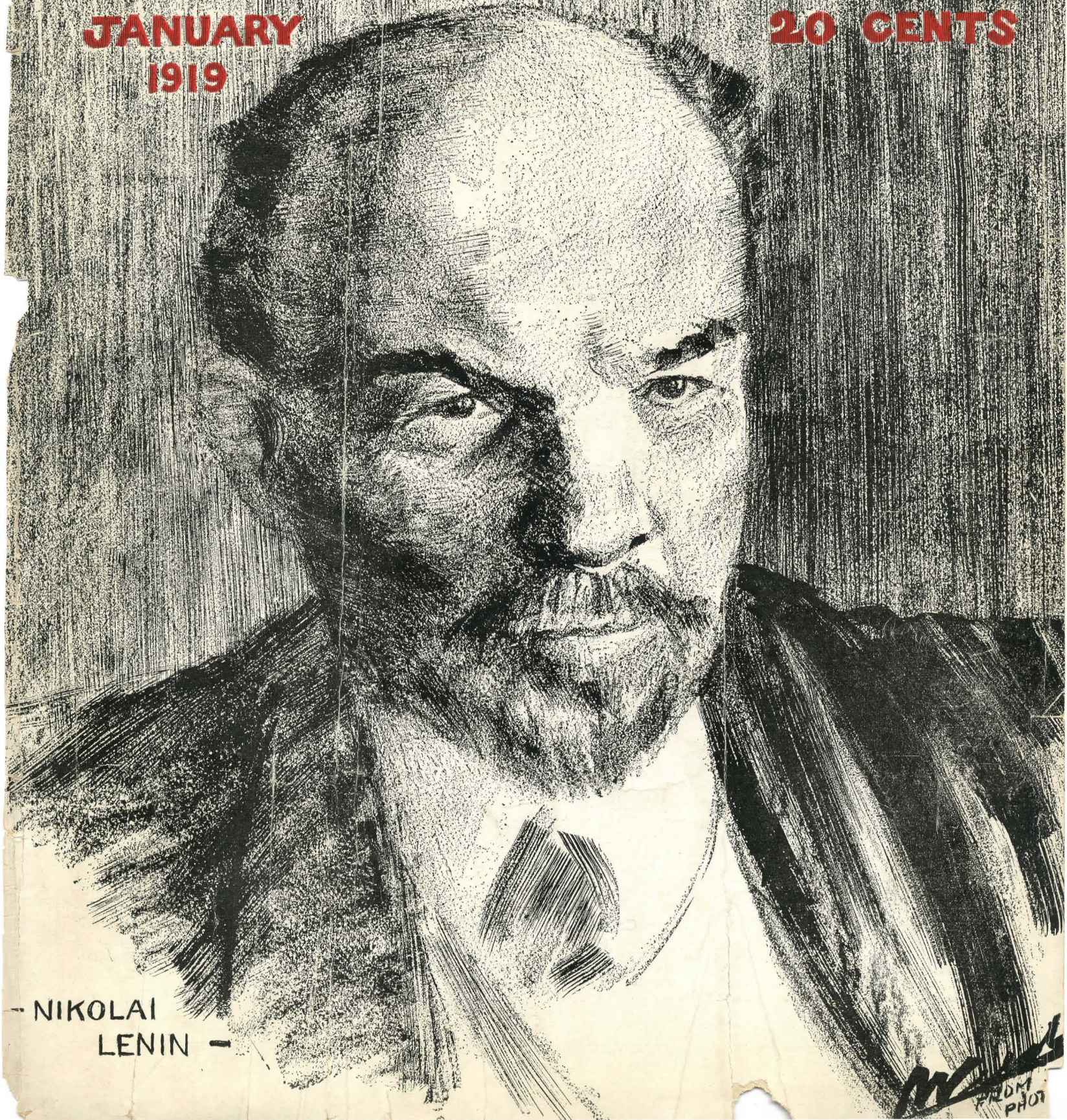


LIBERATOR

JANUARY
1919

20 CENTS



— NIKOLAI
LENIN —

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Funerals or Trials?

—in War and
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The other day a judge in a New York Appellate Court came out in favor of "more funerals and less trials" as a short-cut to justice.

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IF such things interest you as a protest against the **solitary confinement in military prisons of Conscientious Objectors**; work for the **early amnesty of all war-time prisoners**; and the **immediate repeal of the Espionage Act**

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Amarillo, Texas.
November 20, 1918.

TO THE LIBERATOR—Greeting!

Dear Comrades, can you give ear to one more tale of woe?

I am a public school teacher who has served for some fifteen years. Have been a Socialist party member since 1911. Came to the Texas Panhandle last fall to correct a tendency toward pulmonary trouble.

On the 3rd of last June I was arrested for "disloyalty" under the Espionage Act, and was held four and a half months on \$10,000 bond. All my friends live out at the Pacific Coast. I am a stranger here and it was impossible to make the bond.

I was tried in Federal Court October 16th, with the usual prejudiced judge, "patriotic" jury and perjured evidence. Also the usual result, viz: conviction and sentence to five years in the McAlester Prison, at McAlester, Oklahoma. Southern jails are *awful*. The heat is excessive, food bad, and no friends could reach me. I was held two months non-communicado, and in solitary confinement. I could not even send out to buy a cooling drink. The door of solid wood never opened save at "feeding time," 9.30 A. M. and 3.30 P. M. The sun came in through the west window and made the stone floor so hot that when I poured water on to cool it off it steamed like the top of a hot stove.

I am a physical wreck, and I fear that further confinement will not improve me.

We are appealing to the higher court and hope to reverse the decision already rendered. If this fails we shall try for pardon.

I hope that I may receive many letters from comrades and sympathizers everywhere, for letters are a great help to any prisoner. They bear great influence in his favor for release on parole or pardon, to say nothing of the encouragement they are to him in his lonely vigil.

Before this letter reaches you I shall be committed to McAlester Prison. I ask you to give notice of my disaster through the LIBERATOR, if you can, and help me to live through my ordeal if possible.

I am brave enough, but I do need encouragement and reassurance sometimes.

We need money and influence. I hope for friendly letters, and will answer all I can.

Very truly yours, for Liberty and Justice under the New Democracy,

FLORA I. FOREMAN.

Box 398, McAlester, Oklahoma.

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Home!

Drawn by Cornelia Barns

THE LIBERATOR

Vol. 1, No. 11

January, 1919

EDITORIALS

PEOPLE of tender heart are disposed to support "moderate" governments in the revolutionary countries in order to "prevent unnecessary bloodshed." Nothing could be more cruel than their short-sightedness. The idea of a republic of free labor, without a capitalistic class, is firmly and permanently established in the world. The experiment begun, nothing but *perpetual forcible repression* can stop it until it is carried through to the end. The "moderate" governments will either deny freedom of speech and action to thorough revolutionists, or the revolutionists, teaching the truth, will sweep them from power. In the first case tyranny, riot and class wars will take the place of the old peace of political freedom; bloodshed will be spread out over the century. In the second case a period of enormous disorder and apparent chaos will be passed through, but the new peace of industrial freedom will emerge steadily and surely, and the twentieth century will see the beginning of the kingdom of man.

These are the alternatives between which idealists must choose. And for us, we choose the path of tenderness and far-sighted understanding, even though it must lead through a long period of economic disorder, and relaxation of the boast of efficiency. We would rather live in a poor and seriously troubled world, men earnestly striving shoulder to shoulder to build up toward prosperity a republic of free labor, than to live in a world in which the rich are still rich, the poor are poor, and efficiency is maintained by starving and shooting down strikers and military rebels, and throwing into prison men and women who will insist upon voicing the true ideal. We choose the path of revolutionary reconstruction.

As first steps of importance, we make five immediate demands of our government.

The Right to Speak

WE demand that the right of free speech, free press, and assemblage, as they existed in the days of Thomas Jefferson, be restored to the American people without further delay. The President has formally announced to us that the war is over, "all that we fought for has been accomplished." No excuse then remains for patriotic societies to continue exercising the powers of policemen, for the Post Office to deny the mailing privilege to socialist magazines, for cities to pass ordinances penalizing the display of the red flag, for indiscriminate arrests, jailings and prosecutions

against men who wish to bring the United States forward into her true place in the march of the nations toward liberty.

The Right to Know

SECOND, we demand that the American people have direct access to the sources of information. We do not want our knowledge of current events strained through the brain of George Creel any longer. And we say this, not merely because George Creel has proved himself an erratic and unreliable fictionary journalist, but because even if he were the wisest man on earth it would endanger the rights of the people to have *any official of the Government* placed in a position of control or paramount influence over the sources of information and the avenues of publicity. George Creel announces that he has gone to Paris in order to "advertise American ideals" to the world. We deny George Creel the right to determine what American ideals are, and in the name of American ideals we demand that George Creel's bureau be abolished.

Liberation of Prisoners

THIRD, we demand that with the termination of the war all the political and industrial prisoners, who are held in this country under sentences that remind us of the beginnings of the terror of Nero and the Spanish Inquisition, be set free.

We demand that Tom Mooney be set free.

We demand that Eugene Debs be set free.

We demand that all the boys in the I. W. W. be set free.

We demand that the Conscientious Objectors be set free.

We demand that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman be set free.

We demand that when this war ends no man or woman shall be left lying in prison in the United States for publicly expressing and remaining true to his sincere convictions.

There is information that the President has already privately promised a general amnesty for war prisoners. We urge the Civil Liberties Bureau to prepare immediately a complete list and classification of all such prisoners, not only those named above but those symbolized by these names, with an adequate account of their offense against law if it existed, and distribute this list to every liberal, radical and revolutionist in the country. By the time the President returns, this list and classification should be so familiar to all those who care, that any discriminations he may choose to

make will be definite discriminations, so understood, and not acquiesced in as the accidental oversights of one preoccupied with graver problems. There are no graver problems.

Hands off Russia

FOURTH, we demand that our soldiers and sailors be withdrawn immediately from the sovereign territories of the Russian Republic. We demand that the United States forces shall not in any emergency be used for the policing of foreign countries. And we make this demand under the constitution. Since an armistice for the purpose of peace was concluded with the Central Empires, there is no doubt left that every foot of advance that our soldiers make into the territory of Russia is a violation of the United States Constitution. We want no wars conducted without a declaration of war by the representatives of the people. And we want no counter-revolutionary wars conducted.

An End of Organized Libel

FFIFTH, we demand that the official suppression of truth, and the semi-official manufacture of lies about the Soviet Government and its elected leaders, by which it is attempted to justify counter-revolutionary war, shall cease.

In the United States a capitalistic government is making the working-class behave and we call that "Maintaining Law and Order." In Russia a working-class government is making the capitalists behave and we call that a "Reign of Terror." That is the truth for those who have the will to know it. In America Tom Mooney has been sent to jail for life after a commission of impartial investigators appointed by the President declared that he was unjustly condemned. And on almost the same day the murderers and kidnappers of the copper trust, who shot up and deported 1500 workingmen from Bisbee, Arizona, and dumped them into the desert, have been set free for life, after an impartial commission appointed by the President practically declared that they were guilty.

In Russia the agents of the Copper Trust who are guilty but capitalists would be punished, and Tom Mooney who is innocent but a working man would go free.

St. Bartholomew's Eve

WE are informed by a representative of the Associated Press recently returned from Moscow that 58 per cent of the despatches he sent out from that city were suppressed by the British Government. We know how much of the important truth from a working-class point of view it is customary for the Associated Press to send out, and if 58 per cent even of what they send out is suppressed before it reaches these shores, and then the rest is blue-penciled and distorted by our own censors and headline writers, we can infer that the amount which reaches us of what we would like to know about Russia, is practically not one single word.

The great movement for the modern and free education of all the Russian people under one of the most cultivated

and idealistic scholars in the world, A. V. Lunarcharsky—and cooperating with him a man whose tender human love and intellectual force and integrity have been almost the highest glory of European letters—Maxim Gorky—we hear little of that.

We hear little of the great works of proletarian art, the working-people's theaters, and the provisions for popular recreation and hygiene, and the care of the health and training of young children that were one of the first undertakings of the Soviet Government.

We are told that the Bolsheviki do not represent a majority of the Russian people, but we never see printed the true story of the elections that were held under the eyes of the Allied generals at Vladivostok, when the Bolsheviki were returned to power with more votes than all of the sixteen other parties put together—and this although their leaders were slain or imprisoned, the Soviets destroyed, and their press abolished. We are not told that the war for democracy in Siberia began by declaring that election void, and establishing a military government of Vladivostok in its place.

We are told that the Bolsheviki are dishonorable robbers because they repudiated the Russian national debt—a debt which represented very largely the moneys that were loaned to the Czar by England and France for the purpose of putting down the revolution of 1905. But we are not told that subsequently the Bolsheviki promised to guarantee against loss the poor people and peasants of France who had invested their savings in that Russian debt. And we are not told that after that they even offered to make some compromise with the great powers, which would stabilize the finances of the world and prevent a serious break-down of international credit.

We were told last month that the Soviet Government was planning a new massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, and that on November 10th all of the Bourgeoisie and the children of the Bourgeoisie were going to be slaughtered to feed blood and bones to these monsters of the new religion of Bolshevism. This amazing news despatch was flared all over the front pages of our papers in New York. And then St. Bartholomew's Eve came, and a despatch arrived stating that the Bolsheviki had taken that occasion to release all political prisoners except those whose continued imprisonment is absolutely indispensable to guarantee the safety of Bolsheviki who have fallen into the hands of the enemy. And was that despatch flared on the front pages where the lie had been? It was not published at all, except on the inside of one newspaper with a small headline in a paragraph one inch high.*

And in the very issue of the New York *World* that con-

* Since this editorial was written, I have learned the exact truth of the matter as follows: Zimovieff, the president of the Petrograd Soviet, in a heated speech, made the threat of a general execution on St. Bartholomew's Eve. He did not seriously consider such a thing either advisable or possible. In view of the indiscretion of his speech, however, he was requested by Lenin to resign. He did resign, and A. V. Lunarcharsky, celebrated as a humanitarian, was elected in his place. Lunarcharsky's post in the Cabinet as People's Commissar of Education was given to Maxim Gorky. This is the truth. Were we not entitled to know?

tained that despatch, there was another despatch from our own sovereign state of Alabama, which I quote:

"Sheffield, Ala., Nov. 10.—William Bird, a negro was taken from the jail here tonight by a mob of about 100 men and hanged. Bird was captured and placed in jail this afternoon after a running fight with officers following a disturbance he was said to have created in the lower section of Sheffield."

In Russia on St. Bartholomew's Day they restored to liberty men who had been convicted of plotting the overthrow of the government. In America we took out of jail and murdered without trial a man who "was said to have created a disturbance."

It would not be honest to cite this contrast merely because of the accidental coincidence of the dates, if it were not a statistical fact that we so hang, burn or torture to death one American citizen in every four days. And though I have not the figures, there is little doubt that we execute three or four times that number after due process of law, and we shoot down in strikes probably almost as many more. So that if any correspondent chose to see nothing of what is good in this country and all of what is bad, he could easily portray it as a hell on earth, as indeed I fear some of its more unlucky emigrants do.

We now know from the official report of Boris Litvinoff that the number of political prisoners executed by the Soviet Government in Moscow is 240. The number is said to have been greater in Petrograd because of a conflict of authority there which divided the sense of responsibility. We do not know the number in Petrograd, but upon the basis of the important figures we have we are able to assert that no revolution, involving a fundamental change of sovereignty, ever before in the history of the world, has been so merciful of counter-revolutionists as that. And if 240 is the number that have been officially executed since our armies invaded Russia with the purpose of stirring up conspiracies to overthrow the Soviet Government, we are able to assert further that in all probability if our armies had stayed out of Russia and left the Soviet Government alone, the number executed for conspiracy would have been hardly one. For if there is any single thing historically sure in this matter it is that whatever reign of terror exists in Russia today, and whatever extreme measures may have been taken by the Russian Government to protect itself against crimes of sedition, are the direct inevitable result of the Allied invasion of Russia, the military and moral support given to those crimes of sedition by the Allied governments.

It is our chief duty as socialists of the United States, at every meeting we hold and in every paper we publish, to stand up and say that the whole story of Russian affairs as it has been fed into the minds of the American people is a conspiracy and a lie. With all the sincerity of our hearts, and our most sober and deliberate judgment concurring, we believe, and we continue to believe, that there is growing into maturity in that country the most just and wise and humane and democratic government that ever existed in the

world. And he head of that government, Nicolai Lenin, is one of the supreme statesmen of history.

Significant

WE were worrying a little for fear the German republic, with Scheidemann and Solf and Erzberger in it, would not be radical enough to recognize the Bolsheviki. We were waiting for dispatches that would reassure us. And the first dispatch that came informed us that the German republic had sent to Moscow an eager and imperious demand that the Bolsheviki should recognize them!

That tells us who is in power with the people.

And Germany.

WITH a precision that should drive conviction into the most sceptical minds, and even into those debauched with erudition, we see the prophecies of Karl Marx fulfilling themselves in Germany as they did in Russia. The power is in the workmen's councils. The political government becomes more and more but a figure and a puppet. The Constituent Assembly is demanded and postponed, demanded and postponed. And when it assembles, if it does, it will be but a figure and a puppet too, the expression in politics of an economic system whose day is past. The power is in the workmen's councils. The sovereignty belongs to the working-class, the future to them. Only the direct conspiracy of men and events can alter that, or ever send Germany back into the blind misery of the rule of capital.

All hail to Karl Liebknecht who clearly and courageously understands!

MAX EASTMAN.

THE LIBERATOR

A Journal of Revolutionary Progress

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A Letter to American Workingmen

By Nikolai Lenin

[This is the first direct word that has come to the American people from Nikolai Lenin since he became the recognized leader of the proletarian world. Early efforts to get it past the censorship lines evidently failed. It arrived in New York just as this issue was going to press. Certain passages have been omitted in deference to the extremely literal interpretation of the Espionage law, but the heart of Lenin's message is here.]

Moscow, August 20, 1918.

COMRADES: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the revolution of 1905 and for many years afterward lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time. . . .

Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany, a just peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality could have been forced upon Germany, and millions of lives might have been saved. Because they hoped to re-establish the Eastern Front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of warfare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It ill becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace upon our shoulders! . . .

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties, for having dreaded no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over! But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause.

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifices, the sacrifice of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism, in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working-class. For the sake of "their" cause, that is for the conquest of world-power, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to ruin a whole row of nations, from Belgium to Servia to Palestine to Mesopotamia. Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers of the world from the yoke of capitalism, in the name of a general honorable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international socialist revolution? . . .

The great Russian revolutionist, Tchernychewski, once said: Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Newski Prospect. He is no revolutionist who would have the revolution of the proletariat only under the "condition" that it proceed smoothly and in an orderly manner, that the proletarians of all countries immediately go into action, that guarantees against defeat be given beforehand, that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, straight path to victory, that there shall not be here and there the heaviest sacrifices, that we shall not have to lie in wait in besieged fortresses, shall not have to climb up along the narrowest paths, the most impassable, winding, dangerous mountain roads. He is no revolutionist, he has not yet freed himself from the pedantry of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back, again and again, into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of the revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not

this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, and shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging, climactic force of the class struggle called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle-class utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of the form of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Tchechow type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviki—are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the Eighteenth and the civil war in the Nineteenth Century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of civil war, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage-slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working-class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who in the *Appeal to Reason* at the end of 1915, when it was still a socialist paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" said

* * * * *

* * * * * I am not surprised that this fearless man was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie. Let them assault the true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they sow, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it up upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods. . . . Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working-class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 millions, in crippling 20 millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole mil-

lion victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the powers of state, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working class which has been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the every-day life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and right-

eous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as triumphant. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working-class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of ten million plain workingmen and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of “faultless” successes of the exploiting minority in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way through thousands of hindrances to victorious socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25 to October 26 (Russian calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and works under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working-class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary activity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat,

a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of many hundred millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which socialism is *not to be thought of*.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered modes of formal parliamentary democratism. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeois democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeois republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every

new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Workingmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how should it be otherwise!). We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions can come neither at a word of command nor according to prearranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching communistic Bolshevik tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction. We are invincible. The proletarian Revolution is invincible.



