

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

THE TRUTH



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MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
FIVE CENTS.

"No Surrender" Says Russia ORGANIZED LABOR SUPPORTS BOLSHEVIKI

Petrograd To Fight It Out; No Surrender

By ISAAC DON LEVINE.
Special Wireless to The Daily News.
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Terijoki, on the Russian-Finnish Border, June 1 (via London, June 10).—When will the myth of Petrograd's evacuation and fall be exploded, or will it thrive forever upon the credulity of the bewildered public? I have just crossed from Petrograd and am the only one on this side of the border possessing the facts about the situation.

Petrograd is grim, but calm and the people attend to their daily tasks unaware of the thousands and one fairy tales being circulated about them in western Europe. If Petrograd is being evacuated nobody there knows anything about it. If there is a panic in Petrograd its inhabitants are ignorant of it. Petrograd is in a state of siege, but not of chaos. Street cars and trains run regularly. Unexcited groups of people surround the newspaper bulletin boards. The railway stations are not overcrowded and incoming trains are running at full capacity.

Saw No Fires, No Riots.
According to the Helsingfors and Stockholm newspapers, there were fires and rioting in Petrograd on May 22. On that day I arrived at the former capital from Moscow. The train pulled in on time at the Nikolayev station at 9:30 in the morning. I walked the Petrograd streets for hours, but saw no barricades, no wild Chinese, no Letts and no red flags rushing about the thoroughfares and heard no shooting. Petrograd wore its now ordinary holiday appearance minus the holiday crowds. There is no smiling face in Petrograd, for the city is always hungry. But there is a spirit about the Petrograd workmen which is dauntless.

I saw thousands of glowing faces in the Tauride palace at the session of Petrograd's soviet. The historic hall of the duma was filled to overflowing with soldiers, sailors and working women's delegates. Where formerly M. Rodzianko presided over, the imperial parliament stood a young man of medium height with a lionine head, holding spellbound 4,000 pairs of eyes staring from the seats, galleries, window sills and every nook and corner of the house.

Proletariats' Ardor Not Cooled.
The speaker was M. Zinoviev, president of the Petrograd commune. Judging by the cheers punctuating his appeal to the representatives of 80,000 Petrograd working women to replace in the city's industrial life the men sent to the front, two years of struggle and hunger have not cooled the ardor of the Petrograd proletariat for the social revolution.

On the following day Zinoviev received me in Smolny institute, the cradle of Bolshevism.

"Will they take Petrograd?" I asked him.

Turning his massive head toward me and smiling confidently he answered, "Let them try."

Will Fight to Last Man.

M. Zinoviev's confidence is shared by the laboring population of Petrograd which is determined to fight to the last man rather than surrender the red city. The general

mobilization yielded 100,000 men, making together with the red army units a force defending Petrograd of probably 150,000. When I asked M. Zinoviev if Petrograd would not succumb to starvation, he replied that there was more food stored in Petrograd today than at any other time in the last two years, including even the days preceding the first revolution. Bad as the food conditions are, they are greatly improved over last year.

"The latest news reaching me says the army suffered defeat near Yamburg, about sixty miles away," declared M. Zinoviev. "However, Scandinavian reports assert that Petrograd has been captured and that the soviet government is tottering or overthrown. You saw at the meeting of soldiers and workingwomen's delegates yesterday how shaken the soviet authority is. Could one desire a more enthusiastic assembly?"

Less Than 1,000 in Jail.
I then asked how many thousands were now imprisoned in Petrograd. M. Zinoviev sharply replied: "Thousands! We do not have 1,000 political prisoners in all the Petrograd jails."

"Petrograd a City of Horror!" reads a screaming headline on the latest issue of a Russian propaganda sheet published in Helsingfors and serving as a news fountain for Stockholm, Paris and London news agencies. But if I had to choose between spending a night on the streets of Petrograd or in Central park, New York City, I would unhesitatingly select the former.

CANADIAN OFFICER SUPPORTS WINNIPEG STRIKERS

Strikers Are as Loyal Citizens as Canada Ever Had.—Collective Bargaining Necessary. — Demands Backed By League of Nations.—Sympathetic Strike Natural and Logical.—Repudiates Bolshevism.—Time For Change of Government.

Winnipeg Member's Testimony.

Major G. W. Andrews, D. S. O., M. P., (Centre Winnipeg) in House of Commons, June 2, 1919. (Hansard report).

When the election was on, a year and a half ago, it was my privilege to address an audience of Winnipeg workmen on the subject of winning the war. The issue at that time was quite clear cut. I told them I was a candidate for the Union Government and as such stood for the conscription of men. I pointed out that this meant the particular men I was talking to. I also told them that I stood for the conscription of money, which meant their money, and for the conscription of the last dollar and the last man in Canada if need be, to win the war. That was pretty straight talking. When I got through one of the men got up and said:

"Well, we understand exactly what you mean now." I told them I would not think of going over the top with men who were not prepared to go

with me.

"The publication of the Fight the Famine leaflets, demanding the raising of the blockade, was the

subject of a prosecution at the Mansion House Police Court yesterday.

"The defendants were the National Labor Press, Ltd., Mr. William Francis Moss, Messrs. Porteous, Ltd. Mr. J. S. Porteous, director of that firm, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, and Miss

"BROTHERHOOD"



Labor Executive—"I don't like to be standing between you and a fair trial, Brother Mooney. But what else can I do? I've got contracts with this gentleman here who framed you and put you in."

ENGLISH RADICALS FINED FOR PROTESTING AGAINST BLOCKADE

Two Women and Two Men Haled to Court.—Published Pamphlet Hitting Starvation.
Asked "What Does Britain Stand For? Starving Babies, Torturing Women?"

The story of how four English radicals, two men and two women, were arrested under the Defense of the Realm act, and fined an aggregate of several hundred dollars, for demanding the removal of the blockade against Germany and Russia, is told in a recent issue of the London Daily Herald. William Francis Moss J. S. Porteous, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Miss Eglantine Jebb, who composed the National Labor Press, had published a pamphlet headed, "What does Britain stand for? Starving babies, torturing women and killing the old?" all apparently logical question. But the government thought them "harmful to public safety."

The account from the Daily Herald is herewith reprinted.

"The publication of the Fight the Famine leaflets, demanding the raising of the blockade, was the

WHAT DOES BRITAIN STAND FOR?

STARVING BABIES
TORTURING WOMEN
KILLING THE OLD ?

These things are being done today

all over Europe

IN BRITAIN'S NAME

MILLIONS ARE DYING OF HUNGER

SHALL IT GO ON?

subject of a prosecution at the Mansion House Police Court yesterday.

"The defendants were the National Labor Press, Ltd., Mr. William Francis Moss, Messrs. Porteous, Ltd. Mr. J. S. Porteous, director of that firm, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, and Miss

Eglantine Jebb.

"The two ladies, who were charged with procuring publication, conducted their own case, advised by a lawyer on legal points.

"A number of members of the

WOMEN WORKERS DEMAND RECOGNITION OF BOLSHEVIKI

Philadelphia, June 5.—Recognition of the Soviet, rejection of the Omsk dictatorship of Kolchak, withdrawal of American troops from Russia, and shipping of food to Soviet Russia by the American Red Cross were unanimously recommended today by the seventh biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League.

A 44-hour week, later scales for domestic workers with a minimum day of eight hours were approved to aid 2,500,000 girls and women now engaged in domestic industry. Relief for 18,000,000 women who do their own housework was urged by the appeal for new inventions "to enlighten women's labor, particularly the work of mothers."

Members Aid Phone Strike.
At the conclusion of the afternoon meeting the 300 delegates took places in the picket lines of the Keystone Telephone Company strike in order to show their solidarity with striking labor. May Matthews, leader of the New England strikes, was instrumental in gaining the consent of the delegates to picket.

Only nine votes were cast against the resolution to recognize the Soviets. Speeches for it were made by Elizabeth Christman and Alice Henry, of Chicago; Pauline Newman, Philadelphia; Anne Hogan of New York and Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the league.

No set speech was made in opposition.

Suggestions made by Mary Anderson and Mrs. Sarah Green, Kansas City, that dangers be averted by substituting "government of the people" for "Soviet" were overwhelmingly defeated after Lenora O'Reilly York, had demanded the use of the term "Soviet." The resolutions in full read:

"Whereas, the American people believe in the right of self determination for peoples and the right of self government for nations; and

Soviet Chosen by Majority.

"Whereas, the Soviet government of Russia is the chosen government of a majority of the people and has now been in power for 18 months; and,

"Whereas, the refusal of the peace conference at Paris to recognize the determination and democratic self-government and endangers the peace of the world; and,

"Whereas, an effort is being made to force upon the peace conference the recognition of Kolchak, the despot of the old czarist regime; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that the delegates of the seventh biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America demand the recognition of the Russian Soviet government by the peace conference and Paris and by the government of the United States.

"Whereas, the Congress of the United States has never declared war upon Russia nor upon any part of the Russian people; and,

"Whereas, military forces of the United States are now stationed in Russia in violation of our Constitution; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Women's Trade Union League, in convention assembled, demand that the delegates to this convention protest against the violation of our Constitution, and that American troops be at once withdrawn from Russia and sent home.

"Whereas, the United States government is permitting a blockade of Russia; and

"Whereas, it has been stated in the public press and not denied by the members of the peace conference that food is being withheld from Russia because of revolutionary theories held by a part of the Russian people, and,

"Whereas, in consequence, thousands of men, women and little children in Russia are starving and untold misery has been brought to men and women by our policy toward our former ally, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Women's Trade Union League, in convention assembled, demand that the Russian blockade be immediately lifted on all Russian fronts and that food relief be immediately sent to Russia through the American Red Cross."

Elect Executive Board Today.

Proportional representation will be used for the election of members of the executive board today. The leading candidates are: Mrs. Sarah Green, Kansas City; Elizabeth Maloney and Agnes Nestor, Chicago; Rose Kauffman, New York; Julia O'Connor and Mabel Gillespie, Boston; Mrs. Sarah Spangler, St. Louis, and Pauline Newman, Philadelphia.

Rose Schneiderman of New York will replace Melinda Scott as vice president, because of an unopposed nomination. Mrs. Raymond Robins and Emma Steghagen, Chicago, are also unopposed as president and secretary-treasurer. Both are present officers.

As delegates to the American Federation of Labor, the nominees are Elizabeth Maloney, Chicago; Maude Schwartz, New York; Myrtle Kane, Minneapolis; Alice Henry, Chicago, and Ethel Smith, Washington. Mrs. Robins, Melinda Scott, Pauline Newman and Mabel Gillespie are candidates for delegates to the Canadian convention.

LIVERPOOL SUPPORTS WINNIPEG

The Liverpool dockers are refusing to unload Canadian shipping until the strike here is settled. They regard our terms as absolutely just and are prepared to back us to the end.

MINNESOTA LEFT-WING

The Conference was called to order at 10:15 A. M. by the Temp. Sec. of the Twin Cities Group, Chas. Dirba.

D. E. Earley was elected Temp. Chairman, and Chas. Dirba, Temp. Sec'y.

Then the credentials of 42 delegates from 14 locals and 4 groups were read and accepted. Of these 38 delegates took part in the conference representing a membership of 1,387. Thirteen other locals with a membership of 244 are definitely known to be Left Wing. All delegates were seated.

D. E. Earley was elected Permanent Chairman of the Conference, and Chas. Dirba, Permanent Secretary; H. H. Seff was elected Vice Chairman, and Jack Carney, Asst. Secretary.

M. & S. that Roberts Rules of Orders be recognized as the Rules of the Conference, where they do not conflict with the established rules of the Socialist Party. Carried.

M. & S. that mover of a motion be limited to 10 minutes, other discussion to 5 minutes. Carried—After amendment to limit all discussion to 10 minutes was lost.

Then the following committees were elected:

ON RESOLUTION—Seff, Hathaway, Carney, Pieper, Thompson.

ON ORGANIZATION—Haglund, Larson, Papas, Buck, Benton.

ON WAYS AND MEANS—Ungar, Steinel, E. M. Gordon, Ben Gordon, Johnson.

ON PRESS—Earley, Dirba, Fuchs, Carney, Sterner.

At about 11 o'clock the conference adjourned until 1:00 P. M.

Promptly at 1 o'clock it was called to order again.

Reports of Committees. The Resolutions Committee presented the following resolutions: "That we form a permanent organization of the Left Wing in Minnesota." Carried.

"Whereas the N. E. C. has expelled the State of Michigan and suspended the Russian, Lettish, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Hungarian, Polish, and Ukrainian Federations without giving them a hearing, or consulting the membership. "Therefore be it resolved that this convention request the delegates to take the question up at the meetings of their respective locals and endeavor to get their locals to second the motion of Local Cleveland, demanding that the question of expulsion be submitted to the membership for referendum." This resolution was adopted unanimously.

Then the majority of the Committee, Thompson, Hathaway, Pieper and Seff submitted the following: "That we of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Minnesota in convention, assembled, resolve to enter every economic struggle of the working class, as far as possible, whether by the I. W. W., radical factions of the A. F. of L. or any other group of organized or unorganized workers, and endeavor to educate the workers to revolutionary industrial unionism, as a political weapon."

The minority, Jack Carney, submitted the following:

"That we of the Left Wing of the S. P. of Minn. resolve to enter into every economic struggle of the workers and advocate revolutionary industrial unionism as expounded by the I. W. W."

MINUTES OF MINNEAPOLIS LEFT WING CONVENTION

June 8, 1919. At Commonwealth Hall, Minneapolis, Minn.

Minority report lost by 26 to 6.

Majority report adopted by 24 to 6.

The report of the Organization Committee was adopted unanimously, as follows: "The best way to strengthen the Left Wing movement is to teach the philosophy and the economics of Socialism, Reformism can no longer draw any support from an apparent contradiction between Marxism and the facts of industrial development. Marxism has been completely vindicated by the war and its outcome. The Left Wing movement will grow in proportion to its success in making this truth known."

Therefore the Organizations Committee recommends that propaganda be the main business of the Minn. Left Wing Movement; that Left Wing meetings, study classes, and debates be arranged; and that as much as possible be written and published on Left Wing philosophy and tactics.

We further recommend the election of a permanent state executive committee of five, the secretary of the committee to be a member of it, with voice and vote.

We further recommend that this executive committee whenever possible route speakers who are capable of expounding socialism.

We further recommend that this convention select seven members who represent left Wing principles, to be nominated as delegates to the Special National Convention of the Socialist Party, which is to be held in August."

Later the following five comrades were elected to the Left Wing State Executive Committee: Jack Carney, E. M. Gordon, Jos. Ungar, O. E. Thompson, A. A. Larson; and the following seven comrades were endorsed for the S. P. Special National Convention: Holm, Dirba, Carney, Thompson, Larson, Ungar, Hathaway.

Report of the Committee on Ways and Means. Taken up seriatim.

"That the Left Wing of the S. P. of Minnesota elect to the Left Wing National Convention to be held in New York beginning June 21, two delegates from the State at Large. (Any locals desiring so, being entitled to send a delegate of their own)." This was adopted after an amendment to make it one delegate was voted down. (Duluth Scandinavian and St. Paul German in all probability to send their own besides).

M. & S. to elect the two delegates at large. Carried. The first vote showed D. E. Earley and E. M. Gordon elected. Objection raised to Comrade Earley's being a member of the S. P. of Michigan and not of the S. P. of Minnesota.

M. & S. to disqualify Comrade Earley as a member of this conference. Lost by 22 to 7.

M. & S. to resubmit the election to another vote. Carney enters withdrawal of his candidacy as a protest against seating of Earley. Not accepted.

Earley begins to speak on the subject. DeGroot raises point of order. Earley refuses to recognize the point of order. DeGroot appeals from the decision of the chair. Chair sustained. Earley finishes his speech.

M. & S. to adjourn for 10 minutes. Lost.

M. & S. that those who get absolute majority shall be considered elected.

Amend. M. & S. that the two getting the highest vote shall be elected. Amendment carried.

M. & S. to make a recess of 10 minutes while the vote is counted.

M. S. to adjourn for 10 minutes, and to vote anew on reconvening. Carried.

Adjourned for 10 minutes. Reconvened.

M. & S. to erase the nominations, and to start the election from the beginning. Carried without opposition.

E. M. Gordon and O. E. Thompson elected delegates to the Left Wing National Convention to represent the State of Minnesota at large.

(2) "That the expenses of the two delegates be raised by a proportional assessment of the locals represented in this convention—on the basis of 10 cents per member." Recommendation adopted.

(3) "That all delegates of this convention be instructed immediately to have a special meeting of their locals called to raise this assessment in any manner they may decide." Recommendation adopted.

(4) "That an assessment of about 10 cents per member per month would be very desirable for Left Wing propaganda work."

M. & S. to ask the locals affiliated with the Left Wing to contribute to our propaganda at 10 cents per member. Carried.

M. & S. to adopt the report as a whole as amended. Carried.

Press Committee report. Comrade Carney offered one page in the TRUTH for the Left Wing. Offer accepted. The Committee recommends election of a press committee of three to edit this page in the TRUTH and to supply information to the national paper of the Left Wing, THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE. Suggestion for the committee—E. M. Gordon, D. E. Earley, and Jack Carney.

M. & S. to adopt this report with all recommendations and suggestions. Carried.

Then the consideration of the Manifesto issued by the Left Wing of New York was taken up, and the Manifesto was adopted as amended by striking out—"with provisions to safeguard small investors," and "provisions, however, to be made during the transition period for the protection of small owners of stock."

M. & S. to take up collection for the Left Wing. Carried. \$14.07 collected.

M. & S. that it is the consensus of the conference that the delegates should go back to their locals and work for the recall of the present State Executive Board.

Adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

CHAS. DIRBA, Sec.

ANOTHER STIRRING LECTURE

Miss Roberta Bruner,

For five years a teacher in Los Angeles and who had the courage to stand up for what she knew to be right, will speak at the

WOODMAN HALL

Sunday Evening, June 15th 8 p. m.

This lecture will be of vital importance to mothers and fathers and ESPECIALLY SO to school teachers. How can we educate our children, in such a way that they will not accept every foolish and vicious statement of the press? The problem of the hour is the future of our children. We must lay the foundation of our children's future NOW.

Come and hear fellow-worker Bruner tell you of her views as to what should be done. F. W. Bruner speaks of what she knows to be true, because she has experienced things. See that all your friends are made acquainted with this notice. See that all the school teachers you know are invited also.

The subject of the lecture will be:

"SCHOOLS AND THEIR RELATION TO CAPITALISM AND THE WORKERS."

F. W. Bruner is a unique teacher. She refused to allow the Los Angeles School Board to fire her, she fired herself.

being a trade unionist. Our Revolution. We, the workers of Russia, in our fight with the capitalist have always taken this view. In October last we swept the capitalists out of power, and declared that Russia belongs to the whole of the Russian people.