Drawn by Boardman Robinson.

Justice—for Capitalists

The indicted officers and gunmen of the Arizona Copper Trust have been set free without trial after an impartial commission appointed by the President demanded their prosecution.



Drawn by Boardman Robinson.

Justice—for Working Men

Tom Mooney has been sent to prison for life after an impartial commission appointed by the President declared that he was unjustly condemned.

"What Are You Doing Out There?"

THIS magazine goes to two classes of readers: those who are in jail, and those who are out. This particular article is intended for the latter class. It is intended for those who wish to prove themselves friends of American freedom rather than those who have had it proved against them.

The relation between these two classes of people is embarrassingly like that in the old anecdote about Emerson and Thoreau. Thoreau refused to obey some law which he considered unjust, and was sent to jail. Emerson went to visit him. "What are you doing in here, Henry?" asked Emerson.

"What are you doing out there?" returned Thoreau grimly.

That is what the people who have gone to prison for the ideas in which we believe seem to be asking us now.

And the only self-respecting answer which we can give to this grim, silent challenge, is this: "We are working to get you out!"

That is our excuse, and we must see that it is a true one. We are voices to speak up for those whose voice has been silenced.

There are some silences that are more eloquent than speech. The newspapers were forbidden to print what 'Gene Debs said in court; but his silence echoes around the earth in the heart of workingmen. They *know* what he was not allowed to tell them; and they feel that it is true.

It would be wrong to think of this as an opportunity to do something for Debs; it is rather our opportunity to make ourselves worthy of what he has done for us.

There is nothing more important before the friends of American freedom at this moment than the task of effecting the release of the political prisoners who have been sent to jail during the war.

It is a task of some magnitude. For a year and a half our federal, state and municipal courts have been working overtime putting people in jail on the theory that their activities, or their opinions, or even their mere lack of patriotic belligerency, hindered the carrying on of the war. In many cases the defendants were obscure and powerless. Organizations which attempted to give them assistance and advice were hampered by government officials; their offices were raided, their files removed. Under these circumstances no complete record of the cases known to these organizations is at present available. Many cases of friendless and helpless people have been rushed through the courts without any publicity, and doubtless some of these have not yet come to light. The National Civil Liberties Bureau, however, has had reports of some 753 cases under federal, state and local laws, and estimates that more than 1,500 people are now in jail, or under sentence, or awaiting trial under these laws.

One case, characteristic of many, is that of a school teacher,

Mrs. Flora I. Foreman, of Amarillo, Texas. A soldier was interested in a girl who failed to return his interest, saying that she was "no militarist." He wanted to know who had given her such ideas, and when he found that Mrs. Foreman had talked with her about militarism he had the teacher arrested. She was charged with refusing to contribute to the Red Cross, and with referring to President Wilson as "the school teacher in the White House." She was sentenced to five years in prison.*

Another case which illustrates the uses to which the wartime legislation easily lends itself is the arrest, ten days before the election, of Frank B. Hamilton, the Socialist mayor of Piqua, O., together with a city official, a councilman and three others, all Socialists. The charge, "obstructing the Liberty Loan," was based on statements made by spies in the pay of the "old gang" in the city council. The defendants are held under \$10,000 bond, awaiting trial.

The armistice has not served to soften the execution of the Espionage Act. Within the last few weeks, in Auburn, N. Y., John Summerfield Randolph, a lineal descendant of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was sentenced to ten years in prison for "cursing the government," and being a member of the I. W. W.

The Chicago I. W. W. trial has been only one of a number of persecutions in which the Espionage Act is being used in the attempt to stamp out this organization. In Wichita, Kan., thirty-four I. W. W. men who tried to organize the workers in the Kansas oil fields were jailed at instigation of Oil Trust officials in November, 1917, not indicted until last March, reindicted in September, and will not be tried until next March. In the meantime, one has died as a result of conditions in the jail, another has become insane, and two more are dying. The cells are unheated, unventilated, in total darkness except for a few seconds twice a day when food is shoved in.

In Sacramento, four out of sixty-seven imprisoned I. W. W. men have died in jail. They stand accused of conspiring against *all* the war measures passed by Congress from the declaration of war on. Among the overt acts charged are included telegrams to public officials protesting against jail conditions, and the *receipt* of letters from I. W. W. prisoners in the Cook County jail; also circulating an article reprinted from the *Public!* In other parts of the country some hundred and fifty I. W. W. members are being held awaiting trial.

But, even if it were true that the I. W. W. ideal of society constituted a hindrance to war-operations; even if it were true that the hundred I. W. W.'s who were tried in Chicago had opposed the draft; now that the war is over,

* Mrs. Foreman's health has broken down in prison, and money is urgently needed for bail during appeal. Part of this bail has been raised, but \$300 is still wanting. Contributions and correspondence sent in care of THE LIBERATOR will be forwarded.

must they remain in prison until 1928? And Kate Richards O'Hare, who said that militarism turned women into breeding animals—is she to go to prison for five years? Is Rose Pastor Stokes to serve ten years for criticising the government in a letter to a newspaper? And Krafft in New Jersey and Bentall in Wisconsin, Socialists who made speeches on conscription—are they to serve out their five years? And all those others of whom we have barely heard—the Vermont preacher who got fifteen years for saying that a Christian ought not to fight; the man in Iowa who got twenty years for calling this a capitalist war, and the other man in the same state who got the same sentence for circulating a petition opposing the re-election of a congressman because he had voted for the draft; the girl in Seattle who got ten years for a letter criticizing the draft; the man in Vermont who got fifteen years for “disloyal remarks” made in private conversation; all those hundreds* whose sentences total some 120,000 years, and those other hundreds still to be sentenced—now that there is no draft to be obstructed by quotations from the Declaration of Independence, nor even any *morale* of bellicosity to be undermined by references to the sayings of Jesus of Nazareth, are they to serve their sentences, and emerge—if they do emerge—from prison along in 1925, 1930 or 1938, broken in health and in mind, into a world which has forgotten their existence?

It seems improbable. Yet it is easier to put people into jail than to get them out again. It has been the pious expectation of many “liberal” supporters of the war that a general amnesty for political prisoners would be proclaimed as soon as the war was over; and under the influence of this amiable notion they have seen without protest and without compunction the jailing, day after day and month after month, of radicals, Pacifists, Socialists, I. W. W.'s. But prison is a grave which keeps a jealous hold upon all except bank-presidents. It will not easily yield up its war-victims. Precisely because they *are* radicals, because they are Socialists, Pacifists, I. W. W.'s, there will be powerful influences at work to keep them right where they are; and if these elements have their way, they will rot there.

It is eminently desirable that we take advantage of the present situation to build up in the American public mind a conception of the difference between “political crime” and other crime. Political crime is simply the expression of the political will of repressed minorities or of oppressed majorities. Even when such expression takes the form of violence, it has a special dignity because of the intention, however mistaken, with which it is performed. It has become the custom of civilized nations to anticipate to some extent the verdict of history upon such “criminals,” and to distinguish, by more respectful treatment, between them and common law-breakers. Political crime, moreover, is generally crime only by definition; some ordinary and legal procedure has been denominated criminal in order that the group in

power may pursue its plans without interference from those who disagree.

Our war-time legislation has served these purposes of medieval statecraft admirably—though not without putting in jeopardy the whole structure of our constitutional liberties. But if it really was “war-time” legislation, if it is not confessedly intended to serve the purposes of a capitalist peace, it is time now that its too-far-reaching results were swept away. The war is over; if the war was all they feared Debs might obstruct, they can let him go free. If it is some other plans which would proceed more smoothly with Debs, and the rest in jail, let us find it out now.

In addition to these political prisoners, there are some 280 conscientious objectors in Fort Leavenworth, and between fifty and a hundred others at various camps who are still awaiting sentence. These are the “absolute” objectors, who have refused to accept alternative service, or have been denied it, and who will therefore not be mustered out. Their sentences run from five to thirty years. They have been treated with incredible barbarity in camp, in gross violation of the administrative order which was supposed to secure proper treatment for them. Kicked, beaten with rifles, choked, starved, beaten with whips,* and made the victims of disgusting brutalities,† they have nevertheless remained firm in their convictions, only to be sent to a military prison, where still further tortures permitted by the military regulations are inflicted upon them.‡

It is hard to speak of these men without paying them the tribute of admiration which such conduct as theirs must necessarily arouse in any lover of heroism. During the war the expression of such admiration laid one open to an indictment under the Espionage Act; for the bureaucratic mind, which cannot understand heroism, is incapable of realizing that such courage cannot be created by pamphlets or speeches any more than it can be destroyed by curses and kicks. But if hearing the story of the conscientious objectors will not make the public feel disposed to emulate their conduct, it will nevertheless arouse in that public a just anger against the government which subjects them to such treatment; for though few of us have the stuff of martyrdom in our souls, we all have a sense of fair play. The whole story of the treatment of conscientious objectors is one which the government might well wish, for its own sake, to be left untold: and our bureaucracy will, if it is wise, see that the scandal is obliterated before it receives too much publicity.

FLOYD DELL.

* “Colonel Barnes, the Provost Marshal, called while some of the objectors were taking their enforced exercise. He ordered them to stand at ‘Attention.’ When they refused, he beat them vigorously with his heavy riding crop. Shotkin was badly hurt, the Colonel breaking his crop over the former’s ankles. He deprecated the ruining of his stock.” *Report of Treatment of Conscientious Objectors at the Camp Funston (Kas.) Guard House.*

† “We were marched to the latrine in a body. The Captain himself brought forth scrub brushes, used ordinarily for cleaning toilet seats, and brooms used for sweeping, and ordered that we scrub each other with them. Franklin refused to use the filthy brush. He was seized and roughly thrown to the floor, dragged back and forth and viciously belabored until thoroughly exhausted. He was then placed under the cold spray and left there until he collapsed.”—*Same.*

‡ Manacling to walls of cell was abolished by order of the Secretary of War on Dec. 6, but solitary confinement and the bread-and-water diet are still used.

* Literature describing these cases can be obtained from the National Civil Liberties Bureau, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C., and the New York Bureau of Legal Advice, 118 East 28th Street, N. Y. C. Information about such cases should be communicated to these organizations.

How Soviet Russia Conquered Imperial Germany

By John Reed

NOW that Imperial Germany is overthrown, we are told by the capitalist press of all countries that the Allied armies did it.

The pressure of superior Allied arms undoubtedly broke the power of the German offensive in the west, but that is all. *Soviet Russia conquered Imperial Germany.*

Two months ago our Government warned us that the war might last five years longer. At the very height of the German retreat, the *Army and Navy Journal* and the military experts of the *New York Tribune* and the *London Times* pointed out that the German armies were falling back in perfect order, according to well-worked-out strategic plans. When the Allied armies entered Lille they were not even in contact with the German rear-guard. Germany could have defended her frontiers almost indefinitely. . . .

It was not the Allied armies which broke the morale of the Central Powers, but something else, something internal. It is generally admitted that Germany had plenty of men, plenty of arms, and even food. . . . Why couldn't she answer Bulgaria's call for help? And Austria's? Because in Germany itself, in the heart of the greatest military machine in history, was a more powerful enemy than the Allies—the Rising of the Proletariat.

The German Imperial Government, the German bourgeoisie, preferred surrender to the bourgeois nations of the west, who respect private property, to the Social Revolution. . . . Even now, as the Russian bourgeoisie before them, they are appealing to the Allies for help against their own Red working-class. . . .

In July, 1917, after three months of inaction, the Russian armies were ordered to advance in Galicia. During those three months there had been almost continuous fraternization on the Eastern front. The German armies were becoming demoralized—whole regiments refused to fire on the Russian lines, were reorganized, and many soldiers executed. There was alarm throughout Germany. But the Galician offensive broke the spell. Nothing could have been more welcome to the German High Command.

In Stockholm, in August, I saw a letter written by Rosa Luxemburg to a friend:

“So, you Russians have broken the peace! The Russian Revolution was everything to us, too. Everything in Germany was tottering, falling: . . . For months the soldiers of the two armies had fraternized, and our officers were powerless. . . . Then suddenly, without a word of warn-

ing, the Russians fired on their German comrades! After that it was easy to convince the Germans that the Russian peace was a lie. Alas, my poor friends! Germany will destroy you now, and for us is black despair come again. . . .”

It was because of this that the German advance on Riga was so effective, although there had been no fighting in that sector since April. . . . When the Army Committee of the Twelfth Army evacuated the city, however, soldiers went about under bombardment, posting on all walls and open spaces this proclamation:

“German Soldiers!

“The Russian soldiers of the Twelfth Army draw your attention to the fact that you are carrying on a war for autocracy against Revolution, freedom and justice. The victory of Wilhelm will be death to democracy and freedom. We withdraw from Riga, but we know that the forces of the Revolution will ultimately prove themselves more powerful than the force of cannons. We know that in the long run your conscience will overcome everything, and that the German soldiers, with the Russian Revolutionary Army, will march to the victory of freedom. You are at present stronger than we are, but yours is only the victory of brute force. The moral force is on our side. History will tell that the German proletarians went against their revolutionary brothers, and that they forgot international working-class solidarity. This crime you can expiate only by one means. You must understand your own and at the same time the universal interests, and strain all your immense power against imperialism, and go hand in hand with us—toward life and liberty!”

A month later mutiny broke out on the German fleet at Kiel. The sailors of the Russian battleships in the Baltic, in convention assembled, sent this greeting:

“The revolutionary sailors of the Baltic Fleet . . . send their brotherhood greetings to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

“The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Sailors' Committees are the High Command. The yacht of the former Tsar, the ‘Polar Star,’ is now the headquarters

DIE FACKEL

(The Torch)

Organ of the Russian Revolutionary Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Government.

Meant for general distribution among German brothers.

This issue contains a characteristic Christmas message to the German soldiers.

"MERRY CHRISTMAS, SOLDIERS AND BROTHERS!" it begins. To paraphrase roughly:

Another Christmas in the cold, damp, diseased, lonely trenches! For the fourth time the wicked policy of Capitalism in all lands inflicts such a Christmas upon the proletariat and peasantry of Europe.

Instead of resting peacefully tonight at home in the company of wife and child, the poor are condemned by the mad misrule of international capitalism to bring death and suffering on this holy night to their brothers. Instead of sitting with his dear ones at the Christmas feast, he is lying hungry in far-away trenches. For them, and for him, it is not much of a Christmas!

What is to blame for all this suffering? The robber-imperialism of all countries is to blame. Its secret diplomacy and intrigue have set the working classes of the world against each other.

Civilization is threatened with ruin if the war does not end. Yet the Capitalists and diplomats make no effort whatever to bring about peace.—And, after all, why should they bother about peace? They spend Christmas in their usual way. The war has made no difference to them except that it helps them to stuff their pockets.

Peace will come only by the efforts of the workers themselves. They should stop fighting each other, unite to realize their own ideals—and then it will be a Merry Christmas indeed!

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

ФАКЕЛЬ

орган Рабочего и Крестьянского Правительства Народных Комиссаров.

Издается для массового распространения среди немецких братьев-солдат.

Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt Euch!

Die Fackel

Organ der Russischen Revolutionären Arbeiter-, Soldaten- und Bauernregierung.

Zur weitestgehenden Verbreitung unter deutschen Brüdern bestimmt.

C.-Петербург, 13-го (26) декабря 1917 г.

№ 3.

St.-Petersburg, den 13. (26.) Dezember 1917.

Fröhliche Weihnachten, Soldaten und Brüder!

Fröhliche Weihnachten! Soldaten und Brüder!

Wohlgemut, und zwar die vierte, muß das Proletariat und die Bauernschaft Europas in den kalten, nassen, ungeliebten und ungemütlichen Trenchen verbringen, damit der unverzeihliche Kapitalist der noch die Nacht beherrschenden Kapitalisten aller Länder.

Man hat im kalten Heim, bei Frau und Kind, diesen heiligen Abend zu verbringen, ist der arme Mann dazu verdammt, seinem Bruder, durch dessen Sünden aller Kapitalisten aber zum Feinde gemacht, nach an diesem Abend Tod und Verderben zu bringen. — Man hat bei reichlicher Tafel und gemächlich diesen Abend unter den Seitzigen zu weilen, muß er fern von allen in den ungemütlichen Schützengräben liegen und Hunger leiden. — Die Seitzigen haben ohne um keine Weihnachten und er in den Trenchen hat keine ohne sie.

Es all diesen ungeschicklichen Unglück, den der Krieg mit sich bringt, trägt der kaulstüchtige Imperialismus aller Länder die Schuld. — Durch die geheime Diplomatie und ihre Hände haben sie die arbeitenden Völker der Welt gegeneinander aufgebracht und trotzdem der Welt eine ungeheure Katastrophe herauf, wenn der Krieg nicht aufhört, sondern sich diese Szenen absolut nicht um den Frieden. — Wozu sollten sie sich auch diese Mühe geben? Wie, die Schul-

bigen, überbrachten die Weihnachtskarten nicht anders wie in Friedenszeiten. — Der Krieg hat in ihrem Leben nichts geändert, es ist dem, daß er ihnen die Möglichkeit gegeben hat, sich die Karten mehr als sonst vollzukosten.

Doch trotz alledem unterscheiden sich diese vierte Weihnachten sehr von den vorhergehenden. Waren auch die Umgehungen dieselbe innerträgliche Geschichte ist, so hat die Erkenntnis des Proletariats, daß es ein Revolutionskrieg ist, den Krieg weiterzuführen, und sein gemeinsamer Wille zum Frieden vorwärts an einer großen Front die todbringenden Schläge zum Schwächen gebracht.

Das deutsche, österreichische, bulgarische, türkische und russische Proletariat hat keine Länder gewonnen, den Waffenstillstand zu schließen, und alle Proletarier haben erzieht aufgegeben, als sie diese Kunde vernahmen. — Diese Weihnachten wird an unserer Front kein Abend mehr gelacht und möge in aller Herzen um diesen Abend tief der Wille und Wunsch sich festsetzen, daß derartige Dinge nicht mehr wiederholen darf. — Das arbeitende Volk besitzt keine Feinde und wenn es den bezwungenen Imperialisten und Kapitalisten gelungen ist, das Proletariat für sich ein schändliches Werk, wie der Krieg, zu gewinnen, so ist es bestimmt das letzte Mal gewesen.

Der Friedenswille des Proletariats wird auch das Fieber aber kurz oder lang um den anderen Fronten einleiten. Lange genug hat der

Krieg die Waffen schon abgelegt, jetzt haben sie aber ihren Zeigern erwidert und ebenso wie er den vier Weissen den Weg nach Bethlehem zeigte, so wird er ihnen auf ihrem Wege zum Frieden und allgemeiner Brüderlichkeit leuchten. — Die Kommen (Krieg) bereits an einer großen Front und das Proletariat wird dafür Sorge tragen, daß alle Hände der Bourgeoisie, sie wieder zum Sprechen zu bringen, zu nichte werden. — Friede sei auf Erden! Ewiges Friede soll herrschen, wie es dem Gemüte der Menschheit entspricht. — Unser Ideal, Brüderlichkeit der Völker, soll verwirklicht werden, und alle Proletarier tragen den heißen Wunsch der Verwirklichung dieses Ideals, nach allen überlebenden Weisungen, noch feher in ihren Herzen als sonst. Möge die Verwirklichung bald geschehen, auf daß es keine Feinde, sondern nur Freunde gebe. — Dieses ist das Ideal des Proletariats, und trotz allem Wille und gewaltiger Unabwägbarkeit wird es das selbe verwirklichen.

Diese vierte Weihnachten können wir euch wachhaft „Fröhliche Weihnachten“ wünschen, denn kein Feind wird eure Freunde hören, und wenn wir auch gewonnen sind, Weihnachten in den Trenchen zu verbringen, so sind diese vierte Weihnachten nach langer Zeit ungeschickte und fröhliche Weihnachten.

Fröhliche Weihnachten, Kameraden und Soldaten!