We are not going to grow food for the rich to feed, or weave cloth for the rich to wear. The people will enjoy the product of their labor. Can you wonder that the capitalists of all countries should hate us? We have shattered their dreams of the vast fortunes to be made out of the great stores of natural wealth contained in our country.

Besides, if they allow us to remain in existence, will not the workers in the other countries follow suit, and do as we have done? They have decided therefore to crush us before we have time to consolidate our position. And you, English trade unionists will be used for this purpose.

The Russian capitalists do not stand an earthly chance against us by themselves. But your capitalists know that their interests are the same as those of the Russian capitalists, and have come to their assistance.

Why do you not recognize your class interest in the same way? You as trade unionists are fighting your capitalists, we have settled our account with ours.

What are you going to do? Are you going to undo the work we have commenced? Are you going to do the dirty work of your enemies, the capitalist class? Or will you remain loyal to your own class—the working class—and support our effort to secure the world for labor?

Remember! By fighting us you are not fighting for your country, but for the capitalists whom your fellow trade unionists at home are fighting. By fighting us you are fighting your fellow workers. Every blow you strike against us is a blow against yourselves. If you crush us, you will only succeed in strengthening the power of your capitalists to rob you and exploit you.

Fellow workers, on whose side are you—the workers' or the masters? N. LENIN, President Council People's Commissaries.

G. TCHITCHERINE, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

It has been the same in every country. In every country the capitalists have used the workers as cannon-fodder on the battlefields, and as material for exploitation at home. The capitalist class worships no other god but profit, and owns allegiance to any country where profit can be obtained.

Does not this show that the people are not divided according to nationality, but according to class? The workers of each country are not enemies to each other. Their real enemies are at home, the capitalists, who are robbing and exploiting the people, and who have set the workers against each other, in order that they may be able to fleece them the more.

The workers can only put an end to this exploitation, and mutual slaughter by overthrowing the capitalists and taking control into their own hands. This is the logical outcome of

And down there, where there is neither conscription, extradition nor a Jefferson Market Prison, he resumed publishing his fiery journal. Gale's Magazine. It costs \$2 a year, American money, and \$1 for 6 months and is Worth Lot More. Send an international money order for a subscription (No Free Samples Sent) and read such things as: "The Soliloquy of a Slacker," "Judas Iscariot and the Bolsheviki," "The Catholic Church, the Cancer of Mexico," "Leaving the World's Hope," "Keep Hands Off Mexico," etc.

The censor will now let GALE'S MAGAZINE enter the United States and circulate in the mails, but this doesn't make any difference. Linn A. E. Gale has been making Burlington and the postal gods look like 10 cents all along. He—but hush, that would be telling! Just send your subscription to Gale's Magazine P. O. Box 518, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

CLARA ZETKIN AND THE BOLSHEVIKI

In L'Humanite of April 11th appeared an account of the Congress of the German Independent Socialists. Kautsky took the place of the murdered Eisner in reporting on the Berne Socialist Congress. He defended his action in having voted against the Adler-Longuet resolution, which refused to criticize the Russian Soviet Government on the ground of lack of proper information. Kautsky declared that a condemnation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential. He weakly argued that the Bolsheviki would not be impressed by an evasion brought back into the International if they saw it to be strong and determined.

The conference called upon Clara Zetkin to reply to Kautsky. She said that the Party lacked energy and clear vision. During the war its policy had been feeble and hesitating! It had failed to take up a definite attitude on the question of national defense. Its peace policy inclined to an entente with the governments rather than towards the international action of the workers.

Even after the Revolution the Independent Socialist Party, instead of

understanding the action of the masses, had allied itself with the majority Socialists, who had betrayed revolutionary Socialism. Instead of immediately applying itself to the struggle against private ownership, the Independent Party opposed strikes and thus helped to bolster up capitalism. It failed to consider Socialization as a question of political power, and regarded it only from the standpoint of surmounting economic and technical difficulties. The Party assumed it to be of first importance to increase production; this was an error, a relapse into bourgeois economic conceptions. Not by scientific commissions, but by practical action will progress be made in the economic field.

Clara Zetkin reproached the Independents for joining the Coalition Government, declaring that they had contributed to limiting the power of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils and that the National Assembly, which is on parliamentary lines and which they had supported, is incapable of freeing the working class. She urged that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an essential transitory measure, the ob-

ject of which is the abolition of the capitalist class. In opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Independent Socialist Party had become an accomplice in preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Zetkin demanded the immediate resumption of relations with the Russian Soviet Republic. The fact that the Soviet Government had so long maintained its power was the best proof that it was not an arbitrary regime resting solely upon the force of bayonets.

It was wrong for the Independents to go to Berne she described as "a conference of reciprocal and general amnesty." The delegates conjugated: "I am a sinner, thou art a sinner," and so on, and believed that it was possible thus to re-establish the International! "The old International died in shame: it can never be resurrected!"

The Independents ought to have refused all collaboration with the Majority Socialists; the sanguinary policy of the Majority Party after the Revolution ought to have been enough in itself to render collaboration impossible. The Berne Conference, so far as it could, had frus-

trated the establishment of an International of action, and had betrayed and deceived the masses. Great confusion had been created by the fact that the German Independents had refrained at Berne from separating themselves from the Majority Party.

Zetkin insisted that: "A union of peoples will never result from Wilson's League of Nations, but at the Berne Conference more faith was placed in Wilson than in Marx." Kautsky abused his influence at Berne. The repudiation of the Bolsheviki deserved the strongest condemnation. The rejection of the Adler-Longuet motion was a provocative insult to the Bolsheviki.

Socialists must carry on the work begun at Zimmerwald, for only a world revolution would relieve the situation. Only a world revolution could give Germany a good peace. It was necessary to push on with the German Revolution.

Hitherto the German Independent Socialist Party had not been inspired by that necessity. It was a product of the process of decomposition which had been going on in the old Social Democratic Movement,

and its parentage has involved it in that process. The antagonisms which existed in its very midst could not be eliminated by a mere resolution of the Conference. A complete severance between the left and right wings had become imperative. "Personally," said Zetkin, "I am faced with a painful and difficult decision. It is impossible for me to remain in the Party if it maintains its present majority. I will not spend the closing years of my life in an atmosphere of death. I will spend my last years in an atmosphere pregnant with the forces of think they can bury the Revolution, but the Revolution is more alive than ever. The agitations for the future. Some people appear to higher pay have become revolutionary. The masses are animated by a new spirit. It is our duty as Socialists to guide them, but to do so we require a vision rendered strong by its keen foresight. Thus Socialist theory will become a living force which will take possession of the masses."

Clara Zetkin's closing words were received with loud and prolonged cheers.

TO THE BRITISH WORKERS

100,000 subscribers in 1919.

THE MESSENGER

The only Magazine of Scientific Radicalism in the World published by the Negroes.

This magazine is being advertised free by the Truth, because we realise the absolute necessity of educating the lute necessity of educating the colored worker. You will for a bundle order of this magazine and bringing it to the attention of the colored workers.

DO IT NOW! SPEND THAT DOLLAR!

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO.

2305 Seventh Avenue New York City, N. Y.

Are You a Trade Unionist? A Message from Lenin and Tchitcherine. If not, why not?

Did you find the conditions of life in field or factory so pleasant that you had no desire for any improvement? Did you find your employer so obliging and ready to give you what you asked, that you did not find it necessary to take other measures to get what you wanted? If so, then you have been more fortunate than most workers, for that is not the usual experience.

If you are a trade unionist, do you thoroughly understand the reason of your membership of a trade union? You know that the employer does not employ you for love, you know that, if he can, he will press your wages down to the lowest level, you know that when you are organized you are better able

to get your demands accepted than when your employer has to deal with each man separately. Even so, your employers have resisted your demands, and you have been compelled to come out on strike.

You have learnt that masters are no friends of workers.

You have learnt the need for working class discipline, and working class loyalty: for you will agree that there is no more contemptible creature than a blackleg. But being a trade unionist means much more than this. Have you ever asked yourself why it is that in spite of your organization, in spite of your strikes, even successful strikes, your position as a worker has not improved? Even when you obtained higher wages you were not able to buy more food or clothing with them. Did you not find that prices

were rising always higher than your wages. It was like chasing a will-o'-the-wisp in trying to keep up with them. In spite of reductions of hours there were still plenty of unemployed, and how often have you found that with the introduction of a new machine your work has completely gone, and the trade union could do nothing to prevent it?

You see then merely to be a trade unionist is not enough. You are not merely up against the particular employer you work for, but against all employers as a class.

Your interests are not merely identical with the workers in your particular trade or industry, but with all workmen.

The Class War.

In fact you are up against the whole capitalist system. What is

capitalism? Capitalism is the system under which the land, the railways, factories, and the means of obtaining a livelihood are owned by private individuals, who use them for their own benefit.

Who owns England? Do you? Can you point to any part of England and say: "This is mine?" If you can you are one of the lucky ones. There are not many working men in England who can say that. The England that you call "your country" is not your country, but the landlords'. In England women whose husbands are fighting "for their country" are being evicted from their houses. If you do not pay rent to the landlord you cannot live in "your country."

The tremendous industry of England is not run for the purpose of

TRUTH ABOUT WINNIPEG

ALL NEWS SUPPLIED BY STRIKE COMMITTEE

RETURNED SOLDIERS WARN WINNIPEG CITY OFFICIALS TO SETTLE STRIKE OR GET OUT

WAR VETERANS PARADE TO ADVISE MAYOR AND COUNCIL NOT TO DISCHARGE MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL EMPLOYEES WHO REFUSE TO RETURN TO WORK.