Au die Völker der kämpfenden Völker.

(Der Aufsatz, veröffentlicht sofort nach dem ersten Waffenstillstands-Verhandlungen).

Auf meinen Vorschlag sofortigen Waffenstillstand zu schließen, um zum Abschluß eines demokratischen Friedens, ohne Annexionen und Kontraktionen, auf Grund des nationalen Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker, zu gelangen, hat der deutsche Überkommene keine Zustimmung gegeben. — Der kommunistische republikanische Kamez, Nest-Denkward Strödel, wurde durchsich den Vorschlag den Beginn der Verhandlungen des Waffenstillstandes auf fünf Tage, bis zum 19. (1.) Dezember, auszuweichen, um nochmals den Verhandlungen vorzuschlagen, ihre Ansicht über sofortige Friedensverhandlungen zu bestimmen. — An der russischen Front ist auf Grund gemeinsamen Entschlusses jegliche Kriegstätigkeit eingestellt. — Selbstverständlich darf während dieser fünf Tage keine Kampferverschönerung stattfinden.

Der entscheidende Schritt ist getan. Die siegreiche Arbeiter- und Bauernrevolution in Rußland hat die Friedensfrage in ihrer ganzen Größe aufgerollt. — Die Zeit des Handels, Singens und langweiliger Besprechungen ist vorüber. — Jetzt sind alle Regierungen, alle Völker, alle Parteien der kämpfenden Länder gewonnen, auf die entscheidende gestellte Frage, ob sie einsehbar sind, mit

The First Bolshevik International Propaganda Newspaper

Half a million copies of this newspaper were printed each day and smuggled into the German trenches. This is one of a series of newspapers in various languages, issued under the direction of a propaganda bureau with the object of creating revolutions in Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Пролетарию всех стран, соединяйтесь!

Миръ народовъ

Органъ международнаго отдѣла Всероссийскаго Ц. И. К. Совѣта Рабочихъ, Солдатскихъ и Крестьянскихъ депутатовъ.

Издаётся для бесплатнаго распространения среди нѣмецкихъ братьевъ-солдатъ.
Выходитъ ежедневно подъ редакціей НАРЛА РАДЕКА.

Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt Euch!

Der Völkerfriede.

Organ der Internationalen Abteilung des Zentralkomitees der Arbeiter, Soldaten- und Bauerndelegiertenräte.
Zur unentgeltlichen Verbreitung unter deutschen Brüdern bestimmt.

Erscheint täglich unter der Redaktion Carl Radek.

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№ 1.

St.-Petersburg, den 19. Dezember (1. Januar) 1917.

Die Masken sind gefallen.

Am Weismachtstag, am Tage, da die Gloden den Frieden allen denkenden Menschen verkindeten, erklärten die Regierungen Deutschlands, Oesterreichs und ihre bulgarischen und türkischen Verbündeten ihren Beschluß, von jeder Gewaltanwendung abzusehen. Sie anerkannten das Recht eines jeden Volkes über das eigene Geschick zu entscheiden. Die deutsche, österreichische und russische Arbeiterpresse begrüßte diesen Entschluß der Zentralmächte als einen Lichtstrahl, der in die dunkle Nacht des Krieges hineinleuchtet, den Weg zu einem allgemeinen Frieden zeigt. Denn es war klar: falls die deutsche Regierung einen ehrlichen demokratischen Frieden mit Aufstand schließen würde und die Bereitschaft zum allgemeinen Frieden auf derselben Grundlage tungebe würde, daß dann die Regierungen Frankreichs und Englands nicht unglücklich sein würden den Krieg weiter zu führen. Die kriegsmüden Arbeitermassen dieser Länder würden ihre Kapitalisten nötigen, den Krieg zu beenden. Eine große Hoffnung entstand in den Herzen der Volksmassen aller Länder: bald wird der Völkermord ein Ende nehmen.

Aber es verging keine Woche und die deutsche und österreichische Regierung ließ die Masken fallen. In einer vertraulichen Sitzung hängte sie ihre Friedensbedingungen ein, die gegen, daß alle deutsche und österreichische Verpflichtungen des demokratischen Friedens eine untergeordnete Sache sind. Die Arbeiter- und Soldatenregierung Ostlands anerkennt keine geheime Diplomatie, und sie verweigert diese „Friedensbedingungen“.

Hier sind sie.

Brest-Litovsk, am 27 Dez. 1917

Entwurf

Artikel 1

Russland und Deutschland erklären die Beendigung des Kriegeszustandes. Beide Nationen sind entschlossen, fortan in Frieden und Freundschaft zusammen zu leben.

Deutschland würde (unter der Voraussetzung der zugestandenem vollen Gegenseitigkeit gegenüber seinen Bundesgenossen) bereit sein, sobald der Frieden mit Russland geschlossen und die Demobilisierung der russischen Streitkräfte durchgeführt ist, die jetzigen Stellungen und das besetzte russische Gebiet zu räumen, soweit sich nicht aus dem Artikel 2 ein Anlassen ergibt.

Artikel 2

Nachdem die russische Regierung entsprechend ihren Grundsätzen, für alle im Verbands des russischen Reiches lebenden Völker, ohne Ausnahme ein bis zu ihrer völligen Alesänderung gehendes Selbstbestimmungsrecht proklamiert hat, nimmt sie Kenntnis von den Beschlüssen, worin der Volkswille ausgedrückt ist, für Polen, sowie für Litauen, Kurland, Teile von Estland und Livland die volle staatliche Selbstständigkeit in Anspruch zu nehmen und aus dem russischen Reichsverbande auszuscheiden.

Die russische Regierung erkennt an, dass diese Kundgebungen unter den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen als Ausdruck des Volkswillens anzusehen sind, und ist bereit, die hieraus sich ergebenden Folgerungen zu ziehen.

Da in denjenigen Gebieten, auf welche die vorstehenden Bestimmungen Anwendung finden, die Frage der Räumung nicht so liegt, dass diese gemäß den Bestimmungen des Art. 1 vorgenommen werden kann, so werden Zeitpunkt und Modalitäten den nach russischer Auffassung nötigen Bekräftigung der schon vorliegenden Lokalenvereinbarungen durch ein Volksvotum auf breiter Grundlage, bei der irgendwelcher militärischer Druck in jeder Weise auszuschalten ist, der Beratung und Festsetzung durch eine besondere Kommission vorbehalten.

Das deutsche „Selbstbestimmungsrecht“.

Um den Zynismus, die Verlogenheit dieser „Friedensbedingungen“ zu veranschaulichen, genügt es, sich daran zu erinnern, wie die Herrschaft der Deutschen in Polen und Litauen aussieht, unter der sich der „Volksvotum“ dieser Gebiete ausgebreitet hat. In den von den deutschen Truppen besetzten Gebieten herrscht die besessene Faust. Auf Arbeiter wird auf den Straßen eine wilde Jagd organisiert, sie werden gefangen, nach Deutschland geführt, in Fabriken zur Arbeit gezwungen, als Sklaven behandelt. Die im Lande verbleibenden Arbeitermassen werden unter der Fuchtel der militärischen Gewalt gehalten. Die Arbeiterpresse wurde zerstört unter die schroffste Zensur gestellt, dann vollkommen unterdrückt. Die Arbeiterführer zu Hunderten in die deutschen Konzentrationslager verschleppt, wo sie Monate lang hungern. Die Hungerdemonstrationen der Arbeiter werden mit Waffengewalt auseinandergejagt, mit Wirt wird der Hunger der Frauen und Greise gequält. Dies alles wurde vielfach im

deutschen Reichstag und Preussischen Landtag von deutschen sozialdemokratischen und polnischen bürgerlichen Abgeordneten dargestellt und mit Akten belegt.

Wollt ihr also wissen, was die Deutschen der deutschen Herrschaft in den okkupierten Gebieten den Arbeitermassen gegenüber. Aber vielleicht fragt sich die deutsche Regierung auf das polnische und litauische Völkertum? Die Antwort darauf geben einfache Tatsachen: die deutsche Regierung hat eine polnische Universtität eröffnet und mußte sie schließen. Die deutsche Regierung wollte Soldaten in Polen rekrutieren und mußte davon absehen. Sie hat sich genötigt den Brigadier Bilinski bei der Schöpfer der unter deutscher und österreichischer Leitung kämpfenden Legionen zu verhaften. Nur in Kurland hat die deutsche Regierung Soldaten gefunden: in den verhafteten Schilfenhändlern, den deutschen baltischen Bauern, den Schindlern der litauischen Bauern. Diese Leuteschinder in Kurland finden vielleicht Gefinnungsgenossen bei den polnischen Junkern, die in heller Angst leben, daß die russische Revolution auch in den polnischen laenstlichen Provinzen die Luft erwidern wird, dem Beispiel der russischen Bauern zu folgen und sich von dem Joch der Zensur zu befreien. Das ist das „Volk“, dessen Stimme die deutsche und österreichische Regierung als entscheidend für die Geschichte der polnischen, litauischen und litauischen Bevölkerung hält.

Wenn die Zentralmächte also sagen, die Völker der von ihnen besetzten Gebiete Ostlands hätten sich für die Abtrennung von Ostland, d. h. von der russischen

THE MASKS ARE OFF!

The leading editorial in this issue is a bitter denunciation, by Carl Radek, of German and Austrian imperialistic purposes as they were revealed in the Brest-Litovsk peace-terms.

On Christmas (he begins satirically), on the day on which the bells of peace ring out good tidings to mankind, the Governments of Germany, Austria and their Bulgarian and Turkish Allies, announced their decision to cease hostilities. They recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination. The working-people's press in Germany, Austria and Russia hailed this decision as a ray of light piercing into the dark night of the war and showing the way to a general peace. For it was clear that if the German government would conclude a democratic peace with Russia, and stood ready to conclude a general peace on the same basis, the governments of England and France would not be able to go on with the war. The war-weary masses in those countries would compel the capitalists to end the war. A great hope arose in the heart of the proletariat of all lands: soon, they thought, the mass-murder will end!

But hardly a week passed, and the German and Austrian governments have let the masks fall from their faces. At one of the sittings of the conference, they handed to the Russian delegates peace-terms which show that all the German and Austrian promises regarding democratic peace are nothing but brazen lies.

The workers' and soldiers' government has no use for secret diplomacy, and herewith publishes the "peace-terms." Here they are—

(The articles of the Brest-Litovsk treaty follow, with a scathing exposé of their hypocrisy by Radek.)

The Paper of "The People's Peace"

All secret treaties exposing the schemes of the German and Russian militaristic cliques were published in this newspaper, which had an immense "underground" circulation in the German armies on the Eastern front.

of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

"Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers, but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world."

The first act of the Bolshevik uprising in November was to order all company, regimental and army committees on the Russian front to begin fraternization with the Germans, and to conclude immediate temporary armistice treaties with the military units opposing them.

On the night of November 8th, in the Congress of Soviets, Lenin read the Decree on Peace, part of which said:

"Addressing this proposal for peace to the Governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia addresses itself also in particular to the conscious workmen of the three most advanced nations of humanity and the greatest of the powers participating in the present war—England, France and Germany. The workers of these countries have rendered great service to the cause of progress and Socialism; the Chartist movement in England, the series of Revolutions carried out by the French proletariat, and lastly, the heroic struggle against the Laws of Exception in Germany, and the long, stubborn, disciplinary work of creating proletarian organizations in Germany, which ought to serve as a model for the whole world—all these models of proletarian heroism and historical creation are guarantees that the workers of the above-named countries will understand their duty, which is to deliver humanity from the horrors and results of war. These same workers, by their decisive and energetic action, will help us bring to a successful conclusion the fight for peace, and at the same time the liberation of all the working-classes from slavery and exploitation. . . ."

At the same time a proclamation to the German soldiers was drawn up, printed in millions of copies, and not only smuggled across the front but dropped from aeroplanes inside Germany. It begins:

"To the German Soldiers!

"SOLDIERS, BROTHERS!

"On October 25th (old style), the workmen and soldiers of St. Petersburg overthrew the imperialistic Government of Kerensky and placed the whole power in the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. The new Government, under the name of the Council of People's Commissars, was confirmed by the All-Russian Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Our program, to the execution of which the Government has immediately proceeded, consists

in a proposal of an immediate democratic peace, which has already been communicated to the belligerent nations and their Governments, in the transfer without compensation of all the land to the peasants for their use, and in the realization of Workers' Control over production and industry.

"We have taken all measures and will in the future leave none untried, in order that all the belligerent Governments and peoples shall be informed of the full content of our peace negotiations. In addition to the above-mentioned peace proposal, we consider it our duty to address ourselves particularly to you, as representatives of a nation which is at the head of the coalition engaged in war against Russia on an extensive front.

"Soldiers, Brothers! We ask you to stand by Socialism with all your might in the struggle for immediate peace, as that is the only means to secure an equitable and permanent peace for the working-classes of all countries, and to heal the wounds which the present most criminal of all wars has inflicted on humanity. . . ."

This was followed by the "Appeal to the Toiling and Exploited Peoples of All Lands," and the texts of the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land.

A proclamation printed for the Austrian trenches hailed Friedrich Adler, arrested for assassinating a reactionary Minister in Vienna, as the "Eagle" (*adler*) of the International Social Revolution.

The first week in November there was established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a Bureau of the Press, under Radek, and a Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda, in charge of Boris Reinstein, of Buffalo, New York, in which for a short time I held a position in the English-speaking Section. I was succeeded by Albert Rhys Williams who, after the Brest-Litovsk treaty, became Commissar of the whole bureau, then disguised under the name of Bureau of Foreign Political Literature.

We immediately began publication of a series of daily propaganda newspapers. The first of these was in German, *Die Fackel* (The Torch), issued in editions of half a million a day, and sent by special train to the central Army Committees in Minsk, Kiev and other cities, which, in turn, by special automobiles, distributed them to different towns along the front, where a regularly-organized system of couriers brought them to the front trenches for distribution.

During the day time, at the official fraternization points, bundles of these papers were ostentatiously carried; and they were always confiscated by the German officers. But at night the real work of distribution began. In isolated spots there were continually secret meetings, at which the bundles of propaganda literature were put into the hands of German soldiers. At other points Russian soldiers buried bundles of papers in places agreed upon, where they were dug up by the Germans.

After about a dozen numbers the name of *Die Fackel* was

changed to *Der Völkerfriede* (The People's Peace). By this time we had daily papers in Hungarian, Bohemian, Roumanian (for the Transylvanian regiments) and Croatian. Williams and I also got out a weekly illustrated paper of four pages, for the simpler, less-educated German soldiers, called *Die Russische Revolution in Bildern* (The Russian Revolution in Pictures). Each number contained twelve or fifteen photographs of revolutionary events, with a caption underneath of extremely elementary propaganda.

Under a scene wherein a workman is tearing the Imperial eagles from the roof of a palace, and the crowd is burning them:

On the roof of a palace, a workingman is tearing down the hateful emblem of autocracy. At the foot of the building the crowd is burning the eagles. The soldier is explaining to the crowd that the overthrow of autocracy is only the first step in the march of social revolution.

It is easy to overthrow autocracy. Autocracy rests on nothing but the blind obedience of soldiers.

The Russian soldiers merely opened their eyes, and autocracy disappeared.

For a photograph of soldiers meeting in a palace:

Socialists have often said, "Those who build the palaces should live in them!"

Here in Russia for the first time you can see workmen-soldiers, whose sweat and labor built the palace, whose blood was shed defending it, enjoying a palace as their home.

And under a picture of the German Embassy in Petrograd was this:

See the great banner. It is the word of a famous German. Was it Bismarck? Was it Hindenburg? No, it is the call of immortal Karl Marx to international brotherhood: "Proletarians of all lands, unite!"



Teaching Revolution by Pictures

This is not only a pretty decoration of the German Embassy. In all seriousness the Russian Workmen, Soldiers and Peasants have raised this banner, to you German people they hurl back the same words that your Karl Marx gave the whole world seventy years ago.

At last a real proletarian republic has been founded. But this republic cannot be secure until the workers of all lands conquer the power of government.

The Russian workers, peasants and soldiers will soon send a Socialist as ambassador to Berlin. When will Germany send an international socialist to this building of the German Embassy in Petrograd?

Emissaries were sent out to visit all the German prison-camps in Russia and Siberia, and encourage the formation of Socialist organizations. For this work there were men who spoke German, Hungarian, Roumanian, Polish, Yiddish, Turkish, Croatian, Tcheko-Slovak and Bulgarian. The response was immediate. In Moscow, for example, ten thousand German and Austrian prisoners organized along Bolshevik lines and started an active propaganda among their countrymen. Newspapers for the prisoners, published

in their own languages, by their fellow-prisoners, started up all over Russia and Siberia. The money was furnished by the Soviet Government, and the whole work was controlled by the Bureau of War Prisoners attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This work was so effective that when prisoners were returned to Austria and Germany they were confined for thirty days in "political quarantine camps," fed and treated well, and "educated" with Government promises, patriotic literature and Majority Social-Democratic propaganda.

Hundreds of thousands of these German prisoners and deserters applied for citizenship in the new Soviet Republic. Thousands enlisted in the Red Army; in fact, it was the German and Austrian prisoners who put up the only effective resistance to the Imperial German and Austrian armies marching into Russia after Brest-Litovsk. . . . On May Day, 1918, when Count von Mirbach, the German ambassador, was watching the Parade in Moscow, he was startled to see a company of German soldiers marching with the Soviet troops, under red banners with revolutionary inscriptions in their own language.

Пролетарім всѣхъ странъ соединяйтесь!

СОЦИАЛИСТЪ-ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИСТЪ.

Венгерскій органъ

Издается для бесплатнаго распространения среди Венгерскихъ братьевъ—солдатъ

Világ Proletárjai Egyesüljete!k!

== NEMZETKÖZI SZOCZIÁLISTA ==

Kiadja a munkás és katonakiküldöttek tanácsának nemzetközi osztálya. Ingyen kiadvány a magyar katonatestvérek számára

Редакция: Петроградъ, Эртелевъ 13.

Minden közlömeny Pétervári Ertelev 13 alá küldendő

LE HULLT AZ ALARC

TITKOS NEMET BEKEFELTETÉLEK HOGYAN AKART ANNEKSZIOT NEMETORSZAG. A NEMET „BEKESZERETET” CSAK A KATONAK TEREMTHETIK MEG A BECSULETES BEKET.

<p>Karácsony napján, amikor az emberiségnek békét és jó hírt jelentenek a harangok, Németország, Ausztria-Magyarország kormányai és bolgár meg török jobbagyaik tudatták arra vonatkozó elhatározásukat, hogy lemondanak minden erőszak alkalmazásáról, elismerik minden</p>	<p>Az orosz kormány elismeri, hogy ezek a megnyilatkozások a jelenlegi körülmények között a népakarat kifejezésének tekintendők, és kész az ebből folyó következtetéseket levonni. Műtán ezeken a területeken, amelyekre a fennebbiekben utalás történt, a kiirtás kérdése nem vonható az 1. fejezet ren-</p>	<p>líván és lett nép sorsára. Ha tehát a központi hatalmak kormányai azt állítják, hogy az általuk megszállva tartott területek népei elhatározták elszakadásukat Oroszországtól, vagyis az orosz munkás és katonakormánytól, akkor egyszerűen hazudnak! A német önkényes és</p>	<p>szerepét a már megalakult vagy meg alakuló hadifoglyok között. A gyűlölet érzése terjed a pétervári hadifoglyok között a december 10-án, mert hiszem mint azt maguk a megjelent hadifoglyok közül többen elmondották; ez a nap volt az első, amelyen szabadon mehettek végig Pétervár utcáin. A hadifoglyok első szabad napján és hatalmas ha-</p>	<p>ebben a harcban minden proletár együtt lesz, ott lesznek a hadifoglyok is és nem akad köztük egy sem aki árulja. Jene az elvonottak a proletárok szent nagy és kitűnő harcának. Az osztrák-magyar és német hadifoglyainak mittingje 1917 december 10 (29-án) Pétervárott a Cirk Modern helyiségében a következő határozati javaslatot fogadta:</p>
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Propaganda for the Hungarian Trenches

Братья горцы!

Петроградский Комитетъ горцевъ Севернаго Кавказа и Дагестана, ставитъ васъ въ извѣстность, что Центральнй Комитетъ объединенныхъ горцевъ Севернаго Кавказа и Дагестана въ засѣданіи своемъ 10 с. а сего года, въ городѣ Владикавказѣ и въ присутствіи делегатовъ отъ полковъ родной дивизіи, постановилъ считать, что единственное назначеніе полковъ туземной дивизіи, только защищать Родину отъ внѣшняго врага и ни въ комъ случаѣ, не служить орудіемъ политической борьбы какой бы то ни было партіи. Вашимъ же, настоящимъ выступленіемъ вы отрываете себя отъ общаго горскаго семья и наносите непоправимый ущербъ идеѣ объединенія и національнаго самоопредѣленія всѣхъ горцевъ.

Поэтому, призываемъ васъ отказаться отъ дальнѣйшаго участія въ настоящей политической борьбѣ.

Петроградский Комитетъ горцевъ Севернаго Кавказа и Дагестана. Комитетъ кавказскихъ мусульманъ въ Петроградѣ.

Исполнительный Комитетъ Всероссийскаго Мусульманскаго Совета призываетъ братьевъ-мусульманъ, воинво храброй туземной дивизіи, въ отвѣтственѣйшій моментъ, переживаемый національностями Россіи, принять къ руководству братскій призывъ близкихъ горцамъ, ихъ родныхъ организаций.

Исполнительный Комитетъ Всероссийскаго Мусульманскаго Совета.

Петроградъ, 29 августа, 1917 г.

ایها الاخوان ذوو البساة !
ایها المسلمون الداغستانیون !

قد اجمع اخوانكم المسلمون ببلدة ولايقافاز عاشر
آوغوست من السنة العاضرة واجمعوا عن رأى واحد على
ان المساکر الاسلامیة تجب علیها وجوباً قطعياً حماية الدولة
وحفظ الوطن من الاعداء الأشداء ويلزم علیها ان لا تكون
آله لفتن الاجزاب السیاسیة.

وانما الوظيفة الوحيدة على المساکر الاسلامیة هی
حماية الدولة وحماية الوطن.

واملنا المقدس هو الاستقلال. الملی وحرية دين الاسلام
وظهوره. ولا يتأني ذلك الا باجتنااب المساکر الاسلامیة من
الاشتراک فی الفتن السیاسیة.

و البقی على الدولة و هجومکم على عاصمة الدولة
ومقاتلتکم عساکر الدولة لا یؤد ضرراً وربالها الا على
المسلمین وعلى اخوانکم فی روسیا.

اجیبوا ایها الاخوان هذه الدعوة الصادقة من اخوانکم
فی البین والوطن.

وجميع المسلمین فی روسیا والشوری الاسلامیة الملیة
ینصحون لکم ویرجون منکم ایها الاخوان ان تقبلوا هذه
النصيحة وان تسمعوا هذه الدعوة.

وكونوا مع الفئة الصامیة
ولا تكونوا مع الفئة الباغیة !

هذه نصیحة لکم من الشوری الاسلامیة.

داغستان مسلمان عسکرلری !

شمالی قافاز وداغستان مسلمانلرینگ پتروغراد کامییتی
سزگه معلوم ایته، که شمالی قافاز وداغستانلرینگ مرکزی
کامییتی بویل ۱۰ نجی اوگوستده، ولادیقافاز شهرینه بولغان
مجلسده، طوغان ملی دیویزیمنزنگ بولی وکیللری حضورینه
قرار قیلدی، که توزیمنی دیویزیه بولقرینک وظیفهسی فقط
وطننی خارجی دشماندن صافلاوغنه بولوب هیچ بر پارتیاغه
سیاسی تارشوده آلت بولماودر. فردشلر! سز حاضرکی
حرکتکز ایله داغستان فردشلرکز قرارندان آیلار. داغستان
ملتلرینگ برلکلرینه ملی مختاریت آلورلرینه مانع بولاسز.
شوکار کوره قردهشلر، سزنی اوشبو سیاسی نزاعده اشتراک
ایتمسکه دعوة ایته مز.

شمالی قافاز وداغستان ملتلرینگ : پتروغراد کامییتی.

قافاز مسلمانلرینگ : پتروغراد کامییتی.

توزیمنی دیویزیه نیک قهرمان مسلمان عسکرلری !

روسیهده باشاوجی ملتلر اوچون غایت مهم ومسئولیتلی بر
زمانده داغستان جمعیتلرینگ مذکور قرارلرن، اوزکزکه
فردش بولغان کامییتلرنک اوشبو نصیحتن توتوگزنی بتون
روسیه مسلمانلری شوراسینک اجرات کامییتی اوز طرفندننه
رجا وطلب ایتمدر.

جميع روسیه مسلمانلری شوراسی کامییتی.

۱۹۱۷ یل، ۲۹ اوگوست. پتروغراد.

HIGHLAND BROTHERS!

The Petrograd North Caucasus and Daghestan Highlanders Committee informs you that the Central Committee of the North Caucasus and Daghestan United Highlanders, at the conference held on August 10, 1917, in the city of Vladicaucasus in the presence of delegates from the various regiments of the home division, has ordained to consider that the only purpose of the regiments of the home divisions is to defend the fatherland from the outward foe, and in no way to serve as a tool in the hands of any parties in their political strife. By your interference you break off from the common family of Highlanders, and so deal an irremediable blow to the idea of unity and national self-determination of the whole of the Highlanders.

We therefore appeal to you to desist from any future participation in the political strife that is going on now.

The Petrograd North Caucasus and Daghestan Highlanders Committee.

The Caucasus Mahometans in Petrograd Committee.

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Mahometan Council appeals to the Mahometan brethren—warriors of the valiant home divisions—at this most serious moment in the life of the various nationalities of Russia, asking them to accept as their guide this brotherly message coming from their kindred organizations.

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Mahometan Council.

Petrograd, August 29, 1917.

The proclamation that broke the back of
Kornilov's Cossack revolt

Another branch of the Propoganda Bureau's work was the reception of deserters, who came across the lines in a continuous stream. They always had interesting information, if it were only how our publicity was going, and what interested the German soldiers most. . . . But sometimes they came on unusual errands; I remember a delegation from the German troops on the island of Oesel, who wanted literature *and speakers* to take back with them! A couple of sailors who spoke German were sent back with them, smuggled across the lines in German uniforms; they stayed a week and converted about a thousand men.

Back of the German lines, near Kovne, at this time, was formed a camp of mutineers, about fifteen or twenty thousand of them according to deserters' stories. They refused to fight, and declared that if the front line moved forward they would fire on it. Our delegates made their way across the lines to that camp, with detailed information about the Revolution, copies of Soviet decrees and proclamations. Just before the end of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the camp was destroyed by artillery fire; but the poison spread.

During the armistice and peace negotiations, which, at Trotsky's instance, were conducted in the open, the German newspapers intentionally falsified the reports. The Soviet Government published daily the correct version in *Der Völkerfriede*, with which the German trenches were flooded. Proclamations, appeals, decrees, all in German, urging the enemy soldiers to upset their Government, throw out the Kaiser, declare a revolutionary peace. . . . Every day or so General Hoffman threatened to break off negotiations if the Russian troops were not ordered to cease fraternization and to refrain from inciting German troops to revolt. After the armistice was signed, too, the Imperial Government warned the Soviets that revolutionary propoganda was a violation of the armistice.

To this the Council of People's Commissars answered by apologies and promises. Krylenko, the Russian Commander, publicly ordered that propoganda should cease, and privately sent word to the troops to redouble their efforts.

On the 23d of December the Soviet Government passed the following resolution:

"Taking into consideration that the Soviet Power is based on the principle of international proletarian solidarity and the brotherhood of workers of all countries, that the struggle against the war and against Imperialism can only lead to victory if it is carried out on an international scale, the Council of People's Commissars deems it necessary to come to the assistance of the Left International wing of the labor movement of all countries, by all possible means, including funds, whether the said countries are at war with Russia, or allied to Russia, or occupying a neutral position.

"For this purpose the Council of People's Commissars resolves: That at the disposal of the foreign representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs shall be placed the sum of Two Mil-

Aufruf

an die

Arbeitermassen aller Länder.

Der Oktoberaufstand der arbeitenden Massen in Russland, die Imperialisten und deren Anhänger der Macht entziehend, hat an deren Stelle eine Regierung des Rates der Volkskommissare getübt. Diese Regierung der Arbeiter, Soldaten und Bauern Russlands hat allen kriegführenden Ländern vorgeschlagen, an allen Fronten den Waffenstillstand zu schließen und zu den Friedensverhandlungen über einen demokratischen Frieden zu schreiten.

zu einer Friedensschließung bemerken könnt. Ihr sollt wissen, daß die Imperialisten in Frankreich, England und in den Vereinigten Staaten ihrem Volke daselbe vorreden

Schon drei Jahre wird das Blut der Völker vergossen, und we. er sich noch Niederlage bringt uns dem gewünschten Frieden einen Schritt näher. Nur der Wille der Völker kann die Imperialisten aller Länder zu der Schließung eines demokratischen Friedens zwingen. Ihr Vertreter Frankreichs, Englands und Italiens, auf

Am 2. Dezember trafen sich die Vertreter Russlands und die der Zentralmächte. Die Delegierten d

Announcement to the workers of all lands of Russia's Peace Terms

lion Rubles for the needs of the Revolutionary Internationalist movement.

"Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,

V. OULIANOV (LENIN).

"People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

L. TROTSKY."

By September, 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had on its payroll sixty-eight agents in Austria-Hungary, and more than that in Germany, as well as others in France, Switzerland and Italy.

Of course most of the attention of the Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda was concentrated on the Central Powers. A weekly magazine in French-English was planned, as well as an Italian weekly, but never carried out. For one agent in the Allied countries, the Soviet Government had fifty in Germany and Austria.

The Central Powers were Soviet Russia's greatest menace. It was utterly impossible for Imperial Germany and Socialist Russia to exist side by side. Imperial Germany must be destroyed—and quickly. But while in Germany there existed the most sinister enemy of the Russian Revolution, on the other hand in Germany was also Russia's greatest potential ally—a working class well-trained in the fundamentals of Marxian doctrine, and better organized than any other in Europe.

This condition determined somewhat the form of Russian propaganda. It was all aimed at the German workers and soldiers. It would not do simply to cry out against the Kaiser and the Junkers; that is the trick of the bourgeoisie, practised for four long years in the name of "democracy" by all the Imperialists of the western nations. The German workers were too well educated to be fooled by that. Propaganda had to be international, *against all bourgeois imperialists*, with special emphasis on the Secret Treaties, and the imperialistic designs and actions of the Entente.

But the Bolshevik attack on the Kaiser and the German Junkers did not cease, for all of that. . . . In the first number of *Rabotchi i Soldat*, organ of the Petrograd Soviet, published October 31, 1917, occurred the following paragraph:

"The German Kaiser, covered with the blood of millions of innocent dead, wants to hurl his army against Petrograd. Let us call to the German workmen, soldiers and peasants, who want peace not less than we do, to . . . stand up against this damned war!

"This can be done only by a revolutionary Government, which would speak really for the workmen, soldiers and peasants of Russia, and would appeal over the heads of the diplomats directly to the German troops, fill the German trenches with proclamations in the German language. . . . Our airmen would spread these proclamations all over Germany. . . ."

This was one week before the Bolshevik insurrection. Eight days later, in an appeal to the German soldiers, the Council of People's Commissars said:

"Brothers, German soldiers! The great example of your comrade, Karl Liebknecht, the most eminent leader of International Socialism, the persevering and long-continued struggle which you have conducted by publishing newspapers and pamphlets, by numerous demonstrations and strikes, the struggle for which your Government has thrown into prison hundreds and thousands of your comrades, and lastly, the heroic revolt of your sailors of the Fleet serve as a guarantee to us that the mass of the working-class of your nation is ready to enter the decisive struggle for peace.

"Hasten to our assistance! In the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Government we guarantee that our soldiers shall not move one step forward if you decide to take in your hands the flag of peace, and even if the struggle for peace inside your country takes away part of your forces from the front. . . ."

After Brest-Litovsk, according to the provisions of the treaty, the Bureau of International Revolutionary Propaganda was abolished. But the first act of the new Council of People's Commissars was secretly to reorganize this work,

appointing an unofficial committee to take charge of it, and appropriating for this purpose twenty million rubles.

At the same time Adolph Yoffe was made Ambassador to Berlin. In his suite were ten expert propagandists who spoke German. They bought bicycles, on which they began a systematic tour of the country, organizing, spreading the word, preparing. The three million Russian prisoners were reached. Two of these couriers were caught and expelled from the country. Yoffe was repeatedly warned by the German Government, repeatedly apologized, and kept on.

His first act in the German capital was to hoist over the Russian Embassy the Red Flag, lettered with the device of the Soviet Republic, "Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. Workmen of all countries, unite!" He refused to present his credentials to the Kaiser, and invited to his first state banquet Haase, Ledebour, Dittman, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxembour, Clara Zetkind and Karl Liebknecht (then in prison).

The first act of the new German coalition Ebert Government was to expel Yoffe from Berlin—as was natural. However, he was invited to return a week later by the Berlin Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and did so. Upon his release from prison, Karl Liebknecht, his flower-filled carriage escorted by hundreds of thousands of workers, went straight to the Russian Embassy, from the balcony of which he made a speech, saying that it was now time that the German people followed Russia's example.

The New York evening newspapers of November 25th report an address of Liebknecht's before the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council, upon the night of the overthrow of the Coalition Government:

"Did the bourgeoisie while in power permit you to have a voice in the Government? No! Then the workers must not allow it to have any say now. We need a Government of soldiers and workmen, one typifying the proletariat, which will not have to bow down before the Entente.

"There must be no dickering with Entente imperialism. We will dispose of that just as we did with German autocracy. The Revolution is bound also to reach the Entente countries, but we, who made the Russians waste a whole year, are insisting that the Revolution break out in England and France within twenty-four hours. . . ."

During this same period the Allied Governments were conducting an enormous propaganda, not only in the Central Empires, through Switzerland, Scandinavia and Holland, but also in Russia itself. The Russian branch of the American Committee on Public Information spent more than three hundred thousand dollars in Russia, printing Wilson's speeches in thousands of copies, producing great moving picture films, and hiring Russian propagandists. French and the British Governments maintained expensive Information Bureaus in all countries. In the neutral countries and in Russia newspapers were subsidized, and even bought by the

Allies, and local journalists were on the payroll of the Allied Embassies.

Why did Allied propaganda fail and Bolshevik propaganda succeed? The reason is simple, especially simple as regards American propaganda. The masses of the war-weary peoples of Russia and of the Central Powers were Socialists. They had been educated to look forward to the Social Revolution, the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the public seizure of land, industrial plants and financial institutions. They were fundamentally trained to see in the war a simple clash of capitalist interests.

Allied propaganda harped on patriotism, on the advantages of the bourgeoisie political democracy; its language was

the language of eighteenth century political economy. It showed a hatred of Socialism only less than its hatred of Kaiserism. American propaganda advocated the American form of government as the social and economic millenium. In America there was free speech, free press and universal wealth. By editing and perverting the words and deeds of real American Socialists, it was proven that we had gone back on our Internationalism, that we were heart and soul with the Government. This was done in the case of Eugene Debs, Max Eastman, myself. . . . The activities of Gompers, Walling, Spargo and Russell were played up. Boasting about America's part in the war, statistics, moving pictures showing the amount of gold bullion in the vaults of the United States Treasury. . . . All these phases of political and economic life which the Russian and German people had been working to get rid of for decades were displayed to them. . . . Root was sent to Russia. Frank Bohn was sent to Switzerland to get in touch with the Germans.

In all these efforts at creating pro-Ally sympathy in the "hostile" countries Socialism was let severely alone. Only the most reactionary pro-Government Majority Socialist groups in all countries were thought worthy of influencing. The Liberal republican movements were fostered. Purely Nationalist sentiments were encouraged in all the little oppressed countries.

To Allied propagandists the most effective weapons were President Wilson's speeches, which the revolutionary working-class of all countries refused to trust, and which did not interest them much anyway.



Typical American government propaganda—President Wilson's "14-point" Speech

RESPECTABILITY

I HUG my hearth fire, cozy-warm,
Approved by wise and loving friends;
She passes in the marching storm
Down the long road that never ends,
Rebel and outcast, beggared, free—
The woman that I dare not be.

I have a task that fills my days.
I do it with a right good will
And earn thereby both bread and praise;
Why does her mocking laughter still
Burn to the very soul of me,
The woman that I dare not be?

A sanctuary I would seek
On Sundays in the House of Prayer;
But when I kneel among the meek
Between me and the altar there,
God's scorn in her clear eyes, I see
The woman that I dare not be.

Allene Gregory.



The Family of Nations

Drawn by Art Young

Demobilizing the Trade Unions

By H. M

THE demobilization of war industries has begun. It is a matter of taking three to five million workers out of war work and finding jobs for them in normal industry, and at the same time finding jobs for three to four million discharged soldiers. From six to eight million potentially unemployed persons! At the other extreme, there is the theoretic possibility of placing the demobilized war-worker and soldier directly into a new job, and thus keeping unemployment at zero. Somewhere between these two extremes we shall muddle through our demobilization period.

There are possibilities in the situation, enormous possibilities for good or for evil.

Little had been published, during the first two or three weeks of the armistice, about demobilization in the concrete. But a great deal was said about it in general. President Wilson, for example, said in general that he had no opinion on the problem, except that he thought it could safely be left to "agencies in existence" and to the "quick initiative" of America's business men. More reassuring words came from Atlantic City, where an extraordinary War Emergency and Reconstruction Conference of the United States Chamber of Commerce was in session. Here it was agreed that employers should not insist upon reducing wages, that good labor unions should not be frowned upon, that co-operation should take the place of class warfare in industry, and that industrial Kaiserism should cease. The Conference felt most optimistic concerning reconstruction, provided the Government immediately returned the railroads, the wires and the munitions plants to the ownership and control of their original possessors, and left all other problems to "individual initiative." The War Industries Board, about the same time, issued a most reassuring swan-song concerning the apparent fluency of the readjustment. It became clear to all readers of the *Times* and *Tribune* that everything was as good as it could possibly be.

But the most inspiring thing about this Emergency Conference was its insistence upon the ethical note. In its more sublime aspects this received expression in the "ten commandments" of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., from whose speech I quote the following Credo:

"I believe that every living man is entitled to the opportunity of earning a living, to fair wages, to reasonable hours of work and proper working conditions; to a decent home, to the opportunity to learn, to worship and to love, as well as to toil; and that the opportunity rests upon government or society to see that these conditions and opportunities prevail."

"The opportunity to learn, to worship and to love!" exclaimed a New York daily. "What is that but the epitome of human aspirations, the sum total of human desires?"

Summing up the situation, this same daily sees Utopia upon us as a result of the late slaughter in Europe. "The proceedings of the Conference reveal," it says, "the vast change that is coming in the relations between capital and labor. Heretofore industry has represented an autocracy. The views expressed by national authorities at Atlantic City indicate that industry is on the way to becoming a democracy. Such a new interpretation of the brotherhood of man is an inevitable result of the triumph of the free nations in a war for the establishment of the principle of the brotherhood of nations."

The most compelling voice in the Conference was perhaps that of Charles M. Schwab, late president and still the controlling power of the Bethlehem Steel Company. Mr. Schwab stated that men should be permitted and encouraged to form labor unions, and to deal as equals with their employers. There must be an absolute partnership between worker and employer, he said, and friendliness, confidence and co-operation must henceforth be the rule.

After all that, who could have any fears about our demobilization period?

* * *

It sounded so good that I went down to Mr. Schwab's Bethlehem plant to find out about it.