(By United Press.)

Winnipeg, June 1.—Returned soldiers, many of them in uniform and others plainly showing wounds of war, marched in a body today from the Parliament buildings to the City Hall and prevailed upon Mayor Gray and the City Council to postpone until Tuesday noon their ultimatum to discharge municipal and provincial employees who refused to return to work.

The general belief prevails today that a settlement is in sight. The paraders defied the Federal provincial and civic governments to get out and let men in who will effect a settlement.

There was no interference with the demonstration, Toronto Street Car Men Weaken.

Toronto, Canada, June 1.—After a prolonged session lasting until 3 o'clock this morning, Toronto street railway employees decided not to participate in the general strike. The decision was said to be definite, and is regarded as a serious setback for the labor leaders, who were counting heavily on paralyzing industry by tying up transportation.

The morale of the strikers here seems to be ebbing, and the general feeling today is that the strike in Toronto will be short-lived.

Representatives of the unions participating in the nation-wide sympathetic strike were in conference last night. The attendance at the general meeting of strikers and strike sympathizers was noticeably smaller than those held the past few days. The fact that absentees were liable to a fine did not deter many from remaining away.

Reports leaked out after last night's meeting that considerable dissatisfaction was expressed over the personnel of the Committee of fifteen directing the strike, and that a change was imminent. At present not a single influential labor leader is a member of the committee.

The situation among the firemen remains unchanged. An emergency meeting of the City Council has been called for tomorrow to consider the recent ultimatum of the firemen to strike on Tuesday if the wage increase is not forthcoming before that date.

Ottawa, Ont., June 1.—The Labor Department of the government was advised late last night that Winnipeg police are threatening to join the general strike. It is believed in official circles that the threatened defection of the police can be overcome, although no definite result of negotiations between city officials and the police has been reported here.

Minister of Labor Robertson, who was to arrive at Ottawa last week, is still away, but expected not later than Tuesday morning.

WHY RETURNED SOLDIERS BACK STRIKERS.

Because the great majority of them are workers.

Because they were promised a square deal by the bosses and have not got it.

Because while they volunteered the bosses profiteered.

Because the landlords raised the rents.

Because labor backs their demand for better pensions.

Because labor demands the conscription of wealth.

Because they are opposed to the dictatorship of wealth.

Because they have to pay land speculators to get out of the way before they can work on the land they have defended.

Because they have fought for democracy and want it established.

Because Labor's demands are just.

WHY THE GENERAL STRIKE WEAPON

The workers have never liked to down tools. It means hard times for them. Many never have enough to live on. The strike takes away all their living. For this reason they strike only when they are driven to desperation.

Why then, it will be asked, do unions that have no direct disagreements of their own walk out with others who have a disagreement? Why do they join in a general strike.

Others add the question, why should they put the whole community to a disadvantage because they take up the quarrel of others.

To answer adequately this question would take a volume. But we can indicate the answer.

First, labor will not call a general strike on a question of wages alone. It wants a decent wage, but so far as we know, no general strike was ever called for this reason alone. It is when principles that cannot be arbitrated are involved and would be defeated unless there were a general stand made by labor that a general strike is possible. It is never possible otherwise.

That was the issue in this city a year ago. The right of the firemen and police to organize was challenged, and labor by a very gradual process brought out one union after the other until the unions concerned were recognized.

This year the issue arose over the Metal Trades. The employers here were arrogant and defiant. They threatened to practically close up and the men might starve. Such was the essence of the matter.

In the case of the Building Trades workers it was the matter of wages. But not a mere matter of wages either. Their demands were acknowledged to be fair and reasonable. But the banking interests were behind the scenes, and the employers were not free to pay the reasonable wage. Thus, labor was face to face with a wage crisis that had never before appeared. It was a straight demand on the part of our financial barons that the workers should work for less than

a living wage, while they piled up more millions. That was why the men involved struck work. That is—they just stopped working on those terms.

A couple of weeks sufficed to demonstrate that the employers had determined that they would not run the foundries or erect buildings, and the workers were faced with the alternatives of going on under impossible conditions or calling the whole force of labor to their assistance.

They did the latter. Will those who oppose the general strike say that there was a better way? Will they say that labor had any alternative?

But others suffer besides the original parties, they say. That is true. But, is labor responsible for that? Is it not the financial autocrats and barons who are responsible? The answer is clear. Labor has no choice. Moreover, for thousands of workers to stop work and lose their wages in the interests of others is the highest form of brotherhood. It cannot be condemned. Still further, it is wholly a negative method. It does not consist in destruction or violence, but merely is a cessation of work.

If the general public is so considerably inconvenienced when labor ceases to work, is it not convincingly clear that it is the business of all the people to see that labor gets such a wage and such working conditions as tend to contentment and efficiency? Yet, when was the public interested in labor? When did they do a tap to help get justice for the worker? To ask is to answer the question.

In face of this there are those who thoughtlessly say that labor should think of the general public and should suffer on and on and on, but should not strike. Never strike on certain public utilities, and never, never, strike to help a fellow worker. This argument is unworthy of any one who thinks seriously about the matter. The workers must strike when there is no other recourse, and they would be derelict in duty if they did not stand by a brother in need. Need

we add the sentence:—"If one of you seeth his brother in need, etc?"

LABOR WAS MAGNANIMOUS. Instead of the labor forces of this city being controlled by dictators and petty motives, they are controlled by magnanimous principles.

The water would have been turned off entirely for a time had not the unions decided that such would have been a needless hardship. The lighting system was kept manned sufficiently to give the people electricity. The military authorities were offered cars to convey convalescent soldiers to and from Tuxedo. The hospitals were not to be left destitute. A fire saving crew was offered to the fire department. The police were asked to remain on the job lest disorder should break out under strike conditions.

Then, just as soon as it had been demonstrated that labor was in a position to absolutely paralyze the whole city and the people would starve unless the workers lent a hand, there were volunteers galore to man every real necessity of life. Bakers offered their services and teamsters. But no offer was accepted by the unions unless it was deemed a real necessity.

OTHER CITIES COME TO AID.

When the first few days were not sufficient to decide the issue, and the strikers decided to place no impediments in the way of the reopening of the public utilities the call was made to other cities. These are now coming out with wonderful unanimity. These people believe the method of the sympathetic strike is justifiable. They know, that, undesirable as it may be, and fraught with suffering to the workers as it is, there is no other way. It has been well said that necessity knows no law. It is so in the case of the sympathetic strike.

The ultimate thing to do is to remove the cause. The immediate thing is to give labor a square deal. Nothing less will end the strike. It must be extended ever further until this right has been secured.

BOSSSES CAN DO NO WRONG.

"The King can do no wrong" not only because he is above the law, but because every function is performed, or responsibility assumed by his ministers or agents.

Similarly our Rockefeller, Morgans, Vanderbilts and Astors can do no industrial wrong, because all effective action and direct responsibility is shifted from them to the executive officials who manage American industry. As a basis for this conclusion we have the many testimonies, among which, however, the following statements stand out most clearly.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

".....those of us who are in

charge there elect the ablest and most upright and competent men whom we can find, in so far as our interests give us the opportunity to select, to have the responsibility for the conduct of the business in which we are investors. We cannot pretend to follow the business ourselves."

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan:

Chairman Walsh:—"In your opinion, to what extent are the directors of corporations responsible for the labor conditions existing in industries in which they are the directing powers?"

Mr. Morgan:—"Not at all I should say."

The similitude in deed, runs even

to mental attitude to phrase.

Compare these two statements: Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

"My appreciation of the conditions surrounding wage earners and my sympathy with every endeavor to better those conditions are as strong as those of any man."

Louis VI:

"There are none but you and I that have the peoples interest at heart."

(Report I. R. Commission, U. S. A.)

This is the same kind of language we now hear from Winnipeg's employers. As the oriental would say:—"Deacon, Barrett, Warren, Eaton, alle samees Rockefeller and Louis

XVI."

STRIKERS, GO FORWARD, NOT BACK

No worker who fully realizes what "going back" to work before the fight is finished means, can possibly go back. If he has through fear or need broken from the ranks, he will speedily quit work again if he does come to realize the import of his action.

To go back breaks the solidarity of the strikers and puts those who go back on the side of the bosses and so helps to defeat those who still remain on strike. This action is unpardonable for any worker.

To go back means that that today the boss knows where he has you, and he will take his advantage either now, or just as soon as he thinks it safe. No one despises the traitor to his class more than does the employer. Still, he is always willing to USE him to gain his own ends.

To go back under such conditions as are imposed by the city council subjects the civic employee to virtual slavery. There is no need to go back under such conditions, when, by staying out, every man must be reinstated as a free man. If all went back, then all would be slaves. Only by staying out can freedom be maintained.

To go back brings upon you the condemnation of your fellow workers. When the whole body of workers return your position will be unbearable and you will have lost your self respect.

To go back may bring you a few dollars—even a few extra dollars—but the worker who thinks of his fellows and the general cause, does not realize that his present gain is his permanent loss.

Going back means that the thousands upon thousands in other cities who have gone out in sympathy with the Winnipeg strikers have been betrayed. YOU cannot go back so long as they stand by you. If you go back, and so help to defeat the strike, you get your job back at the expense of them losing theirs. NO MAN will dare to sacrifice others for himself; but he will sacrifice himself for others.