You must know something of Bethlehem, named after the birthplace of the Prince of Peace. It was founded in 1741 as a haven of Christian perfection by the Moravians, who represent the direct continuation of the doctrines of John Huss. The founder of the sect, it is written, "anticipated much of the teaching of Tolstoy. He interpreted the Sermon on the Mount literally, denounced war, and declared that the duty of all true Christians was to return to the simple teaching of Christ and His Apostles." On the green hills of Bethlehem, Pa., the American Moravians hoped to be able to practise these doctrines, in sheltered peace and brotherly love, as long as America should endure.

Modern commercialism brought to Bethlehem a gigantic factory of the instruments of death, and the fortunes of war provided the crowning irony in bringing to the presidency of the whole works a gentleman with the Divine name of Grace. And this article will concern itself chiefly with the emanations of Grace in and about Bethlehem in the early weeks of the new era of the Brotherhood of Man.

I chose Bethlehem and Bridgeport as typical war industry communities, preferring to see the facts in the concrete rather than in the puzzled or fanciful outgivings of the United States Employment offices. No discourtesy is here intended to the only government agency which is attempting to handle industrial reconstruction in a thorough-going way, but it

soon became clear that this agency simply has not sufficient authority to collect reliable statistics. Whatever facts the public may be permitted to learn concerning industrial demobilization must be learned at the source.

It is true that both in Bethlehem and in Bridgeport the situation is complicated by serious labor quarrels still in an acute stage. But these quarrels only serve to reveal more vividly the truth of the situation. Last summer the National War Labor Board was summoned to intervene in Bethlehem to settle a threatened strike of the skilled workmen. "Upon representation of officials of the War Department," to quote the words of the Board's joint chairmen, "that conditions in the Bethlehem Steel Company were gravely endangering the successful prosecution of the war, and in order that our troops might not be left short of guns and ammunition, the War Labor Board exerted every resource to keep the employes of the Bethlehem Steel Company at work, to secure a maximum production and an equitable adjustment of conditions in the Bethlehem Steel Company." What the Board did was to grant an increase in pay to various classes of employes, to order the revision or the total elimination of the famous "bonus system" then in vogue, to establish shop committees and collective bargaining under conditions which honest workmen could accept, and to protect the rights of the employes to join the trade unions of their choice. The new wage schedules were put into effect; the shop committees were elected; the workers joined the trade unions of their choice, thanks to a well organized campaign on the part of the A. F. of L. unions, to the extent of more than fifty per cent. But rumors of peace began to fill the air, and Mr. Grace, who had accepted the original award only under the tacit threat of Government operation, began to delay. The few meetings held between the shop committees and their respective employer's committees failed to achieve anything. In some departments back pay was not forthcoming. The officials of the company somehow never got around to revising or eliminating the bonus system, to say nothing of devising with the shop committees a system to take its place.

Then the armistice came. Mr. Grace announced that the company was now "unable to accept" certain rulings of the Board, and asked that the Government examiners in Bethlehem be withdrawn, "thus permitting us to proceed with the installation of the practical, comprehensive and permanent plan of employes' representation, which is now in successful operation at our other plants."

It became apparent that "reconstruction" was under way in Bethlehem.

* * *

Now reconstruction, to a war industry like Bethlehem, means in the first instance just one thing—firing men. If the right men are fired to begin with, the industry will "reconstruct" itself on the labor side without more trouble.

No one seemed to know officially about the number of men being fired in Bethlehem. Rumor said that they were going at the rate of five hundred a week, or five hundred a day; that it had already reached the figure of 5,000, that it

would presently reach 11,000 or 15,000. But why depend on rumor? Certain information has been officially declared to be public property.

This, for example, had recently come from the Department of Labor:

"To enable the United States Employment Service to find other employment for munitions and other civilian war workers as they are released, the Service will be consulted by the War Department and the War Industries Board before any action is taken on war contracts."

And this indicates the proposed source of the information to be transmitted to the Government departments:

"The arrangement with the War Department and the War Industries Board enables the United States Employment Service to know in advance of and to prepare for releases of men by war industries holding direct contracts. Sub-contractors are urged to notify the Employment Service of coming releases as far in advance as possible, in order that the employes may be placed elsewhere.

"Only through having advance information of the easing off of war industrial operations can the Employment Service adequately devote its facilities toward relocation of war workers."

But the Government Employment office was unable to say how many Bethlehem workers were being discharged. It frankly admitted that it did not know. Private employers, eager to engage the men released from Bethlehem, were denied any information. Demobilization in Bethlehem was a secret.

I asked the publicity man of the Bethlehem company upon what plan men were being discharged. He pointed to an official statement that "the governing factors will be attendance, efficiency and length of service."

"Do you mean," I asked, "that you are discharging the new and inexperienced men?"

"Well, we are discharging the men who live outside of Bethlehem, for one thing," he answered. "You see, there is a bunch of agitators off in Allentown and they have been making trouble for us."

"How many have you discharged? Are you making any public announcement?"

"No," he replied, "we aren't making any public announcement. You see, it is all involved with this labor trouble."

There were germs of information in these few remarks. Around town they explained to me that workers who lived in Bethlehem were generally being retained by the company, and added that the company was close to the real estate interests in Bethlehem (rents have been splendid there during the war) and was itself a large owner of housing property. As for the agitators in Allentown, their presence is to be explained by the fact that until recently the mayor of Bethlehem, formerly an officer of the steel company, prohibited all union meetings within the city limits and generally treated a labor organizer as an outlaw. Later it became still more

evident in exactly what way the company's discharge policy was "involved with this labor trouble."

For the moment, however, I contented myself with the official attitude of the company as reflected in "The Booster." This fortnightly publication, richly illustrated with portraits of faithful employes, is distributed free to all workers in the plant. Its aim is to infuse boost, zip and jazz into the workers for all sorts of worthy purposes.

In "The Booster," after learning that "a reduction of the force must be made," I read as follows:

"It seems a great pity that our big family must be separated. We have all been working together for one great cause and many fine friendships have been formed among us. We trust that those who are compelled to seek their fortunes in other fields of endeavor will think of us kindly. 'The Booster' has been informed that the management of our great company is reluctant to reduce the force any lower than is absolutely necessary and that the utmost consideration will be given to each individual case. To those who leave us, we say most sincerely, good-bye, good luck and God bless you."

At this point "The Booster" may justly claim our more particular attention. . . . In "The Booster" you learn that "you cannot war upon kindness; all the logic of man cannot cope with the power of love," and on the same page, apropos of our post-bellum policy toward the Hun: "Treat them as slaves to the end of their days. Never give them a decent man's chance." "The Booster" does not scorn slang, but at times its diction sounds like that of Felicia Hemans. A woman worker is called "a person of the fair sex," and such persons are looked after by other persons of like sex, known as welfare workers, of whose ministrations "The Booster" says: "Nothing seems to be too much trouble, whether it is a delightful picnic along the banks of the Saucon or a visit to a home to investigate and better the living conditions, or any of the other thousand and one things that an organization of this kind is called upon to do."

How Bethlehem workers were persuaded to loan their dollars to Liberty is described in two issues. First, before the campaign, a dummy was strung up by the neck to the company flag pole bearing in his hand the legend:

"This Boob Would Not Buy Bonds."

With this as a leit-motif for the bond campaign, the "over the top," to quote "The Booster," was "accomplished in a very novel but effective way. The shop was decorated with appropriate posters, all made by home talent and very much to the point. The men were brought before the committee in gangs of fifteen by their foremen and there they listened to the urgent plea for more bonds. Each man was brought up individually and questioned. In the face of this personal appeal there was hardly a one who refused to double up." Not exactly novel, but unquestionably effective! But even at that it does not appear that the company exhausted its resources, for none of the employes was obliged to "cope with the power of love."

In another issue it is recorded that the assembled employes of the plant cheered the Reverend Newell Dwight Hillis, brought by the company to speak to them of "German outrages and atrocities which he has seen or been told of in Europe." Since we cannot quite picture the Reverend Dr. Hillis personally inspecting a rape, we conclude that most of the atrocities were hearsay, but they seemed to have served admirably to cement the men's loyalty to their country and their bonus system. He was not, it appears, introduced to the men as the divine who defended Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in shooting and burning strikers at Ludlow.

* * *

I could cull much more from "The Booster," but I can only quote a few brief lines from the poem of Lieutenant Martin Fitzgerald to the Bethlehem workers, entitled "Carry On, Mates," because it has a certain bearing on reconstruction.

"Carry on, pals of mine!

If there is a grievance—wait, 'old your 'and.
Beware of 'ot air, and the German gold behind it.
And when this bloody war is over I'll come
And side by side we'll stand and see fair play and
clear up old, long-standing debts."

Now the lieutenant may now be on his way home for this purpose, but when he gets here he won't find his "mates" around to clear up any old, long-outstanding debts. For this reason: that his mates, all the more aggressive and independent of them, are being fired. During the war the discontented were referred to the post-bellum period, and now they are referred by "The Booster" to God.

First, there are the shop committeemen, elected under the War Labor Board and usually union men. Directly the armistice was signed they began to receive their "time." Protests began to pour into the offices of the Board. In one shop the two committee members, after some hesitation, presented the requests of their constituents to the management. The same day they got their "time." The Board ruled that committeemen must not be discriminated against, and must be discharged, if at all, only in proportion with the other workers. But the company was not recognizing the Board's authority at the time, and protests remained protests.

Next, there are the residents of Allentown and nearby villages who do not contribute to profits on Bethlehem real estate. The men believe that the discrimination against Allentown is an attempt to hurt the city's prosperity, because it harbors "agitators" and has a mayor sympathetic to labor. And they are sure that the Bethlehem company will find it convenient to have its workers all living in a town which is politically under its control.

Next there are the skilled and highly paid men in general, who are being discharged in excessive proportions. They are generally the better organized of the workers, and are likely to contain a far higher percentage of American citizens. That Americans are being singled out for discharge should cause surprise to no one. The steel plants and packing houses,

among other large American industries, have a traditional policy of "graduating nationalities," whereby the older and well established races are released in favor of the fresh immigrant types, who are likely to be divided in language, mutually suspicious and likely to accept a lower wage. It is too early to say that this policy is being pursued in Bethlehem today, but it is perfectly clear that the American trade unionist type, who has acquired confidence and the capacity for leadership, is in disfavor.

There is another circumstance attendant upon this demobilization which may be significant. There are printed slips going around the shops, presented by the foremen to the workers for their signatures, stating that the signer was satisfied with the previous conditions in the shop and is against any innovations. Is it hard to guess what will happen to the man who refuses to sign?

It does not appear that the company has given any of the "consideration" to "each individual case" that was promised by "The Booster," or that "attendance, efficiency and length of service" have had much to do with it. The men are informed by their foremen point blank, without warning, that they are fired. They have no opportunity to learn anything in advance, so that they may register at the employment office, or to appeal, through their shop committees or otherwise, to anyone save the foreman who does the firing. The company itself does not pretend that any distinction is made between men with families and men without, and it is abundantly clear that no such distinction is made. That length of service is no protection to an employe is proved by the number of discharges of men who have been with the company six, eight and ten years. It is not possible to make the company admit that its discharges are effected with the intent of getting rid of the leaders trusted by the men, of breaking the newly established unions, and of overthrowing the Government's collective bargaining system, but it is abundantly evident that it will achieve these results if it is not blocked. It is not possible to make the company admit that it intends to create anew the old Bethlehem psychology of terrorism, but it is clear that it is actually creating terrorism—and defiance.

* * *

For the defiance is there. They are talking strike in Bethlehem. They say they have the crucial trades, such as the electricians, organized one hundred per cent and that they could stop all the wheels at any time. They are not sure that this is the time for a strike, since the company is not yet working on its new commercial orders, and might welcome a strike just now as a saving of money. But they are defiant.

To "The Booster's" jolly "good-bye, good luck and God bless you" the *Pennsylvania Labor Herald*, official organ of District No. 28, International Association of Machinists, replies:

"The company is laying off thousands of men who still have their back pay coming. American citizens with large families are being laid off, and alien enemies kept at work or moved into positions vacated by Americans.

"When the organized men lined up last summer against the actions of these officials, the bastard press of this vicinity accused them of being pro-Germans and anarchists, etc. What have these lousy editors to say now that Americans are being deprived of employment to gratify the desire of the diseased brains of the steel company officials? Like the craven prostitute of the streets, these editors must amend their patriotism to suit the masters who feed them like dogs chained to a kennel.

"And with all this attempt at annihilation organized labor is asked to fight the Bolshevik movement in America. The very best thing that could happen in some localities is to have a well organized movement for the protection of Democracy in America like the ones in control now in some of the European countries."

Do you get the meaning of that last suggestion? Every machinist in Bethlehem gets it. Even as you peruse these lines, dear reader, they are talking it over in Bethlehem and Allentown.

I asked one of the most popular union leaders, an old and loyal A. F. of L. man, about this reconstruction problem.

"Men are being fired from the munitions factories," I said, "and millions of soldiers are going to come home and all are going to be looking for the same jobs. What's the answer?"

"The answer," he replied, "is workmen's and soldiers' councils."

He did not consider the possibility that the workmen and the soldiers in America may not take counsel together, precisely because they will be rivals for the same job, and the soldiers may grab a chance for bread and butter at less than the prevailing rates. But I considered it, for I saw that very thing beginning to happen in Bridgeport.

* * *

He had been released from Camp Upton five days ago. He was a machinist of seven years' experience and he had taken seriously the fine things he had once read in the papers to the effect that the soldier's job would be waiting for him when he got back. He got back to Bridgeport. He found his old job gone, for the small shop in which he worked had been swallowed in the wave of wholesale production. So he went the rounds of the shops. He was in uniform, but usually he could not get past the gate guard. At the American Chain Company he knew of a job that was definitely open to a skilled machinist.

"How much experience?" asked the employment manager.

"Seven years."

"Nothing doing. We want an older man."

After four days of searching he gave up and went around to the union office. Here he found newspaper men, who said he ought to have gone to the Federal Employment office. Very well, he would go. He went. The office would not give him a card, for there was no demand for machinists at union rates.

But at the same time men were being hired daily at a wage fifteen to twenty cents per hour under the union scale.

There were men fired at seventy cents who went back the next day and were hired at fifty-five.

That seems to be the trend of reconstruction in Bridgeport. The men who have been discharged since the armistice are largely the skilled and highly paid men in the machinists' trade. The unskilled and the slightly skilled are usually retained.

But how, you ask, can a machine shop get along without skilled machinists? The answer is, the Specialists. The process of "dilution" has overtaken the machinists' trade, as it did in England. When war orders began to accumulate, three or four years ago, it was necessary to increase production. Thousands of unskilled workers, men and women, were introduced into the machine shops, named specialists, and taught in a few weeks to perform small, repetitive processes in the work. The unions relaxed their apprenticeship rules to make this increase in production possible. Later they took the specialists into the union. Then they found themselves being assigned to specialist jobs at specialist rates. Then they discovered that nearly all processes in their hard-learned trade were being performed by the unskilled, at rates fixed autocratically by the employer. They protested, and were called Bolsheviki. Under the threats of President Wilson they went back to their chaotic tasks, but they looked with apprehension to the end of the war when this strange new situation should be liquidated.

"The machinists' trade ain't no trade any more," said one machinist to me in Bethlehem. He had worked in the machine shops for eleven years, but was not, I believe, a union man.

"It's all done by the hicks they brought in from outside. The company gave them piece rates and they made ten or fifteen dollars a day easy. They put me bossing a gang of five, showing them how to do it, and every one of them was earning more than I was. And I got the blame if any work was spoiled.

"So I quit. Then the next day I went to another department and asked for a job. They said, 'You are a machinist, ain't you?' I said, 'No.' They said, 'But you've worked on a machine, ain't you?' I said, 'Yes, I've worked on a machine, but I spoiled too much work and they fired me.'"

He got his job as specialist and materially bettered his lot in life.

I am glad to see any "hick" make fifteen dollars a day, but I can understand the machinist's resentment at it. What has become of those four years he put in as apprentice? What claim will he have on a wage proportionate to his skill when the labor market is again flooded after the war?

Some machinists insist that the machinists' trade is still a trade, and that no shop can get along without the skilled man. Others deny it. I myself suspect that one or two good "efficiency men" could abolish the machinists entirely, except in the capacity of skilled overseer. But, in any case, the specialist will hold the machine shops together while men are being fired at seventy cents and hired at fifty-five.

And what will the returned soldier do? My friend at

Bridgeport may have stuck by his union brothers, refused the scab jobs and left his home and friends to look for work elsewhere at decent union rates. But those who follow him from Upton next week or next month probably won't. They will take the job they must have on any terms they can get. The union men will resent it. They will hold out for their craft rates and their craft dignity. They will hold mass meetings and red ideas will be applauded. The soldiers now at work will be told that these are Bolsheviki, threatening the very foundations of American freedom, and I am afraid many of them will believe it. Here is the chance for some adventurer in mass publicity to instigate the great issue between the American veteran and the American slacker. And as between the two, which side will the soldier take who is still in uniform? Then, if there are bread lines and mass demonstrations, what is going to happen in the streets? And what, in the meantime, will the Pennsylvania *Labor Herald* and a hundred or more other labor papers be saying?

* * *

This is speculation. Up to this time there is no serious unemployment situation either in Bethlehem or in Bridgeport. Many peace industries will promptly take up the slack of the munitions factories. But I am satisfied of what is being aimed at in the two cities I visited.

In Bethlehem it is to demobilize the trade unions, to shatter the fair and decent system of collective bargaining, supported by trade union organization, set up by the War Labor Board, and to install a "practical, comprehensive and permanent plan of employes' representation" supplied by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and MacKenzie King to lull the workers with a false sense of democracy and cut off each shop from the support of all the others. In Bridgeport, I am convinced that the aim is to lower wages and break the machinists' craft. And I feel sure that Bethlehem and Bridgeport are a fair cross-section of the war industry communities of the country.

The *New Republic* has expressed the fear that we shall have a hap-hazard reconstruction. It need not worry. We shan't. We shall have, now that the Administration has officially washed its hands of the problem, a reconstruction carefully manipulated by one of the two great potential gainers—those who live by working and those who live by owning. One of the two sides will do the manipulating, and it will be that one which has the better organization and the better wits.

As a sporting proposition, if I were betting, I should bet on the owners. They are demobilizing the war industries very actively now.

And their first step is to demobilize the trade unions.

H. M.

The Little Boy

OLD men are slow, old men are wrinkled;
Old men are bent and small;
But if they've been sailors or miners with candles
Old men are best of all.

Elizabeth Thomas.



Gang of Pushcart Peddlers Judging a Work of Art



"My God!"



"What Can I Do?"



Not Yet—

TABLEAUS
By William Gropper

I See by the Papers

IT was a Hunconditional surrender.

FOOD will win the peace; do not taste it.

IS it permitted now to speak of it as "the late unpleasantness"?

THE celebrations of November 7th and 11th seemed to indicate that the people did not share fully in the N. Y. *Tribune's* regret that the war was over.

"THE *Evening World* First Published the News of the War's End To-day"—thus boasted that enterprising New York paper on the afternoon of the great illusion. This wipes out the stain of two years before when the *World* was beaten by twenty-three minutes in announcing the election of Hughes.

A VIENNA paper says that Charles has not abdicated but merely renounced the exercise of his rights. But how long can rights remain healthy without exercise?

IT is always April Fool in the office of the London *Daily Mail*. Now we learn that the triumph of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils in Berlin is only a part of the big bluff that the old Germany is defunct.

"FIVE Grand Dukes Slain in a Well by Bolsheviki." This headline from the New York *Times* will confound those who claimed that war does not tend to the production of high class imaginative fiction.

THE ease with which the Republicans and Democrats composed their differences in order to keep the Socialists out of Congress recalls the celebrated case of Tweedledum vs. Tweedledee when the crow came down. "It frightened both those heroes so they quite forgot their quarrel."

THE cruel newspaper war between Burluson and Mackay has been observed with singular calm by our plainer people. In some quarters hope has been expressed that casualties would be heavy on both sides.

SAID the New York *Evening Sun*, the day before election:

"The chief mystery of the campaign is why 'Al' Smith thought it worth while to run. He didn't need it as a foundation for his next candidacy, and must know that there is a loss of prestige in overwhelming defeat."

A knock-out argument for the censorship. When Smith read this indiscreet paragraph, he went to work and got elected.

BUT it can never be said again that pre-election forecasts are without value. In New York both parties claimed the state by about 300,000, and sure enough the election was a very close one.

"IN the midst of a violent and, perhaps, to some extent justifiable, crusade against militarism"—with this damaging admission, one Lucian in the Rochester *Post-Express* begins a long article in support of war for war's sake. He whitewashes the whole crew, Alexander, Cæsar, Attila and the rest; in Lucian's opinion "glory" is synonymous with "gory." Why Wilhelm is denied admission to this magnificent slaughter-house is not clear; perhaps from some petty personal prejudice.

AN interesting change in our form of government has taken place in New York and several other cities. The legislative, executive and judicial functions have been vested in a group of enthusiastic young men in uniform who decide who may and who may not hold public meetings and what colors ex-citizens may wear.

SEVERAL flagrant cases of red neckties were discovered and summarily dealt with. A gentleman with a red nose was under suspicion, but he was released upon his convincing plea that he was opposed to all forms of anarchy and prohibition.

IT is rumored that a well known song will be amended to read "Three cheers for the khaki, white and blue."

"EMINENT JURIST," who writes pieces for the N. Y. *Times* when he is not eminently judging, finds four columns of reasons why it is illegal for the President to go to Europe. This is E. J.'s first literary appearance since that in which he suggested the occupation of Mexico for reasons of military necessity—à la Hun.

THE President announced his intention of going to Europe as soon as the newspapers had decided by a vote of two to one that he should stay at home. Possibly he remembered that the papers voted 200 to 1 against his listening to peace proposals from Germany.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY FICKERT, having successfully knocked Fremont Older down, it must be admitted by all except the prejudiced that Fickert has cleared himself of the charge of being a crook. The only trouble is that the prejudiced seem to constitute a majority of the civilized world.

A SIGN of the sad state to which this country has fallen is the fact that Theodore Roosevelt is now to be found chiefly among the book reviews and Taft has been transferred to the sporting page.

WE should be charitable with the papers these days, for they have a lot of hard work to do. They must convince us that Liebknecht, who fought the German government throughout the war, is our enemy, and the majority Socialists who went fifty-fifty with the Kaiser in all his crimes, are our real friends.

WHEN this task is done they will bravely tackle the job of proving that the German invaders of Russia are the hope of democracy and civilization, subject to change without notice.

THEN, too, there is the poor monthly magazine editor whose editorials warning us against German peace traps, are coming out in these distressing days.

AS Lincoln Steffens says, "Peace, also, is hell."
HOWARD BRUBAKER.

A BOY AT CHURCH

THE organ groaned and the choir boys chanted,
The congregation rustled with a solemn air;
God was a sad old man with whiskers,
Sitting up in heaven in a gold arm-chair.
Rose Henderson.

HESTER STREET.

GOD was surely
Humoured sweet
When He fashioned
Hester Street,

On whose sidewalks
And front stairs
Desert Isaacs
Guard tin-wares;

On whose corners
Ragged batches
Of Bar Kochbas
Hold out matches;

From whose basements
Dusky, drear,
God-like Moses
Heads appear,

And about for
Many blocks
Maccabaeans
Cry out socks.

Samuel Roth.

PORTRAIT OF A MACHINE

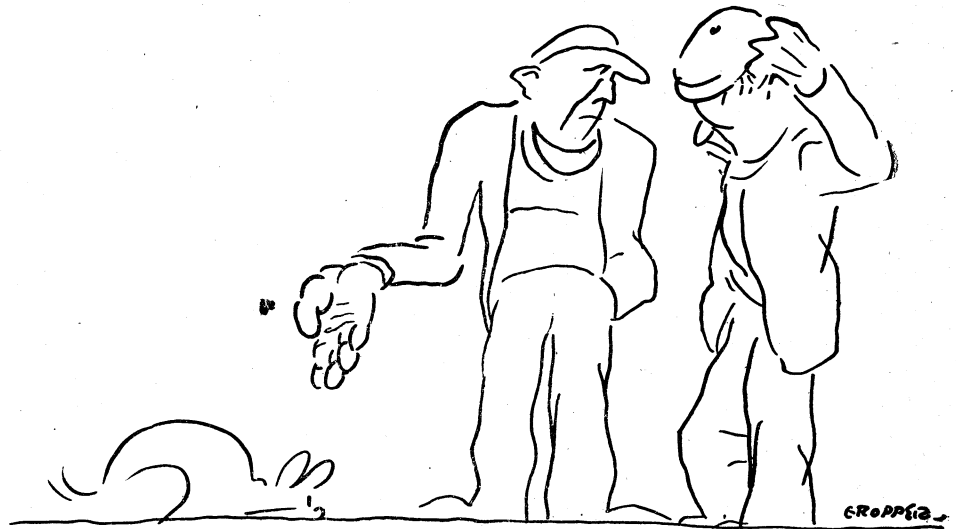
WHAT nudity is beautiful as this
Obedient monster purring at his toil;
These naked iron muscles dripping oil
And the sure-fingered rods that never miss.
This long and shining flank of metal is
Magic that greasy labor cannot spoil;
While this vast engine that could rend the soil
Conceals its fury with a gentle hiss.

It does not vent its loathing, does not turn
Upon its makers with destroying hate.
It bears a deeper malice; lives to earn
Its masters' bread, and laughs to see this great
Lord of the earth who rules but cannot learn
Become the slave of what his slaves create.

Louis Untermeyer.

GOOD FOR SYLVIA!

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST has for some time dissociated herself from the activities of her mother and sister, having given herself to social reform movements in the East End. She, too, does not intend to become a Parliamentary candidate. "I am waiting," she declares, "for the Soviets. I am weary of the present Parliamentary system which is so remote from daily life and from the control of the rank and file workers to be all but useless to them. Socialism built up from the workshop and the home is alone worth while."—*Dispatch from London.*



Drawn by William Gropper.

"An' you mean to tell me that that dog ain't got no fleas?"

International Labor and Socialist News

By Alexander Trachtenberg

New Zealand

THE Socialist and Labor forces of New Zealand scored a victory in October, electing to Parliament Peter Fraser, editor of the "Maoriland Worker," from the Wellington Central district. The Wellington seat was made vacant by the death of a supporter of the anti-labor government. Fraser, who is a waterside worker by occupation, was known for his revolutionary activities and opposition to the war and conscription. Before coming to New Zealand in 1910, Fraser was an active I. L. P. worker in Scotland. In 1913 he was leader of the Waterside Workers' strike and has acted for a number of years as secretary of the Social Democratic Party. In 1916 he was convicted for seditious utterances and served a year in prison.

Great Britain

The pre-election manifesto of the British Labor Party shows that British Labor has divorced itself entirely from the coalition government and on some international matters has taken a more aggressive stand than it did in the famous "Program," "Self-determination for Ireland and India," "the unhampered convocation of the workers' International," "the withdrawal of allied troops from Russian territory,"—these are definitely new points in British labor's position.

While warning the reactionary governments of Europe against intervention in the internal affairs of the rising industrial democracies, the Labor Party does not forget the pressing problems at home. It demands the immediate repeal of the Defence of the Realm Act, complete abolition of conscription, the release of all political prisoners and the removal of all barriers to the exercise of civil and industrial liberties.

Constructive social and economic reforms are also demanded,—the nationalization of land, mines, and railways, the immediate building of 1,000,000 houses at the state's expense, a comprehensive public health system, a truly democratic public school system, a radical revision of labor legislation, the extension of democratic control in industries, equal rights of both sexes, conscription of wealth.

The Labor Minister, G. N. Barnes, who refused to obey the mandate of the party to withdraw from the Coalition Cabinet, was opposed in his Glasgow district by John MacLean, who received the Labor Party nomination. John MacLean is well known for his revolutionary and internationalist activities as well as for his appointment by the

Soviet Government as Russian Consul for Scotland, an appointment which the British Government, of course, refused to recognize. He was nominated while doing a term in prison for Bolshevik activities.

United States

An International Labor Conference—The American Federation of Labor is planning to convene an international labor congress while the Peace Conference is in session, with Samuel Gompers, William Green of the United Mine Workers, John R. Alpine of the Plumbers, James Duncan of the Granite Cutters and Frank Duffy of the Carpenters as American delegates. As a regular international Socialist and labor congress is contemplated for the same time, the status of the A. F. of L. gathering and the character of the labor elements which will attend it is causing a great deal of comment. The Italian and French Socialists already are on record that they will refuse to attend a conference at which the A. F. of L. is represented. The A. F. of L. delegation should be able to gather under its banner the slim Socialist and labor minorities—the Quarante group in France, the Havelock Wilson element in England, the Socialist Union of Italy, the Scheidemann-Legien followers of Germany, and similar discredited groups in other countries.

The Pan-American Labor Conference—A Pan-American Labor Conference was held at Laredo, Tex., during the last days of November. John Murray, a San Francisco newspaper man, who has studied the Mexican labor movement, is responsible more than anyone else for bringing about this gathering of labor delegates from the two Americas.

In 1916, Carlos Loveira, a labor leader from Yucatan, was sent by the A. F. of L. to Central and South America to establish connections with the labor movements of those countries. The writer remembers the consternation which Loveira caused among the leaders of the A. F. of L., when, reporting on his journey at the Baltimore convention, he again and again reiterated that outside of a limited anarchist influence the Socialists furnished the leadership of the labor movement in Central and South America, and directed its destinies.

It was at the Baltimore convention that the Pan-American Labor Conference was authorized. Outside of the A. F. of L., which was represented by President Gompers, members of

the Executive Council and officers of several unions, there were delegates from Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Porto Rico, Costa Rica and Salvador. The published reports do not indicate any representation from the important labor movements of Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, etc.

The conference adopted the following as fundamental principles which must underlie the coming peace:

"A league of the free peoples of the world, in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

"No reprisals based on vindictive purpose or desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

"Recognition of rights of small nations and of the principles that no people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.

"No territorial changes or adjustments of powers except in furtherance of the people affected and in furtherance of world peace."

In addition to the above basic principles, the conference held that the following guarantees, "fundamental to the best interest of all nations and of vital importance to wage earners," should be made a part of the treaty of peace:

"That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of human beings is not a commodity or article of commerce.

"Industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

"The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

"That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are safe in harbor.

"No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 15 years have been employed or permitted to work.

"It shall be declared that the basic work day in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours a day.

"Trial by jury should be established."

The Italian Labor Mission—The Italian "Socialist" and "Labor" elements which entertained the Gompers and Spargo missions are now represented in the United States by a mission of their own. It is understood that this mission will not attempt to meet the American Socialists.

The mission, which came to this country at the invitation of the A. F. of L., and the so-called Social-Democratic League, is headed by Alcesto de Ambris, formerly an extreme syndicalist and direct-actionist, for whom the Italian Socialists were mere bourgeois reformers. He has since been repudiated by the *Unione Sindicale*, in which he played a leading role and has no connection with the organized labor movement of Italy.

The other members of the mission are: Romolo Sabatini, an expelled member of the Socialist party; Silvano Fassulo, a lawyer and artillery lieutenant, who was also forced to leave the Socialist movement for his pro-war activities; Carlo Bazzi, a bourgeois republican; Adelmo Pedrini, and Ettore Cuzzani, both former syndicalists and direct-actionists; Amilcare de Ambris and Vice Flaschi.

The recognized labor movement of Italy is represented by two great national bodies. *The Confederazione del Lavoro* comprises national labor organizations and the Chambers of Labor. It is in complete accord with the present policy of the Socialist Party of Italy and has always accepted the leadership of the party. The other labor body is the *Unione Sindicale*, which though a syndicalist organization, has supported the Socialist party in its position on the war and general international policy. The Railroad Workers' Union,

an independent labor organization, because of socialists and syndicalists in its midst, has also been in agreement with the stand of the Socialist Party. None of these labor organizations would have anything to do with the recent American delegations nor did they send any representatives with the present mission.

On November 30, sixty delegates representing Italian branches of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers, Hotel Workers' Federation, Italian Bakers' Federation, Italian Typographical Union, Longshoreman's organization from Hoboken, as well as several Italian publications, held a conference and decided to publish a statement acquainting the American workers with the personnel of the Italian mission and warning them against accepting the mission as representative of the organized labor movement of Italy.

The Chicago Labor Party—Growing out of a grievance of the Chicago trade-unionists against the city administration, Chicago has seen the founding of a labor party which the sponsors believe will soon become the independent political expression of the organized labor movement of America. The Chicago Federation of Labor, which launched this party at a local convention, November 17th, expects to carry the idea to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Illinois State Federation of Labor has already endorsed the plan. Imitating President Wilson, the Labor Party has adopted 14 planks:

1. The right to organize and deal collectively with employers through union representatives.
2. Democratic control of industry.
3. Eight hour day and a minimum wage.
4. Abolition of unemployment through the stabilization of industry and the provision of public work during periods of depression.
5. Equal rights for men and women in government and industry.
6. Elimination of profiteering and wasteful methods of distribution of necessities of life, through the removal of middlemen and the development of cooperation.
7. Democratization of education through the participation of labor and organization of teachers in the administration of the schools.
8. Continuation and extension of soldiers' and sailors' insurance to all workers.
9. The payment of the war debt by taxing inheritance, incomes and land values.
10. Public ownership of public utilities, nationalization and development of basic natural resources.
11. Complete restoration of free speech, free press, free assemblage, and the liberation of all political prisoners.
12. Proportional representation of labor in all departments of government and all agencies for demobilization and reconstruction.
13. Representation of labor at the peace conference in proportion to the number of workers in the armies, navies and war work shops.
14. An international league of workers, supplementing the League of Nations to guarantee the destruction of autocracy, militarism, economic imperialism, and bring about disarmament and open diplomacy, "to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars."

Following the example of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the New York Central Federated Union has endorsed the plan for a labor party in America, and issued a call for a convention to formulate plans and adopt a platform.

The Socialist trade-unionists have so far shown no antagonism to the plan of an independent labor party, believing that it may help to awaken the American workers from their political lethargy, but are, nevertheless on guard against its being utilized by the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. as similar "labor parties" have been used in the past—for the advancement of one or the other capitalist political party.

Note from the Russian Soviet Government to President Wilson

We publish here for the information of our readers the full text of the address of Foreign Minister Tchicherin of the Soviet Republic to President Wilson, requesting an armistice. Whatever their judgment of it may be, all American citizens ought to make it their duty to read this request.

ON October 24 1918, the following note was handed in by Peoples' Commissary for Foreign Affairs Tchicherin to the Norwegian Attache in Moscow, Mr. Christiansen, for transmission to President Wilson:

*To the President of the United States of North America,
Mr. Woodrow Wilson!*

Mr. President:

In your message of January 8th to the Congress of the United States of North America, in the sixth point, you spoke of your profound sympathy for Russia, which was then conducting, single-handed, negotiations with the mighty German imperialism. Your program, you declared, demands the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and national policy, and assure her a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. And you added that "the treatment accorded to her by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

The desperate struggle which we were waging at Brest-Litovsk against German imperialism apparently only intensified your sympathy for Soviet Russia, for you sent greetings to the Congress of the Soviets, which under the threat of a German offensive ratified the Brest peace of violence—greetings and assurances that Soviet Russia might count upon American help.

Six months have passed since then, and the Russian people have had sufficient time to get actual tests of your Government's and your Allies' good will, of their comprehension of the needs of the Russian people, of their intelligent unselfish sympathy. This attitude of your Government and of your Allies was shown first of all in the conspiracy which was organized on Russian territory with the financial assistance of your French Allies and with the diplomatic co-operation of your Government as well—the conspiracy of

the Czecho-Slovaks to whom your Government is furnishing every kind of assistance.

For some time attempts had been made to create a pretext for a war between Russia and the United States by spreading false stories to the effect that German war prisoners had seized the Siberian railway, but your own officers, and after them Colonel Robins, the head of your Red Cross Mission, had been convinced that these allegations were absolutely false. The Czecho-Slovak conspiracy was organized under the slogan that unless these misled unfortunate people be protected, they would be surrendered to Germany and Austria; but you may find out, among other sources, from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, of the French Military Mission, how unfounded this charge is. The Czecho-Slovaks would have left Russia in the beginning of the year had the French Government provided ships for them. For several months we have waited in vain for your Allies to provide the opportunity for the Czecho-Slovaks to leave. Evidently these Governments have very much preferred the presence of the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia—the results show for what object—to their departure for France and their participation in the fighting on the French front. The best proof of the real object of the Czecho-Slovak rebellion is the fact that although in control of the Siberian railway, the Czecho-Slovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by the order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, have remained in Russia to become the mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution. Their counter-revolutionary mutiny, which made impossible the transportation of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which cut off the Russian workers and peasants from the Siberian stores of grain and other materials and condemned them to starvation—this was the first experience of the workers and peasants of Russia with your Government and with your Allies after your promises of the beginning of the year. And then came another experience: an attack on North Russia by Allied troops, including American troops, their invasion of Russian territory without any cause and without a declaration of war, the occupation of Russian cities and villages, executions of Soviet officials and other acts of violence against the peaceful population of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in October, 1917. The revival of the Russian counter-revolution which has already

become a corpse, attempts to restore by force its bloody domination over the Russian people—such was the experience of the Russian people, instead of co-operation for the unembarrassed expression of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for independence. Actually this is what has occurred: While the Russian people were fighting on the Southern front against the counter-revolution, which has betrayed them to German imperialism and was threatening their independence, while they were using all their energy to organize the defense of their territory against Germany at their Western frontiers, they were forced to move their troops to the East to oppose the Czecho-Slovaks who were bringing them slavery and oppression, and to the North—against your Allies and your own troops, which had invaded their territory, and against the counter-revolutions organized by these troops.

Mr. President, the acid test of the relations between the United States and Russia gave quite different results from those that might have been expected from your message to the Congress. But we have reason not to be altogether dissatisfied with even these results, since the outrages of the counter-revolution in the East and North have shown the workers and peasants of Russia the aims of the Russian counter-revolution, and of its foreign supporters, thereby creating among the Russian people an iron will to defend their liberty and the conquests of the revolution, to defend the land that it has given to the peasants and the factories that it has given to the workers. The fall of Kazan, Symbyrsk, Syzran and Samara should make clear to you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for us of the actions which followed your promises of January 18. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disciplined Red Army, which is daily growing stronger and more powerful and which is learning to defend the revolution. The attitude toward us which was actually displayed by your Government and by your Allies could not destroy us; on the contrary, we are now stronger than we were a few months ago, and your present proposal of international negotiations for a general peace finds us alive and strong and in a position to give in the name of Russia our consent to join the negotiations. In your note to Germany you demand the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition which must precede the armistice during which peace negotiations shall begin. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions, and we ask you to notify us when you, Mr. President, and your Allies intend to remove your troops from Murmansk, Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice unless Germany will stop the outrages, pillaging, etc., during the evacuation of occupied territories. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your Allies will order the Czecho-Slovaks to return the part of our gold reserve fund which they seized in Kazan, that you will forbid them to continue as heretofore their acts of pillaging and outrages against the workers and peasants during their forced departure (for we will

encourage their speedy departure, without waiting for your order).

With regard to your other peace terms, namely, that the Governments which would conclude peace must express the will of their people, you are aware that our Government fully satisfies this condition. Our Government expresses the will of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, representing at least eighty per cent. of the Russian people. This cannot, Mr. President, be said about your Government. But for the sake of humanity and peace we do not demand as a prerequisite of general peace negotiations that all nations participating in the negotiations shall be represented by Councils of People's Commissaries elected at a Congress of Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. We know that this form of Government will soon be the general form, and that a general peace, when nations will no more be threatened with defeat, will leave them free to put an end to the system and the cliques that forced upon mankind this universal slaughter, and which will, in spite of themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments that give exact expression to their will.