Going back means that you consent to the dismissal of the postal employees, the firemen, the telephone operators, the civic employees, in all cities, and in addition, you make it impossible for thousands of others to get their job back again. Only by all sticking can all get their jobs back. You can't go back.

Going back means that you are the ones who will help to defeat yourselves and the strike. You struck in sympathy with others because a principle was involved; therefore you cannot afford to sacrifice yourself, your principles, and the cause of the whole, because a threat hangs over your head. Your cause is just, you cannot desert it.

Going back means that just when success is within your grasp you drop the reality for the shadows.

Stick together. If you have gone back because you were not sure of yourself, come out again—you stick by the strikers, and the strikers will stick by you. We stand for the reinstatement of all workers. You stand for the same thing if you stick. GOING BACK MEANS DEFEAT. GOING FORWARD MEANS SUCCESS—SO, GO FORWARD—LET NO MAN GO BACK.

Toronto Star Backs Strikers

Editorially on May 23rd, 1917 the Toronto "Daily Star" says of the Winnipeg General Strike:

"IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE CLEAR THAT THE ISSUE IS NOT BOLSHEVISM OR ANY ATTEMPT TO USURP THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, BUT A DISPUTE BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED ON THE QUESTIONS OF WAGES, HOURS, RECOGNITION OF UNIONS, AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. A strike covering a wide range of industries of course causes great public inconvenience. But what is the remedy? IF IT IS LAWFUL FOR ONE SET OF WORKERS TO STRIKE SHALL IT BE MADE UNLAWFUL FOR TWO OR A DOZEN TO STRIKE? The difference of course is that when a strike is general or of very wide range the matter becomes one of national importance, and the Dominion Government may be warranted and even in duty bound to take strong measures to effect a settlement.

THOSE EMPLOYERS WHO HOLD OUT AGAINST COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—that is, negotiating with unions which have members working in various establishments—are CLEARLY WRONG AND THEIR POSITION CANNOT BE MAINTAINED. Collective bargaining is the inevitable result of the modern concentration of industry, and to oppose it is just as extreme as to propose the abolition of organized capital. The organization of labor and the organization of capital are the hard facts of the situation, and must be recognized."

The Star is not a labor paper but a leading Toronto Daily. Yet it supports us on the issues for which we are on strike.

NOT A BOLSHEVIST UPRISING.

Speaking of the wonderful conduct of the strike it says:—

The stand taken by the organized body of returned soldiers in Winnipeg is one that has had, probably, a highly corrective influence on affairs.

The ex-soldier-citizens have given their full sympathy and support to the strikers in their demands for the betterment of their conditions, on the definite understanding that there is no disorder or lawlessness in connection with the strike.

When one considers that Winnipeg has been tied up for a whole week, that over thirty thousand men have been on strike and feeling running high, it is a credit to that city, its people, and all concerned in the whole affair that such excellent order has been preserved. To some extent this desirable result may probably be attributed to the stand taken by the G. W. V. A. and returned soldiers generally. They sympathize with the demands of the workers; they approve of the strike and desire it to succeed, but they want no resort to riot and violence. The labor leaders are doubtless anxious to retain this important support and sympathy.

So far they have retained it, and we have difficulty in reconciling this fact with the statement that Winnipeg is in the hands of Bolsheviks and the foreign element.

Keep Away From Sault Ste. Marie!

The tanners' strike is still on and an agent is now in Duluth to hire scabs. Kindly see that all workers are advised not to come here. We must have solidarity and success is ours.

H. ATTERBURY,

A. F. of L. Organizer,

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THE TRUTH ABOUT NORTHERN RUSSIA

By an American Returned From
Russia.

Perhaps the greatest hardships of the soldiers in North Russia are the stupidities, red tape, and petty tyranny of "the army." It is not easy to lodge complaints against tyranny: the Army chiefs have those subjects to their orders at their mercy. Even the officers see the farcical mistakes of the executive. One young officer who was a little independent has ever since been made to feel the resentment of the High Command. He has not been allowed to leave when his turn came, and his first summons home by the War Office, procured by his wife, was quashed promptly in the same spirit.

The grievances of the Italian privates on account of the selfishness of their officers in keeping all supplies for themselves were censored again and again, till finally one of their officers sided with them, and the ruling officers feared to carry their high hand further; they began then to take some account of the common soldier. One officer had all the complaints which he sent to headquarters against his O. C. stopped by that O. C.

Majority even of the moderates in Russia are Radical and when they see how we recognize only the re-

actionary elements they lose hope in our championship of political freedom. They might learn from our treatment of the Red Finns, who were driven out of Finland after the Finnish Revolution by the Germans and White Guards, and who at that time were welcomed by us. I don't know what we promised them, but now, at any rate, they are in a ridiculous position. We have undertaken to support a friendly government in Finland, but the sort of people we have chosen are not our old friends, these Red Guards and their leaders, but the old White Guards their oppressors, the very same men, probably, to whom German militarism guaranteed the power. Moreover, the Russians in the occupied territory have found that there is little love, or hardly respect, felt for them by us. It is said that one General hates the sight of a "damned Russian," and will not have one in his office if he can help it. I have heard some of the best officers express contempt and aversion for the Russian. Generally the natives are treated by our officers as inferiors, and certainly that is the army philosophy; the Russians are not fit for self-government—this, by the way, is the contention of Mr. Dillon, the well-known writer about Russia; he has written a book of more than 700 pages to prove his contention; Mr. Dillon is not the only foreigner who has lived in Russia and studied the Russian, and yet never become acquainted with the animal. It ought to be said, however, that there is made in some quarters an attempt to please the people. Many, even of those who dislike the Russian, are quite happy to dance with his daughters, and they are quite put out if the Russian notabilities decline to come to their soirees, as was sometimes the case. In one village it was definitely one of the duties of the interpreter, an English sergeant, to call upon the families in a friendly, cheerful way; the men at headquarters used to joke about this scheme as a clever trick, and were congratulating themselves that the feeling of the natives toward the military was improving. But this paternalism and pretence does not fool the Russian. The Russian of these parts dresses, and eats, and amuses himself on a scale different from that of the English officer, and so, to the latter, may appear a dull-head; the Englishman does not realize what a clever perceptive fellow the Russian is. The Italians and the French mix more readily with the natives and often pick up quite a smattering of the language.

Our greatest illusion regarding Russia, that the people are waiting to be delivered and will flock by the thousands to our standards, was quickly dissipated there on the field, although I see that it still lingers in certain quarters in Paris. We sent out a preponderance of officers and N. C. As with the purpose of training the Russians. These instructors I happen to know have in many cases, I suspect, been lured into the service by hope of bread, for in Archangel, I understand, the Russian divisions have shown the greatest reluctance to do any fighting. The result of this indifference of the Russians to our ambition to free their country has been the illogical result, which is usual in dealing with the Russian question; we now have "suggested" to the Russian authorities, who are nothing but our puppets, that there must be a mobilization of all citizens and at the present time the civilians are being rapidly mobilized in both districts. Everybody among us is saying how appropriate it is that the Russians should do their own fighting. In the meantime, there is little doubt how a good percentage of these conscripted men feel. I talked with quite a few of them. All hated the idea. Even the anti-Bolsheviks were unwilling to take up arms against brother Russians, and the really Bolshevik fellows avow what they will accept the training and join the Bolsheviks at the first opportunity; some of the anti-Bolsheviks had the same thing.

However common it may be to hear the people speak unfavorably of the Bolsheviks, especially if one of us asks the question, there is seldom anything terrible, such as you would expect, said against them. Such feeling as exists is generally political, except in the case of the prominent bourgeois, who know that much they hold dear is at stake if a change from the old social conditions is brought about again. The richest citizen in one village told me quite sincerely that he believed the only way to settle Russia was to kill every Bolshevik. "Every Bolshevik?" "I asked, "Every Bolshevik," was his firm answer. "I inquired about the Bolshevik atrocities on the Archangel front. Many men who had never been there were telling these stories. They do exist. So some Americans who weren't much worried about it said. Some of the Russians, especially the Cossacks, stop at no limits in warfare. The atrocities committed by both sides in Finland were frightful. I heard some officers telling with great glee of what I should call an atrocity committed by one of our own Serbs upon a Bolshevik. The worst part of this story to me, however, was not what the big, barbaric Serb sergeant did, but the glee with which these supposedly atrocious Englishmen told the story. The Americans were amazingly indifferent to the Bolshevik peril. Perhaps this is because they have been unduly affected by the discrimination which they say the Bolsheviks have shown toward them. They say that the Bolsheviks sent word to the Americans they would not attack them. At any rate, once, so these Yanks said, they held a position a whole month without a yip coming from the enemy guns, but that the very night they went out of the position and were relieved by English troops, the Bolsheviks attacked.

The glaring fact is that, whatever our statesmen may say in council chambers at home, the men on the field in North Russia are

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Commune or Chaos, Russ Alternative

By Michael Farbman.

Kovno, Lithuania, May 29 (delayed)—In attempting to form an estimate of the present situation in Russia one meets with many difficulties. First it must be observed that reports from persons who have been in the interior of the country are conflicting. Second, the information collected is more in the nature of hazy impressions than a clear description of facts. On the one hand some observers are most impressed by the Bolshevik army and the political apparatus which they describe as a tremendously powerful organization. On the other hand are those who, while admitting that the Bolshevik army is formidable, are less impressed by this fact, and throw the whole weight of their criticism upon the failure of the Bolshevik economic system.