Agreeing to participate at present in negotiations with even such Governments as do not yet express the will of the people, we would like on our part to find out from you, Mr. President, in detail what is your conception of the League of Nations, which you propose as the crowning work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, Belgium, and freedom for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean by this that the masses of the people must everywhere first become the masters of their own fate in order to unite afterward in a league of free nations. But strangely enough, we do not find among your demands the liberation of Ireland, Egypt or India, nor even the liberation of the Philippines, and we would be very sorry if these peoples should be denied the opportunity to participate together with us, through their freely elected representatives, in the organization of the League of Nations.

We would also, Mr. President, very much like to know, before the negotiations with regard to the formation of a League of Nations have begun, what is your conception of the solution of many economic questions which are essential for the cause of future peace. You do not mention the war expenditures—this unbearable burden which the masses would have to carry, unless the League of Nations should renounce payments on the loans to the capitalists of all countries. You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the outcome of the policies of all capitalistic nations, that the governments of all countries were continually piling up armaments, that the ruling groups of all civilized nations pursued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore, be extremely unjust if the masses, having paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic ruin, should yet pay to those who are really responsible for the war a tribute for their policies which resulted in all these countless miseries. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, the annulment of the war loans as the basis of the League

of Nations. As to the restoration of the countries that were laid waste by the war, we believe it is only just that all nations should in this respect aid the unfortunate Belgium, Poland and Serbia; and however poor and ruined Russia seems to be, she is ready on her part to do everything she can to help these victims of the war, and she expects that American capital, which has not at all suffered from this war and has even made many millions in profits out of it, will do its part to help these peoples.

But the League of Nations should not only liquidate the present war, but also make impossible any wars in the future. You must be aware, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country are planning to apply in the future the same policies of encroachment and of super-profits in China and in Siberia; and that, fearing competition from Japanese capitalists, they are preparing a military force to overcome the resistance which they may meet from Japan. You are no doubt aware of similar plans of the capitalists and ruling circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other peoples. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that the factories, mines and banks must not be left in the hands of private persons, who have always made use of the vast means of production created by the masses of the people to export products and capital to foreign countries in order to reap super-profits in return for the benefits forced on them, their struggle for spoils resulting in imperialistic wars. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. In your country, Mr. President, the banks and the industries are in the hands of such a small group of capitalists that, as your personal friend, Colonel Robins, assured us, the arrest of twenty heads of capitalistic cliques and the transfer of the control, which by characteristic capitalistic methods they have come to possess, into the hands of the masses of the world is all that would be required to destroy the principal source of new wars. If you will agree to this, Mr. President—if the sources of future wars will thus be destroyed, then there can be no doubt that it would be easy to remove all economic barriers and that all peoples, controlling their means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging the things they do not need for the things they need. It will then be a question of an exchange of products between nations, each of which produces what it can best produce, and the League of Nations will be a league of mutual aid of the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal safety.

We know very well that the selfish capitalist class will attempt to create this internal menace, just as the Russian landlords and capitalists are now attempting, with the aid of American, English and French armed forces, to take the factories from the workers and the land from the peasants. But, if the American workers, inspired by your idea of a League of Nations, will crush the resistance of the American capitalist as we have crushed the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a serious menace to the victorious work-

ing class, and it will then suffice, if every member of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two hours daily for several months in learning the use of arms, so that the whole people will know how to overcome the internal menace.

And so, Mr. President, though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless accept as a basis your proposals about peace and about a League of Nations. We have tried to develop them in order to avoid results which would contradict your promises, as was the case with your promise of assistance to Russia. We have tried to formulate with precision your proposals on the League of Nations in order that the League of Nations should not turn out to be a league of capitalists against the nations. Should you not agree with us, we have no objection to an "open discussion of your peace terms," as the first point of your peace program demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will easily agree on the details.

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the president of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion, and we have also had dealings with the president of the League of Nations Peace Program. Is not the first of these—the real president—actually directing the policies of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government rather a government of the American corporations, of the American industrial, commercial and railroad trusts, of the American banks—in short, a government of the American capitalists? And is it not possible that the proposals of this government about the creation of a League of Nations will result in new chains for the peoples, in the organization of an international trust for the exploitation of the workers and the suppression of weak nations? In this latter case, Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply to our questions, and we will say to the workers of all countries: Beware! Millions of your brothers, thrown at each other's throats by the bourgeoisie of all countries, are still perishing on the battle fields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understanding for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive, when they call to account the criminals who caused the war!

However, Mr. President, since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, even though your government has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaries and your post is not yet taken by Eugene Debs, whom you have imprisoned; since we do not at all desire to wage war against England, even though the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaries with MacLean at its head; since we have no desire to wage war against France, even though the capitalist government of Clemenceau has not yet been replaced by a workmen's government of Merheim; just as we have concluded peace with the imperialist government of Germany, with Emperor William at its head, from whom you, Mr. President, feel as alien as we, the Workmen's and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, from you—we finally propose to you, Mr.

President, that you take up with your Allies the following questions and give us precise and definite replies: Do the governments of the United States, England and France consent to cease demanding the blood of the Russian people and the lives of Russian citizens, if the Russian people will agree to pay them a ransom such as a man who has been suddenly attacked pays to the one who attacked him? If so, just what tribute do the governments of the United States, England and France demand of the Russian people? Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Caucasia, or perhaps the Murmansk Coast? We expect from you, Mr. President, that you will definitely state just what you and your Allies demand, and also whether the alliance between your government and the governments of the other Entente Powers is in the nature of a combination which could be compared with a corporation for drawing dividends from Russia, or does your government and the other governments of the Entente Powers have each separate and special demands, and what are they? Particularly are we interested to know the demands of your French allies with regard to the three billions of rubles which the Paris bankers loaned to the government of the Czar—the oppressor of Russia and the enemy of his own people. And you, Mr. President, as well as your French allies, surely know that even if you and your Allies should succeed in enslaving and covering with blood the whole territory of Russia—which will not be allowed by our heroic revolutionary Red Army—that even in that case the Russian people, worn out by the war and not having had sufficient time to take advantage of the benefits of the Soviet rule to elevate their national economy, will be unable to pay to the French bankers the

full tribute for the billions that were used by the government of the Czar for purposes injurious to the people. Do your French allies demand that a part of this tribute be paid in installments, and if so—what part, and do they not anticipate that their claims will result in similar claims by other creditors of the infamous government of the Czar which has been overthrown by the Russian people? We can hardly think that your government and your Allies are without a ready answer, when your and their troops are trying to advance on our territory with the evident object of seizing and enslaving our country. The Russian people, through the people's Red Army, are guarding their territory and are bravely fighting against your invasion and against the attacks of your Allies. But your government and the governments of the other Powers of the Entente, undoubtedly, have well prepared plans, for the sake of which you are shedding the blood of your soldiers. We expect that you will state your demands very clearly and definitely. Should we, however, be disappointed, should you fail to reply to our quite definite and precise questions, we will draw the only possible conclusion—that we are justified in the assumption that your government and the governments of your Allies desire to get from the Russian people a tribute both in money and in natural resources of Russia, and territorial concessions as well. We will tell this to the Russian people as well as to the toiling masses of other countries, and the absence of a reply from you will serve for us as a silent reply. The Russian people will then understand that the demands of your government and of the governments of your Allies are so severe and vast that you do not even want to communicate them to the Russian Government.

TCHICHERIN, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SONG FROM "GREEN LEAVES"

WHAT are we
But leaves of a tree,
Pallid, fluttering leaves of a tree,
Whited and thinned,
Flung by the wind,
Torn and freed by the scattering wind,
Treading, and trod
By man and god
Into our mother and grave, the sod?
Clement Wood.

Note

WE take pleasure in announcing that we have added to our list of contributing editors the names of Maurice Sterne, painter and sculptor, and Clive Weed, cartoonist.

TO LYDIA

A Translation from Horace in His Own Meter

Lydia, say, by heaven,
Why do you drive young Sybaris, loving him, down to ruin?
Why does he shun the open
Field where he loved to suffer the dust and the burning sunshine;
Why with the youthful troopers
Never again does Sybaris ride, and the Gallic charger
Curb with a wolf's-tooth bridle?
Why does he dread the dive in the waters of tawny Tiber,
Shunning like viper's blood the
Oil of the olive, shunning his arms and the purple bruises,
He who could hurl the discus
Often, and hurl the javelin often, beyond the utmost?
Why does he skulk like Thetis'
Son in the tearful, terrible days of the doom of Trojans,
Fearing the hero's dress should
Hurry him forth to battle the host of the Lycian army?

Max Eastman.

BOOKS

These Times

New York Bureau of Legal Advice: Year Book, Reports by Charles Recht, counsel, Fannie H. Witherspoon, secretary, and Arthur S. Leeds, treasurer, 1918. 118 East 28th Street, New York.

DEAR RECHT: This report, which is mainly devoted to an account of your legal activities on behalf of your bureau, would no doubt interest me greatly even if I did not know you. But since the last *Masses* trial, where I had the pleasure of being represented by you, and the added pleasure of finding in you a friend, I must needs read these pages in the light of those memories of you. So that this report is to me not merely the story of some fifteen characteristic cases out of the hundred in which you have appeared in court to defend the constitutional rights of workingmen, actors, school-teachers, agitators, Socialists, I. W. W.'s, Russians, sailors, soldiers; it is not merely the brief and poignant record of the lonely and heroic and by no means ineffective stand which you and your associates have made against the overwhelming forces of reaction—it is the scenario of a grimly ironic history of our times, such as you alone could write. I find in it, brief as it is, the sensitiveness and the humor which conspire together in your personality to make you at once so passionate a participant and so detached an observer of our contemporary tragi-comedy. You are not, please God, a reformer; nor are you, in the sense in which we dogmatists use the term, a revolutionist: you are an artist, interested above all things in the creation of beauty. It is no instinct of politics, no fondness for the machinery of law, and still less any enthusiasm for democracy, which has flung you into this turbulent struggle of today. You understand politics, and despise it, you practise law with a shrewd ability which scarcely conceals your underlying scorn of its ignoble artifices, you are frankly scornful of the Mob. It is your hatred of ugliness, and of our unjust Justice as one of the chief uglinesses by which the flower of beauty in the individual life is smeared by the crass passions of the multitude—it is this which makes you the defender of our oppressed. You do not belong in heart to any movement; you are whimsically out of tune equally with our radicals and our reactionaries; you are no contemporary, but a figure strayed from some earlier and finer century into one in which you must, at the best, misuse your gifts. And so you do, generously, keenly, laughingly—and with results for which we owe you a debt of gratitude.

I ought not to let this occasion slip without saying something to urge the readers of this magazine who are not already acquainted with the work of your bureau, to procure this pamphlet. If they read the story of Nikition, the Russian who refused to buy a Liberty Bond and was sentenced to six months in prison and told by the judge that he should

have been "lynched right then and there"; of Miss Pignol, the teacher who was dismissed because, though she hated German imperialism, she would not say she wanted Germany to be "crushed"; of the Russians, Fedetov and Tachin, who are serving ten-year sentences in New Jersey because they tried to organize a school to teach Russians the English language—if they read these things they will, I am sure, realize with a new vividness what kind of times are these we live in, and will want to lend their help to the little group who have undiscouragedly and faithfully fought for a forgotten ideal of justice. And I hope they will find in these pages of something of the strange, old-world flavor of your own personality, as of an artist turned soldier, gayly but not without scorn for the world which mistakes his uses.

FLOYD DELL.

Russia

Six Red Months in Russia, by Louise Bryant. Illustrated. \$2 net. George H. Doran Co.

DEAR LOUISE BRYANT: When I was young I was carefully taught to believe that the day of Revolutions had passed; that we were in the midst of a quiet, orderly, slow and, as it seemed to me, quite invisible Progress toward a super-sanitary, civil-servicized, sweetly arbitrated and efficiently policed World Beautiful. . . . Nevertheless, in spite of all the text-books, I never really believed this. It seemed to me that something infinitely more disorderly and exciting was going to happen: a disgusted and final smashing of old institutions, a crude and brave and beautiful beginning of a new epoch in human history. I believed there would be such a Revolution, and I hoped it might come before I died.

Then when the war came, and with it the collapse of middle-class Sapolio utopianism, all we Socialists said there would be a world-wide revolution. I wonder how many of us believed what we said? I know that my own faith became more precarious year by year. Was it true, then, that the workers were incapable of seizing their own destinies? When the Russian Czar abdicated his throne, my faith flamed up for a moment, and then wavered. . . . We called it a Revolution. But was it to be the real thing? I wondered most of all when I heard the speeches of our nice, respectable American "Friends of the Russian Revolution" at a great meeting in Carnegie Hall called to celebrate the event. They talked about the event as if it were a victory of a Reform candidate over Tammany; and I thought of Professor Milyukoff, and his crowd of nice, respectable middle-class Russian Reformers, then at the head of the new republic, and I wondered if these speakers weren't right, after all. Perhaps Russia was just going to become a nice, respectable middle-class republic like America, and go in for civil service reform and the benevolent assimilation of Constantinople. . . . Perhaps there was to be no new beginning. . . . Fortunate you, who were there to see that new beginning

which has revived all our hopes! We, here on the other side of the world, guessed and wondered, and made cloudy pictures for ourselves from the scanty and hysterical dispatches. Bit by bit we have pieced the story together. But you were there and saw the very birth of the Future. . . . And you have made us see it with your eyes. You have told the story so simply, so vividly, that the panorama of those six tremendous months passes like living reality before us.

You have not written an elaborate history, nor departed from the method which makes your book so simple and vivid—that of telling what you yourself saw and heard in those six months. But you were in the midst of the events that gave the time its color and meaning. You knew “the old Breshkovsky,” as she signs herself in the photograph which is the frontispiece of your book, and Kollontai, and Spiridonova, and the “women soldiers” (of whom you give a different and vastly more human account than any we have heard before!); you talked with Kerensky, Krylenko, Dubenko, Trotzky, Lenine; you saw the surrender of the Winter Palace in Petrograd, and the solemn Red Burial in Moscow; you even know what it is to be in a crowd that is being fired on by machine-gun from an armored motor-car; and some of your stories and sketches of personalities dramatize with peculiar vividness aspects of the revolution which no theoretical account could compass so well. To me the story of that revolutionary tribunal which heard the case of the poor man who stole money from a woman news-vendor, and the new and beautiful and extraordinary justice that was dealt out with the assistance of the audience, is a revelation both of the essential quality of Russia and of Revolutions. . . .

And you not only make us see this swift rush and tangle of events, but with a rare gift of persuasive clarity, you help us to understand what the American people must come to understand if the nation is not to commit itself to a tragically mistaken policy towards Russia—the significance of these events.

We have been told a great deal, and a great deal that isn't so, about Brest-Litovsk. But you tell us the other side of that humiliating event: the tons of propaganda that were sent into Germany to break down German imperialism and make that piece of brigandage recoil upon its imperial instigators—the plans which justified, if more than sheer necessity were required to justify, the acceptance of such a peace—the plans, confidently made, and in the face of the world's hysterical misunderstanding, calmly carried out, for the overthrow of Kaiserdom and capitalism in Austria and Germany.

I was thinking of those plans, and of Lenin, the man who faced the anger of a world in arms when he advised the signing of that peace; of the magnificent and courageous faith in the power of truth against bayonets. . . . I was thinking of these things when I finished the book—and there came the noise of bells and sirens and the shouts of workmen pouring from factories, celebrating—what? I bought a paper and found that the bayonets had yielded—Germany

was aflame with proletarian revolt—on the anniversary of the birth of the first Bolshevik Republic, another had come into being—and the World War, we heard, was over.

FLOYD DELL.

The Profits of Religion

The Profits of Religion, an Essay in Economic Interpretation, by Upton Sinclair. Published by the Author, Pasadena, Cal. Paper, 50 cents, cloth \$1, postpaid.

UPTON SINCLAIR had so much fun writing “The Profits of Religion” that his readers are bound to have a good time too, even if he jars them occasionally. I can't imagine anyone reading the entire book without getting a jolt somewhere along the line, for if there is anything in the universe he hasn't taken a whack at, it isn't his fault, as he admits joyfully in the conclusion—after which he insists upon moralizing about it all. That was where I got my jolt; I couldn't resist reading the last chapter first, and I was most decidedly irritated, concluding that I'd much rather go to an orthodox church and be done with it if I had to listen to a sermon, for there at least I might close my eyes and sleep at intervals, whereas I was quite positive that once I began it, “The Profits of Religion” would keep me quite wide awake, whether I liked it or not.

But when I commenced at the beginning, I found myself chuckling, approving, agreeing, and as self-congratulatory as though it were all my own idea—or rather as if I had been allowed to share in the release of some very important and sensational state secrets. For that is what Upton really did, he waited until he had the “goods” on the Church—twenty-five years he insists it took him—and then he let it out all in one big explosion.

He calls it a “Study in Supernaturalism from a new point of view, as a Source of Income and a Shield to Privilege.” He maintains that no one has ever done it before, and I am inclined to believe him, for it is Seven books in One, as may be readily noted in the table of contents. That table of contents is very interesting in itself, and the main reason for my finishing the book after my uncomfortable encounter with his dissertation on morals—uncomfortable, because in his advice to young radicals he gave me a quite embarrassing sense of his having me particularly in mind! So I turned hastily to the table of contents—and my attention was caught in an instant by some of the various sub-titles. I knew that he couldn't possibly moralize over Dead Cats, Spook Hunting or Fresh Heat; so I took heart again and read. The book is indeed packed full of facts, a regular encyclopedia of information, facts told in a manner at times charming and convincing, and again belligerent and challenging. That's really what the entire book comes to—a challenge to Religion as the Servant of Big Business and a part of the system of Mammon. Sinclair isn't merely destructive; he offers a solution—an undertaking which reform-

ers rarely attempt. Wouldn't Upton wince if he should hear himself called a reformer! But that is what he is, in its truest sense, along with being a novelist and a propagandist; and in the last part of his book, "The Church and the Social Revolution," he gives us a really moving prophetic picture of the Church of Humanity, the church redeemed by the spirit of Brotherhood. He thinks that the revolutionists themselves need a new religion to lift them above the rivalries and quarrels in their midst and make them really brothers in a great cause.

This volume is the first of a series which he is planning to do on Education, Journalism and Literature, all of which will make a work of revolutionary criticism, an economic interpretation of Culture, under the title of "The Dead Hand."

I can't help but wonder if by the time his task is finished the Social Revolution will not have come, and if he will not be the first preacher in the great church for which he has built the foundation in his book. Somehow, I like to imagine him there, as he says about himself in his conclusion, "with his children gathered about his knee, pronouncing upon them a benediction in the ancient patriarchal style." For some time now his "Cry for Justice" has been one of my Bibles so it would be quite easy for me to join in the responses.

"The Profits of Religion" will make more enemies than any of his previous books, and they have a record; but nevertheless, it will be read, and it will get under the skin and sting like nettles. Already the clergy and the church journals have condemned it, which is a good sign, while every fake religionist in the country is denouncing it as libelous and blasphemous. Yes, Upton had a good time writing it, and he's going to have a better time enjoying the vials of wrath that are bound to be poured upon his head from every part of the world, wherever churches exist—and the gratitude of all those who are members of the church outside the church.

B. M. G.

The Madman

The Madman: His Parables and Poems, by Kahlil Gibran. Alfred A. Knopf. \$1.25 net.

His poems are beautiful and his parables are wise. I had forgotten Tagore, but now I shall forget neither Tagore nor Gibran. It is in the presence of a book like this that I feel how stiff and unyielding are my words of praise. It is not a review I wish to write; it is a rhapsody of appreciation. Never have I read anything like it, never has a little book brought me so deep and passionate a pleasure. The parables of the New Testament seem to me cold and verbose by the side of the parables of Gibran, that bringer of the fragrance and passion and sadness of the East. If only, I said to myself, the teachers of men could teach in parables of such compelling beauty! Gibran is one of the compensations of the modern reader. He has breathed the spirit of the East on our cold and indifferent souls; and I, for one,

feel almost as if I had been suffocated by the breath of an intense beauty. "But memory is an autumn leaf that murmurs a while in the wind and then is heard no more." ". . . A thousand dead lovers are buried in shrouds of withered kisses."

"I have seen a face with a thousand countenances, and a face that was but a single countenance as if held in a mould.

"I have seen a face whose sheen I could look through to the ugliness beneath and a face whose sheen I had to lift to see how beautiful it was."

H. P. S.

Of the Soil

Capel Sion, by Caradoc Evans. Boni and Liveright. \$1.50 net.

THIS volume of tales reveals with the clarity and terseness of a Spoon River Anthology the self-centered lives of an intensely provincial people. With unashamed merciless art the author presents the uncouth personalities of this Welsh community. These rude folk, impelled by fierce elemental passions, have a singular fascination for us who are accustomed to cloak with silence the nakedness of passionate impulses. But looking into the turbulent pool of life in Sion, one is strangely disconcerted to see himself curiously distorted but still familiar:—a kind of jungle ancestor that still lurks within us. These characters have all the cunning and ferocity of the barbarian, without his traditional grandeur, and in addition all the vices of civilization unredeemed by its beauty. A harsh struggle with the soil has warped and hardened their bodies and their souls. Theirs is a bitter life, mean in its fruits and deadly to the finer impulses of life. The fascinating ugliness of these tales is occasionally illumined by a grim, grotesque humor. Murder and sex lusts are all that relieve the dull routine, the canny ingenuity, the mere animality and avarice, and the hypocritical piety of their lives. Of all these, the piety is the most repellent. The most exemplary church-goer under the guise of ostentatious piety safely satisfies his lusts. Even their all-pervasive anthropomorphic religion is a sham and a corruption. Deceit and duplicity are so ingrained by a religious regime of repression that they seek to deceive God by bribing his preacher, "the Respected." This earthly representative of God is a shrewd grafter who is wonderfully successful because he is believed to have a special pull with the Almighty. Like the savage who goes into the silent forests to consult the spirits of his ancestors, so the preacher enters the church to converse with Jesus, the "Big Man." Naively they call upon the "Big Man" to grant the slightest whim or the meanest of all passions—the avarice for gold. The weirdest superstitions, reminiscent of ancient magic, are tenaciously held. Evil demons are exorcised by prayer, and if they remain recalcitrant they are ejected by applying a hot poker or a sound flaying to the afflicted body. This welter of ugliness, brutality and hypocrisy is presented with a relentless convincingness that leaves us amazed at the author's extraordinary literary power.

MAX LUSTIG.

Respectable Poverty

The Return of the Soldier, by Rebecca West.
\$1.00. Century Co.

IF this novel had been published anonymously, I should never have suspected Rebecca West of writing it. Such of that young Englishwoman's productions as have reached this country in the last few years have revealed not a ripple of the emotion and sentiment that swim through this story of an upper-class husband and the woman he once loved. I should have expected something "modern" from Miss West; but there is nothing modishly modern about this story, except that the war figures in it and that in one place there is a veiled reference to psycho-analysis. Otherwise it is as old-fashioned in flavor and style as Thackeray.

The soldier upon whose return from the war the story begins is only a vague and unsubstantial figure. We learn little about him save that he had golden glints in his brown hair and that he was a good provider for a wife who loved British comfort and regularity as a cat does its cream.

The dominating personality in the book is the woman whom the soldier loved fifteen years before he lost his memory on the battlefield. In creating her bit by bit, as a pen and ink artist constructs a figure, a detail at a time, the author exhibits a master's hand. And this strange female is the last person in the world whom we should have suspected of being *The Other Woman*. She is a piece of sculpture labeled *A Wife of the Lower Middle Class*.

We see her, feel her, taste her. We see her atrocious hat and yellow raincoat; feel the lumpy, sharp-edged emotion that chokes her stringy throat; taste the acid with which fifteen years have graven her furred cheeks.

What fifteen years of respectable poverty can do to a woman has never before been etched so relentlessly on a printed page. After gazing upon such a portrait we can henceforth regard the efforts of shopgirls to ensnare millionaires as not only excusable but praiseworthy.

And yet beside this ridiculous, awkward female all of Miss West's other characters are pale and contemptible. The delineation of such a character against such a background is what I would call Art.

P. R.

Rebellion and Resignation

One of Them, Chapters from a Passionate Autobiography, by Elizabeth Hasanovitz. Houghton Mifflin Co.
\$2 net.

Out of the Shadow, by Rose Cohen. George H. Doran Co. \$2 net.

BOOKS of this type are usually challenged to contrast or comparison with Mary Antin's "*The Promised Land*," the first product of an immigrant's autobiographical pen. But it is a false model which has been set up, a model rather of good craftsmanship than of sincere writing, a model which

these two books far transcend by their power to move to common sympathy. One looks in vain for that facility by which Mary Antin transformed the nature of simple experience almost out of its reality. Mary Antin strove so hard and so consciously to be "literary." She over-capitalized her emotions. With her, neither Rose Cohen nor Elizabeth Hasanovitz have any spiritual affinity, for they are most unlike Miss Antin, who presents herself in her book as a smug East Side parvenu, a sycophantic protege of the nice and respectable persons who patronize her. More than any book of this type, "*The Promised Land*" seems to be a means for the literary self-exploitation of the writer and the edification of that curious and well-disposed Gentile world which derives its knowledge of the Ghetto through slumming expeditions, either through an autobiography or a ride on a big bus.

Neither Rose Cohen nor Elizabeth Hasanovitz desire to hide their true selves behind literary masks. They seem so naively unacquainted with the art of hemming and hawing about the truth. They seem to manifest no disposition to practice those evasions which go by the name of "suggestion" and "restraint." By which I do not mean that Rose Cohen and Elizabeth Hasanovitz are wholly alike in character or in the method of telling their stories. They are merely alike in essential honesty. As persons, they are antithetical and their characters are intriguing to the degree that they reveal themselves frankly, emerging as persons, rather than representatives of types.

Both books possess those defects of style and expression by which the writers confess their origin and their limitations. Thus, Rose Cohen: "To the house I did not ask him," while Elizabeth Hasanovitz has a habit of tiresome reiteration of familiar Socialist harangue and of indiscriminate tacking on of Socialist morals to incidents which another less class-conscious observer might have left undisturbed by reflection. "*Out of the Shadow*" is a book of simple, naive and poignant beauty; "*One of Them*" a book of deeply-moving, passionate sincerity. Rose Cohen emerges a beautifully resigned soul, one who could live most deeply and richly in the home of quiet culture. "I liked picking feathers, as I liked sewing, not so much for itself as because it left my mind free to dream." She is a Christian in her humility and resignation. "I cried until I was again patient and meek. Then I went on my knees, scrubbed the floors and went home." Elizabeth Hasanovitz is the rebel, the revolutionist, the idealist, the class-conscious one. Of her it is particularly true that she does not know what suggestion and restraint mean. We feel the presence of a person much more distinctly in Elizabeth Hasanovitz's book than in Rose Cohen's, and that is due as much to the distinctness of Miss Hasanovitz's personality as to her greater egotism. But that egotism has nothing repellent about it. She is self-conscious, it is true, but that self-consciousness proceeds from her passionate class-consciousness. Elizabeth Hasanovitz desires that the aims of the worker be achieved, but she desires also to be their leader, great as the sacrifice and the pain involved

in such leadership. Indeed, so many instances of courageous devotion to "the cause" are so simply and unpretentiously recorded that they become repetitious. While Rose Cohen does not find it difficult to discover sweet contentment and joy in the sources of mankind's common satisfactions, Elizabeth Hasanovitz clearly presents herself as a restlessly unhappy girl, restlessly unhappy because of the inadequacy of conditions to meet even her most necessary desires and demands as from a yearning toward an ideal condition which she never could have realized under the most beneficent circumstances. She speaks in a sustained, impassioned strain throughout, keying her complaint to a shrilly pitch. Thus: "Who more than I had sacrificed for freedom—a freedom I have not yet realized." "If there was an Almighty, He should at last turn to us, the insulted ones, the humiliated, the searchers for everyday bread. But there was no such God, or else He would not tolerate such misery." "Yes, Clara, it is true. Just because I am full of life, I am pessimistic. Like a fish without water, I am wriggling in this world without happiness. Clara, where is the happiness of our youth? Where is it? I whispered in agony." "I want joy; I am young, I am entitled to it."

"Father," asks Rose Cohen, after her first disillusioning days in her limited world of sweatshop and tenement, "does everybody in America live like this? Go to work early, come home late, eat and go to sleep? And the next day, again work, eat and sleep? Will I have to do that, too? Always?" And after her first intimation of love: "Then I remembered that sister once wondered how it felt to be happy. I touched her face, 'Wake up!' I wanted to tell her that I knew." Is it not evident that Rose Cohen is the kind of person with whom one falls heartily in love, and Elizabeth Hasanovitz the kind whom one heartily admires—at a respectful distance? Their qualities shine through their words, and it is their qualities, not their words, which engage and absorb our attention.

HARRY SALPETER.

SONNET

I DREAMED of us as eagles in the air,
 Adventurers through lightning-riven space,
 Children of danger; for you seemed to wear
 Her careless colors in your laughing face.
 I thought of us met high above the press
 Of common hopes and fears, too swiftly daring
 To forfeit our own storm-bright loveliness,—
 And what our doom might be, too little caring.

Will nothing less content me?—no, not me,
 Who too familiar am with wind and star
 To have much patience with mortality.
 Will you put off this human cage, unbar
 Your strong-winged spirit to the winds of sky?
 You will not? Dear, forgive me! . . . and good-bye.

Floyd Dell

Three Liberator Pamphlets

I. *Max Eastman's Address to the Jury in the Second Masses Trial*

In Defense of the Socialist Position and the Right of Free Speech.

If you are a subscriber a copy of this has been sent to you. If not, we shall be glad to mail it to you upon receipt of 10c in stamps 48 pages.

II. *John Reed's "The Sisson Documents"*

Carefully reviews the so-called Sisson Documents which pretend to prove that the actions of the Russian Soviet Leaders were directed from Berlin.

This, also, has been sent to all subscribers. If you will subscribe before January 1 we will mail you a copy free. Extra copies 5c. 18 pages.

III. *The Trial of Eugene V. Debs, by Max Eastman*

A subscriber writes of this article: "I never was more tickled by anything than by the neat comparison of the exalted discourse of Debs and the foul-mouthed vulgarity of the legal wolf who bayed him."

This pamphlet is a reprint of the article which appeared in the November Liberator. The reprint includes Debs' address to the court just before receiving sentence, only part of which was printed in the magazine article, also a photograph of Debs and two of his friends, taken at the time of the trial. 10c a copy. 32 pages.

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By Selma Lagerlöf

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Liebknacht

"The Future Belongs to the People": Speeches made since the beginning of the war by Karl Liebknacht. Edited and translated by S. Zimand. With an introduction by Walter E. Weyl. The Macmillan Co. \$1.25 net.

SO swiftly has the reaction come that the Liebknacht who a little while ago was conventionally regarded in America as the one sane man in a Germany gone mad is already being represented to us by our newspapers as a dangerous fanatic! There is food for quiet laughter in this. Conventional America has just come around to the point of view of conventional Germany; one more proof that good middle-class "liberals" the world over are brothers under their national integuments. But the change in the Liebknacht myth is of far less interest than the solid reality of Liebknacht the man. He is today what he was a year ago; he believed what he said, and he acts in accordance with his beliefs. It is this fact which astonishes and disconcerts conventional America, just as it did conventional Germany. We read his speeches in this book—speeches and "questions" in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Assembly; there is nothing sensational about them—except that they are the sort of thing that is "not done," in Germany or in America. They are quiet demands for the truth, quiet rejection of ministerial fictions, quiet reminders that the working-class are not to be forever deceived. We see the parliamentary atmosphere congealing with frigid discomfort as he rises to speak—mustering

its customary defenses. "Dr. Liebknacht is out of order." "That is not permitted." "The Chancellor refuses to answer." "The Assembly declines to listen to these remarks any further." And, that being so, Dr. Liebknacht is disposed of; if he has been declared out of order, if the Assembly refuses to hear him, surely that is the end of the matter! His own party expels him. But that does not seem to end the matter. Dr. Liebknacht has spoken truth, and not even prison can dispose of him.

"The future belongs to the people!"

That saying of his has begun to come true. Once more the good liberal-minded people rally about their conventions. But they have lost the defenses which supported them in the old régime. They can no longer call Dr. Liebknacht to order, nor delude themselves into thinking that if they refuse to listen nobody hears! Of course, everybody in Germany is anti-imperialist now; but who can blame the German workers if they feel that perhaps the man who was against militarism all along is the man to be trusted now? The Liebknacht whom this book reveals by his spoken words is a man whom the masses will trust. To tell the truth when lies are the correct and patriotic thing, to be bold when caution is the universal watchword, to be wise and far-seeing in a time of illusion, is to acquire leadership of a sort which the hypocrite and the cautious and the illusioned may well fear. What can they say against him? That he is rash, irregular, a visionary? But they said these things before—and he was right all along, and the workers know it. This hour, which he predicted, and in the calm expectation of which he spoke and worked, and went to prison, is his hour.

F. D.

HOW ABOUT THE \$60,000

Comrades:

"Burleson willing," this number of The Liberator should reach you by January 1st, just two months from the day when we started our campaign for a \$60,000 Liberator Fund.

You remember, we said ten months' experience had shown us that we must have a \$20,000 subsidy every year for three years, in order to build the magazine up to the point where it can be self-supporting. And we told you of our determination to make sure of that fund in cash and pledges before *February 12, 1919, the Liberator's first birthday*.

Here is the story of our progress so far:

Since November 1st, \$3,933.50 has been received toward the fund (either in paid-up shares of stock or in straight gifts).

\$12,236.50 has been promised toward the fund, in pledges to be paid up before October 1, 1919.

\$7,358.00 has been promised toward the fund, in pledges to be paid up before October 1, 1921.

Total \$23,528.00

You can't blame us if we look on this as a demonstration of faith in The Liberator and its future. Can you? If it all came from three or four people, it might not mean anything. But it comes from *five-hundred* people.

Now, how shall we raise the rest,—\$36,472? We have written to all our subscribers about buying stock, and of course we can send another reminding letter to those who did not answer. But nearly five-sixths of the people who read the Liberator buy it from the newsstands.

It is you, THE NEWSSTAND READERS, to whom we appeal this time. We cannot write to you because we don't know who you are, or where you live. But, actually, if 3600 of you will now come forward and subscribe for one share of stock the fund will be complete.

Six weeks more! Don't forget! Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1919, is the final day.

Yours for the Great Future,

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A Six Months' Subscription to the Liberator goes with each paid up share of stock

Comrade News-stand-Reader,

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(Just to encourage you we print below a few letters from new stockholders. You see how happy they are now they've done it!)

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"OF course, I'm with you! Go ahead. You'll be supported. Faith is great stuff at the psychological moment."—J. O.

"HERE'S my ten dollars. I want to help THE LIBERATOR to become the most powerful magazine in America."—M. L.

"HAVING just bought shoes for 14 feet, I have no money left for social betterment. But at the end of the year I expect some tainted money which I shall be pleased to divide with you."—C. M. H.

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W. R. P.

"THERE will always be a warm spot in my heart for those who have, in these dreadful days, given any token of their belief in the triumph of good. May you all live to see the dawn of social justice in the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

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Comrade News-stand-Reader, Have You Bought Your Share?

Adventures for Free Speech

IN Cleveland, Ohio, December 8th, the Editors of THE LIBERATOR spoke at a meeting arranged by the local of the Socialist Party. The meeting was raided by members of the American Protective League, wearing badges of the federal Department of Justice, who arrested five men in the audience and dragged them to jail. One of these men was asked for his registration card and was not able to show it. The other four were arrested and hauled out by main force without any question of registration cards, or any other question, merely because they were proven to be Socialists attending a Socialist meeting. One of them in my presence offered to show his registration card, and his hand was jerked from his pocket by his assailant, who shouted, "Never you mind what we want you for. You just come along."

The local Socialists informed us that this is customary, and that these men would

remain in jail over Sunday, no charge being made against them.

In my innocence of the true state of American affairs, I stated from the platform that I believed there were some fundamental rights of citizens still prevailing under the Constitution, and one of them was immunity from false arrest. I advised the Socialists in Cleveland to proceed legally against these terrorists and make them pay for their crime. The result of this naïve act of faith on my part, was that they went down to a saloon, called up the Federal Department of Justice and got orders to arrest me. They surrounded the building, twenty or thirty of them, and waited for us to come out. They waited, we were subsequently told, until two o'clock in the morning, and according to the Cleveland papers they spent the rest of the night searching the hotels and depots and outgoing trains. We were safely on our way to Buffalo—thanks to the devoted organization of the Cleveland Socialists, and not to any interest displayed by any official of the local or federal Government in defending the rights of American citizens.

In Buffalo our meeting was surrounded by a cordon of policemen, under an ignorant captain, who took his stand within clubbing distance of the platform, and informed us that we could not criticize or object to anything that had been done by the United States Government, and we could not mention the Bolsheviks. We agreed to his proposition, and gave an extended lecture on sociological achievements of the Soviet government in the valley of the Volga, their relation to literary and oratorical conditions in the United States, and the difference in general theory between a system of "Law and Order" and a Reign of Terror. It was the almost unanimous opinion of the audience that the reign of terror is a more liberal form of government.

From Buffalo we went to Detroit. The Detroit Federation of Labor sent a delegation of fifteen men to sit on the platform, and although the hall was jammed to the walls with red and Russian revolutionists, the police were altogether courteous and the America Protective League was considerably absent. There is power in the organizations of labor. When there is unison in them this country will begin to do more.

A man was arrested in Detroit for reading Bernard Shaw's "An Unsocial Socialist" on the street-car. When we left Detroit it seemed fairly certain that he was not going to be tried by court martial.

MAX EASTMAN.

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The Path on the Rainbow

Gift books have been more or less condemned for this season because so many of them are very expensive reprints of books that can be obtained in so many cheaper editions. "The Path on the Rainbow" is a handsome gift book of hitherto unpublished literal translations of the poetry of American Indians, edited by George Cronyn, and with introductions and appreciations by Mary Austin and Constance Lindsay Skinner. The book is decorated throughout by J. B. Platt. \$1.50

Can Such Things Be?

Critics say that Ambrose Bierce, the author of this book of stories of the grotesque and unreal, combines the vivacity of O. Henry, the ingenuity of Conan Doyle, and the artistry of Poe. Many discriminating readers consider Bierce the greatest writer of American short stories. \$1.50

The German Myth

Gustavus Myers has gathered in this book new data, statistically proved, showing that conditions in Germany are the very opposite of what we have been led to believe—that immorality, crime, and poverty are greater there than in any other European country or in the United States. The subtitle of the book is "The Falsity of Germany's Social Progress Claims." The book is endorsed by the League for National Unity. \$1.00

Americanized Socialism

Here is another book with a sub-title—"A Yankee View of Capitalism." James MacKaye, the author of the book, says that many persons who did not suspect themselves to be Socialists will, when they read this book, discover that they are, and that Socialism is a true American ideal. The publishers think that "Americanized Socialism" is the most grippingly interesting book on the subject now in print. \$1.25

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GREENWICH VILLAGE DIRECTORY

(Strictly speaking, this is NOT a complete directory of Greenwich Village. It is only a step toward such a directory. In time, and with the help of our friends, we shall make this as complete a directory of the Village as is possible in the advertising columns of a magazine.)—Harry Salpeter.

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It advocates Revolution not Palliation; the Industrial Republic not State Capitalism; and holds that the Reconstruction of Socialist Principles and Tactics must essentially be predicated upon the Recognition of that irrefutable Contention: that Right without Might is moonshine.

From the January-March Number

The Revolution in Germany

Fred. H. Hartmann

The War and Socialist Industrial Unionism

Herman Richter

Revisionism and Anarchism

Anton Pannekoek

Karl Marx and the Polish Question

Dr. John J. Kallen

Brothers or the Great Reunion—

A Historical Tragedy in One Act
Maximilian Cohen

The Genesis of Religion

Lucien Sanial

Thoughts on Nietzsche

I. A. Goldstein

The Socialist Party of Canada and the Radical Review

A Discussion on the Source of Proletarian Power in Particular and Class Power in General

J. Harrington and Karl Dannenberg

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