Again there are those who base their judgment mainly on the psychological state of the Russian masses who, according to them, appear to have lost hope and are sinking into blank despair. The Russians, they say, are very impulsive. Nothing succeeds with them like success, and no other people so easily become downhearted as the Russian. Up to this time the Russian revolution has lied on hope alone. The economic exhaustion of Russia, even at the beginning of the revolution, was appalling. The only thing that seemed able to regenerate Russia was a miraculous faith, the spiritual upheaval of a primitive people that seemed able to remove mountains. Now this great hope has exhausted itself in a two years' gigantic though aimless struggle.

Russian Morale Exhausted.

The outstanding feature of Russian life today is the utter exhaustion not only of economic life, but also of psychological inspiration. The highest triumph of the Russian revolution coincided in the opinion of the Russians with the beginning of the German revolution in November last year. The message of the German revolution was received in Russia as the realization of the great promise, but the decline of the German revolution has caused the Russian masses to despair. Even the great demonstration of force last year on the part of the allies when they began their intervention, so far from dismaying rather inspired the Bolsheviks. The physical blow of the allies could be withstood, but the psychological blow which came with weakening of the German revolution was by far the most terrible defeat that they suffered.

On one point only all these conflicting opinions are agreed—namely, that Russia is longing for peace internally as well as with the outside world. To avoid misunderstanding

not moved by any high motives. The men admit it would be a crime to get shot by a Bolshevik bullet now up there in Russia. They did not feel this way about the fighting in France. If there are men in England who really do want to fight the Bolsheviks, as they profess, they should volunteer and join the expedition at once.

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ing, I may say that none of my informers was in sympathy with the Bolsheviks, the majority being Lithuanian nationalists who came back to their homes during the Bolshevik occupation of Lithuania. It is characteristic, however, that these Lithuanians left Russia not in order to escape Bolshevik rule but out of fear of the counter-revolutionary reaction, which, they are convinced, will take a pan-Slavic, anti-alien pogrom aspect.

United to Save Revolution.

In connection with the desire for peace it is possible to observe two outstanding features—first, that there is a tendency of all revolutionary parties, Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik, to effect an understanding so as to be able to defend the revolution against the common enemy; second a very significant desire on the part of the Bolsheviks themselves to go to any length of concessions not only to the other socialist parties but to the outside world with the object of saving the essential features of the Russian revolution.

In order to understand exactly what is meant by the term "essentials of the revolution" I put a number of questions with regard to whether the Bolsheviks are ready to abandon the soviet system of government in favor of democratic representation. My informants consider this impossible, because the Bolsheviks regard the soviet as the basic feature of the revolution. They won't give up the Soviets, but a tendency is growing to come to a compromise upon the demands for a constituent assembly, creating parallel with the Soviet

a kind of second chamber elected on a general democratic basis. The impulse which is bringing all the revolutionary parties together and for which all are ready to die is the feeling that Russian sovereignty is at stake and that the sovereign rights of Russia must be left unimpaired.

See Chaos In Intervention.

But what, I asked, will happen if the allies refuse to recognize the sovereign power of Russia as represented by the soviet government? What will happen if they overthrow the Bolshevik power by force of arms? What power can replace the Bolsheviks? Upon this point there was general agreement that there is no political apparatus within Russia that is in any way capable of taking over the reins of power. The forcible overthrow of Bolshevism would be considered the end of the revolution and the beginning of the great chaos.

Russia is standing at the parting of the ways and the decision will be made not by the Russians but by the allies. The allies not only can save the Russian people and their revolution, but at the same time can effect a painless reabsorption of Russia into the family of nations. An uncompromising attitude on the part of the allies and an attempt by them to bring the dark forces of old Russia back into power will be followed by a period of the most appalling massacres, will throw Russia into a bedlam and make of it a wilderness. And nobody is wise enough to foresee what effect this anarchy and chaos in Russia would have upon the world.

BOLSHEVIST VERSION OF UNREST IN NORWAY.

By BASSETT DIGBY.

(Special Correspondence of The Daily News.)

Christiania, Norway, May 3.—Norway's Bolshevik leaders have the fervor of evangelists. They talk of their creed with forceful assurance. It is not politics; it is their religion. They will not compromise with even so nearly radical a party as the non-communist socialists.

"Has the workmen in Norway any special hardships to account for the deep industrial unrest?" I asked him.

"His housing conditions are bad and rentals are very high," Scheflo replied. "He is profoundly dissatisfied with the present system of electoral districts. But he is pretty well paid. He has strong trades unions that protect him. He is better situated than the workmen of many other countries."

Wants American Houses.

We talked about the housing problem, which is acute in Scandinavia, owing to the high cost of building city apartment houses. Scheflo wants workmen's suburbs of small, single family houses. A few factories in Norway are already making standardized wooden houses but they cannot supply the demand. Scheflo would like to have American standardized house builders discover this field. He says the Christiania city authorities would buy 10,000 and Bergen, 15,000. I reminded him of the many complaints that Americans had been "dumping" exports in Norway to the detriment of Norse industry. He surprised me by declaring that there had been no complaint from the working class as a whole, though some shoe operators feared unemployment if home manufacturers refused to compete. He said the workmen welcome all America could export, as every shipload of goods reduced the cost of living.

"If our shoe and other manufacturers cannot relinquish their 100 and 200 per cent profits," said Scheflo, "let them get out of business."

We next talked about the new industrial wage agreements that must be made this month and which constitute a threatening cloud on the horizon. The Bolshevik party intends to press for a joint workmen's control of all mines and industrial concerns.

Talk of Bolshevik Revolution.

"Do you intend to press for a workmen's council of industry only if the employers refuse conciliation with regard to wages and work hours?" I asked.

"No," he replied, "we want it anyway and intend to get it. We are in real earnest."

Are you going to have a Bolshevik revolution in Norway?"

"Yes, certainly."

"When will it come?"

"Before long."

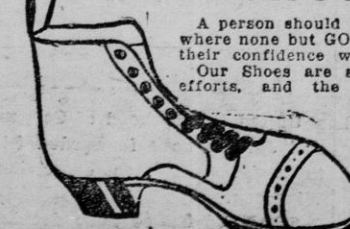
After further conversation, however, it appeared that the Norse Bolshevik party intends to play a waiting game.

"It depends on the rest of Europe and how soon the social revolution comes in England and France," explained Scheflo. "When it comes there it will come here. We are only a small nation, if we started a revolution now England would blockade us. She would send her fleet here."

I find that the Bolsheviks seem angrier at hearing of employers' conciliatory schemes than at hearing of employers' harshness. The former instances lengthen the road to social revolution. But Scheflo refused to admit this.

"It does no good," he said, "to make concessions to labor. The more labor is given now the more it will grasp for. It is not merely a living wage it wants and decent work and housing conditions; it wants power."

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THE WHOLE WORLD IN REVOLT

The New Struggle.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

All persons or groups who opposed the Holy Alliance against political democracy 100 years ago were called revolutionists and outlaws. "The object of these factions is one and the same," declared Metternich. "They aim to overthrow every legally existing government. The principle which monarchs must set against this is the preservation of every legally existing institution."

All persons or groups who today oppose the Holy Alliance against industrial democracy and self-determination are called revolutionists and outlaws. The object of these factions is one and the same. According to Woodrow Wilson, "Radical groups threaten to introduce a solvent that will destroy the crystals of society; these groups must be kept isolated." Hence the military cordon which has been drawn around Russia and Hungary.

"Every legally existing institution" in Europe at the time of Metternich was a divine-right monarchy, or its offspring. Every "legally" existing institution in Europe today is a bourgeois plutocracy, or its offspring. To preserve monarchy, Vienna resorted to the Holy Alliance. To preserve plutocracy, Paris has adopted the League of Nations. Feeble, but still fervent in defense of freedom, America stood alone in defiance of the Holy Alliance, which included Russia. Feeble, but still fervent in defense of freedom, Russia now stands alone in defiance of the League of Nations, which is to include America.

All the vindictive and ruthless passion which characterized the struggle between autocracy and democracy in politics a century ago is abroad again and operating in the present contest between autocracy and democracy in industry. The goal of the "outlaws," then, was political freedom for capital. The goal of the "outlaws" today is industrial freedom for labor. The entire nineteenth century was not long enough to witness the full triumph of political democracy, in all lands. The entire twentieth century may not be long enough to witness the full triumph of industrial democracy, in all lands.

To estimate the course and duration of this "100 years war" now beginning, let us consider what weapons, both material and moral, are possessed by the antagonists and the manner in which they are being used.

What may be termed kingship, or the private ownership of government, broke down in Europe when it could no longer satisfy the expanding requirements of the infant machine age. What we term capitalism, or the private ownership of industry, must break down when, and if, it no longer satisfied the expanding aspirations of the working class. When it formed the Holy Alliance kingship was weakened by a long war, but still possessed the visible instruments for suppressing its rival. When it forms the League of Nations capitalism is weakened by a long war, but still controls the visible instruments for suppressing its rival.

Great standing armies and secret diplomacy manipulated by monarchs were helpless to prevent actual power passing over to capitalism during the nineteenth century. What reason is there to suppose conscript armies and secret agreements between capitalist governments will prevent the rapid or gradual advance of the working class to complete power during the twentieth century?

Ruthless direct action marks the tactics of both sides in the initial stages of the struggle. Defenders of the present order march armies against Russia and Hungary, determined to stop the spread of communist thought with a wall of bay-

onets, and to stamp it out where it has taken root. Communism retaliates by sending thousands of evangelists through or over the wall of bayonets with passionate appeals to the enemy proletariat.

Defenders of the present order erect a blockade to starve communism. Communism directs food and unemployment riots among the harassed people of western Europe. The present order outlaws the money of the communists. The communists counterfeit the mark, the franc and the lire. It is a fight with tooth and claw, a struggle "to the death" between foes equally determined to win and equally confident, perhaps, that in its victory lies the only hope of humanity.

How evenly the scales waver in balance is illustrated every day. Poland stays conservative to earn the reward of food and supplies from America. Hungary goes communist to escape dictation from Paris. Italy clings to the present order, while Germany broods over an alliance with the communists as a last way out of her military debacle.

Idleness and privation throughout Europe cater to communist growth and shake the foundations of the League of Nations. Yet this very menace to the league could not exist if the governments which support the league had accepted and adopted the third of the late lamented "14 points." That point provided for the removal of all economic barriers between nations. When President Wilson first formulated it certain hopeful liberals believed that he had hit upon the one policy which would have opened the way for an orderly transition to industrial democracy and the federation of the world.

They knew that Wilson was a historian, familiar with the inspired device whereby 13 "sovereign" colonies were led into the single sovereignty of the United States of America. You may retain all the political sovereignty you want, said the fathers to the colonies, if you will just agree to abolish your frontier customs houses and permit of free trade everywhere from Maine to Georgia. So the colonies gave up the substance of separate sovereignty, which is economic, and accepted its shadow, which is political. In less than 70 years they were so bound together by absolute free trade that the issue of Negro slavery and a mighty civil war could not tear them apart.

Number three of the 14 points might have performed the same blessing for the whole world. It would have left the political sovereignty of nations "intact" and removed the fangs of nationalist competition by making their material resources accessible to the world, instead of reserving them for the nation strong enough to take and hold them.

But that point was no sooner promulgated than it was abandoned. The governments which met at Paris to conclude peace were concerned not to remove economic barriers, but to erect them in fresh and more strategic places. Had this not been true, Europe would have witnessed an immediate revival of trade after the armistice; raw materials would have begun to flow into factories, and finished products out of them. The war-weary masses would have found work and relative contentment—the only rational antidote for communist agitation.

When it rejected the third point the present order exposed its flank completely to the raids now proceeding of those who aim to reach the co-operative commonwealth at a single stride.

I wish particularly to mention the latest extreme to which communism has resorted in its life or death struggle with western Europe, because it illustrates what may be expected in the way of

social disorganization during the present century unless some modus vivendi shall be reached by the conflicting orders. The thing I refer to is described by the Berlin correspondent of the London Times, as "the ablest idea the brain of Lenin has yet conceived—namely, the destruction of the currency."

"Germany is now flooded with millions of counterfeit mark notes that are as excellent in quality as those turned out by the government," he writes. "There is so much of this money in circulation that the banks do not dare refuse it, so it is current everywhere and good. The Deutsche bank no longer knows whether it is solvent. The same admission has been made to me by the head of another great banking institution."

"Today they are printing five-pound notes (English) in Berlin on the Lenin presses. Also notes of the Bank of France that are good imitations, although not as good as the German notes, because of the greater difficulty of matching the paper. What will be done with them I can only surmise by showing the us to which bad money is put in Berlin. The present government formerly paid 12 marks a day to every unemployed workman. It now pays 15 marks a day, despite the fact that its capital is exhausted."

"Soldiers in the new army get five marks a day and the best food the Entente has sent. This outlay, in addition to the upkeep of the Hindenburg army on the Polish frontier, and Von Der Goltz's troops in Courland, about 25,000 in all, makes the pay sheet of the War Office about as big as in the days when the real German army was fighting the Allies."

Currency is the life blood of the present social order. There exists for it no other standard of value. That is what makes the counterfeiter a criminal whom no person or class can tolerate. Consider then, how the entire social structure of central Europe is debilitated by a flood of counterfeit currency turned loose not by fugitive individuals for private gain, but by an entire section of the human race as an organized method of defensive and offensive warfare. In the political sphere, is what may be termed the poison gas of the class struggle.

Four English Radicals Fined For Protesting Against Blockade

(Continued from page 1)

executive committee of the Women's International League were refused admittance to the court, together with a woman reported representing the Daily Herald. Only after some struggle was Mrs. Ayrton Gould herself able to enter.

Sir Archibald Bodkin, for the prosecution, said the possible penalty was £5 for each copy of the leaflet. He referred to a poster headed, "What does Britain stand for? Starving babies, torturing women, killing the old?" of which 7,000 were distributed. The name of Mrs. Gould, who admitted the authorship, was not on it, neither was that of Messrs. Porteous, who printed it. Only the name of the National Labor Press appeared.

"Millions of Starving Babies." "There were two other leaflets about millions of starving babies which bore only the printer's name. Consequently no proceedings were taken under the Newspaper act in either case."

"Miss Jebb had admitted that she prepared one of the leaflets in a hurry, and sent it to a meeting at Trafalgar square, without the knowledge of the 'Fight the Famine' Council, of which she was honorary secretary."

"Mr. Morduant Snagge, of the Leaflets Department of the Press Bureau, said the publications had never been submitted for censorship."

"Mr. A. Simpson, printing manager, said it was the custom of the trade to let sub-contracts and to put on publications the name of the firm who received the order and not the name of the sub-contractor."

"Inspector Everest, New Scotland Yard, said Mrs. Ayrton Gould told him she was entirely responsible for the poster, adding, 'What is written I stand for. I am quite willing to answer any charge.'"

"For the defence, Mr. William Francis Moss, London manager of the Labor Press, said he had, in accordance with his practice, care-

TO ALL STATE SECRETARIES AND FOREIGN LOCALS

June 3, 1919.

In a desperate effort to keep control of the party, although overwhelmingly repudiated in the referendum election which has just closed, the majority of the present Executive Committee has expelled or suspended 36,000 members of the party, thereby hoping to deprive them of the right to participate in the election of delegates to the coming Emergency National Convention.

Among the organizations, which the Executive Committee majority has suspended are the following Federations.—Russian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish, and South Slavic.

While the repudiated majority of the Executive Committee hopes, by its desperate action of "suspending" one-third of the party membership to take from the members of the branches of these Federations the right to participate in the party affairs during a crucial period, its action can have no such effect under the National Constitution.

The question of the relation of the Federations to the party was definitely established in the controversy in the Finnish Federation of 1914—15. At that time the National Executive Committee sought to establish the ruling that the Foreign Federations were responsible to the National Committee, and ruled, in harmony with this conception, that the expulsion of branches by a federation must be accepted as final by local, county or state organizations. This ruling of the N. E. C. was, however, repudiated and annulled by the National Committee.

As a consequence of this controversy the National Committee at its meeting in 1915, initiated constitutional amendments clearly defining the relation of the Foreign Federations to the party. Thus we find, that Art. 12, Sec. 5, of the national constitution reads, "Branches of the Language Federations shall be an integral part of the county and state organizations", and in paragraph B of the same section, the statement—"the power to expel members of the party being exclusively vested in the county and state organizations."

Under these provisions the National Executive Committee may suspend the Federations as Federations, but no action of the N. E. C. can affect the standing of the Foreign Language Branches as branches and locals hold in charters from local, county or state organizations. The power to expel or suspend branches from being "integral" parts of the state or county organizations rests with the state and county organizations only. The Foreign Language Branches by purchasing their dues stamps from the local or state organizations can maintain their rights within the party.

Every Foreign Language Branch affiliated with the suspended federations should immediately begin purchasing due stamps from the local or state organization by which it is chartered. The state or local organization obligated by the provisions of the national constitution to accept such payments for dues and to grant all the rights of membership to the members of the foreign language branches.

Fraternally submitted,
For the Emergency Committee to Prevent
The Disruption of the Party.—C. E. Ruthenberg.

fully considered whether the leaflets ought to be submitted to the authorities, but he was of the opinion that they could not come within the provisions of the section.

"Merely Humanitarian." "He did not regard them as propaganda in connection with the war, but as having a merely humanitarian object. He knew that the 'Fight the Famine' bishops and an ex-Lord Chancellor (Lord Buckmaster), and other law-abiding citizens, who would not ask him to print anything that was contrary to the welfare of the Realm."

"Cross-examined by Sir A. Bodkin: He looked on the blockade as action taken by the Allies to prevent the enemy countries importing anything on their own account in their own ships or ships they might engage."

"Did you understand that as a war measure?" "Yes."

"To raise the blockade according to your own definition it was clearly a matter which dealt with the topic in relation to the war?"

"Yes; but I understand the war is over."

"Sir A. Bodkin: That is really the view of Fleet Street?"

"I am not of Fleet Street."

"Mr. Lake, director of the Federation of Master Printers, corroborated as to the custom of using only the imprint of the firm getting the order."

Refused to Compromise.

"Mrs. Ayrton Gould said the Committee of the Women's League took joint responsibility with her. There had been no breach of the law, because her 'leaflet' was not proved to be harmful to public safety. It had no more relation to the war than the general state of the world had. The magistrate could only convict if he believed the government treated the starvation of wo-

men, children and the aged as part of the prosecution of the war after fighting had ceased. In that case she would not compromise by paying a fine, but would go to prison as a protest."

"Miss Eglantine Jebb expressed regret that 'Fight the Famine Council' had been associated with this affair, as the bishops and others mentioned had not given their sanction. She also regretted having involved the labor press, but she had not broken the law."

"The National Labor Press was fined £80, with 10 guineas costs; Mr. Moss was fined £15, with 5 guineas costs; Messrs. Porteous were fined £4, with 2 guineas costs. The summons against Mr. J. S. Porteous was dismissed. One summons of Mrs. Ayrton Gould was withdrawn, and she was fined £5 on each of the other summonses, without costs, or 11 days' imprisonment. Miss Jebb was fined £5, without costs, or 11 days' imprisonment."

A week was allowed to consider an appeal or pay the fines."

CANADIAN OFFICER SUPPORTS WINNIPEG STRIKERS.

(Continued from page 1)

all the way. When the 17th December came they knew exactly what it meant for the men who were going to the war. When the election was over, in spite of the fact that my opponent was the secretary of the labor union, it was found that they had voted for me in the proportion of three to one.

These are the men who, today, are on strike. There is certainly something wrong somewhere. In addition to those men, as good and as loyal citizens as Canada ever

had, there are many of my own comrades who stood in the trenches in France; they are on strike. I say, standing in my place here, that eighty per cent. of the returned men of Winnipeg are in sympathy with the strikers and the object of this strike.

On the first of May the men of the metal trades went on strike, partly because the masters refused an eight-hour day and a larger hour wage, but chiefly because of the employers' refusal to recognize their union. The building trade employees presented their schedule to the masters who frankly admitted its fairness and reasonableness, but declared their inability to meet the demand. Here we have the two vital causes of the strike (1) a living wage, and (2) the right to organize. This is the cause of the strike in my opinion after the most careful consideration and after using every means in my power to find out the facts. When the ironmasters let it become known that they were going to make it a trial of endurance, the trades and labor council called for a sympathetic strike of all organized labor in the city. A vote was taken, and all unions, including public utilities, came out.

The single workman is helpless against the great corporation; the individual union or craft is equally so. Collective bargaining is the logical outcome of organization, and it is now too late in the day for any corporation to refuse it—that principle is embodied as one of the provisions of the charter of labor formed by the League of Nations.

The sympathetic strike is the natural and logical sequence of organization. What more natural than that men who have interests in common should stand together in an emergency? A particular union or craft in striking may be striking for a principle that is absolutely vital to every man in the industry and just as the employers can down one single man so they can down a single union unless all stand together. This is co-operation; it is brotherhood, and it is absolutely the same principle of sticking together that was employed in France.

There is another point I want to touch upon for a moment or two. Twice this afternoon I have heard the term "Bolsheviks" applied to the strike leaders in Winnipeg. Gentlemen, if you apply the term to those men you apply it to me, because they are my friends. There is a man called Jas. Winning, a good level-headed Scotchman, who has spent practically all his life working for his fellowmen. The only erratic thing he has done in this agitation has been closing down the press and participating in the strike. As to the press, I had the misfortune to hear an hon. gentleman, one of the oldest members in the chamber, state his opinion that the press was corrupt, and he was not called a "Bolshevik" for saying that. If ever a strike by workmen in newspaper offices was justified it was in this case if the newspapers were not playing the game. There is another man called Russell in Winnipeg. Russell is a Socialist and not a man who advocates force. I know these men, and for them force would be absolutely the last resource. Russell wants a change. So does Robinson, so does Simpson, and so does Riggs. They want a change because they are not satisfied with present conditions. How many hon. gentlemen in this House are satisfied? I venture to say many of them would welcome a change of government.

Same hon. members: Hear, hear. Mr. Andrews: I feel a little that way myself, but I would like to see some further action by the Union Government first.

WINNIPEG

A FINE CHORUS.

Senator Robertson: "I can do nothing till the posties return to work."

Premier Norris: "I can do nothing till you call off the sympathetic strike."

City Council: "We can do nothing till the civic employees return."

Board of Trade: "We can do nothing till you all go back."

THE STRIKERS:—(Discordant voices)—"We can do nothing till you all come forward."

Those Typos must feel happy setting up the filth, their bosses hurl at their fellow workers.—All honor to the fellows WHO QUIT RATHER THAN SET THE VILE STUFF.

When the garbage is removed, what will the plutocratic press do for copy?

Britain Sounds Soldiers' Views on Strikebreaking and Helping Crush Soviet

That the British military is sounding its soldiery on the question of industrial unrest after the war with the point in view of using it for strikebreaking purposes, is brought to light by the publication of a remarkable document in the London Daily Herald sent to all commanding officers of the British army.

The document, which is in the form of a questionnaire, calls for an expression of opinion on overseas drafts, particularly for Russia.

It declares the Army Council desires to "keep its finger on the pulse of the troops," and asks for information on the inroads of trade unionism among the soldiers. One of the questions read, "Is any agitation from internal or external sources affecting them?"

It appears that even commanding officers are not immune from the inquisition. They also are required to report their attitude on strikebreaking, etc.

The Daily Herald, in publishing the document, appeals to Labor members of Parliament, the Trades Union Congress and the "Triple Alliance" to probe the army order to the bottom.

The order follows:

(Form Number.)

"Secret and Urgent."

"1. I am directed to request that, until further notice, you will furnish information on the headings hereunder as regards the troops in your area, and that you will arrange for a report to reach this office without fail not later than first post each Thursday morning.

(a) Will troops in various areas respond to orders for assistance to preserve the public peace?

(b) Will they assist in strikebreaking?

(c) Will they parade for draft to overseas, especially to Russia?

(d) What has been the effect of Army Order XIV of 1919 on the men? Do they consider the policy of dividing the army into the classes of demobilisables a sound one, and, if so, do they think that the line of cleavage has been equitably fixed? Is there any dissatisfaction with either the principles or the details of that order, and, if so, what are your recommendations?

(e) Any other information or suggestions.

"2. You will please give your own views for the information of the General Officer Commanding—

"3. You will, of course, understand that any material change in a situation and any cases of disorder or indiscipline are to be reported at once.

"4. The above is to be circulated to all officers commanding stations, formations and units in the area under your command, and, to save time, you will please instruct officers commanding stations to forward reports under the headings given above direct to these headquarters, attaching any report from an officer commanding formation or unit which is of importance. They will quote the above number and mark the reports 'Secret and Urgent.'

"5. I am to add that the above is required with a view to the establishment of an efficient intelligence service, whereby the Army Council can keep its finger on the pulse of the troops, and that the information desired is required for the information of the Secretary of State.

"(Sgd.)—

"For—Command,

"1919.

"To Station Commander, No. —, Area —:

"Will you please let me have the following information for the C. M. A. — Area, as speedily as possible with regard to the units on the station under your command.

"(a) Whether there is any growth of trade unionism among them?

"(b) The effect outside trade unions have on them.

"(c) Whether any agitation from internal or external sources is affecting them?

"(d) Whether any Soldiers' Councils have been formed?

"(e) Whether any demobilization troubles are occurring, and, if so (i), what troops are demonstrating, (ii) the numbers involved, (iii) what their grievances are, (iv) what has been done.

"(Signed.)

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FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1919.

BOY! PAGE McEWAN

The Editor of the Duluth Labor World is so busy fighting (?) the radicals, that he has no time left to write his editorials. So the renegade Socialists, who masquerade under that delightful name of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, write them for him. Therefore, as he accepts these editorials as his own, we shall hold him responsible for same. Time there was when we had faith in McEwan, that time has gone, never to return.

There have been appearing in the Labor World a series of editorials, "inspired," attacking the Bolsheviks. The press has lied about them, so much so, that they have found it necessary to issue a magazine of their own. Now that they have issued their magazine the Labor World is not satisfied. What the Labor World desires is to spew their venom on the Bolshevik agents and then leave them no chance to reply. Quite the McEwan style.

Men like McEwan, who have had soft jobs all the time they have been in the labor movement, cannot appreciate the heroism and the self-sacrificing spirit of the men who now control affairs in Russia. The carrying on of a country is too big an affair, for the editor of a 2x4 labor paper to appreciate. It requires ability, courage and patience and the usual labor leader is generally without ability or courage, but is patient with the employers. In fact he is so patient as to never call a strike, unless the rank and file force him. McEwan attacks the Bolshevik Government of Russia. You all know McEwan. William Allen White, one of the foremost newspaper editors in this country, was chosen by PRESIDENT WILSON, not Bill Haywood, to go to the Princes Island to represent the UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. He wrote to the New York World that the Russian Soviet Government was the most stable and responsible government in Europe. How's that McEwan? Frazier Hunt, the accredited correspondent of one of the most anti-labor papers in the country, the Chicago Tribune, was sent to Russia to investigate the Bolsheviks and he writes that there is more order in Soviet Russia, than in any other country he has been in. Now here we have William Allen White, friend of President Wilson, and Frazier Hunt, accredited correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, who have studied the Soviet Government first hand, they stand by the Bolsheviks, on the other hand we have McEwan, who has been here in Duluth all the time, his nearest approach to Russia being Fond du Lac, you can take your choice as to reliability of criticism.

The Russian people want to live their own life. They want to be free to adopt ANY form of government they deem necessary. Is there any reason why we should step in and compel them to accept our form of government, if they do not want it?

From the dark cells of Siberia into the golden sunlight of freedom, the Russian people have come. They have stepped out into the open and clear atmosphere, where men can talk as they think fit. They have made mistakes, we do not deny it. But they have been honest mistakes. Let us be honest and encourage them. If the Bolsheviks are carrying out an unsound idea, then that idea will crumble. The truth will always prevail, it may be temporarily crushed, but it rises to earth stronger. If we cannot understand Russia, let us be honest and keep out.

We trust that McEwan will be honest also. We trust that he will not print lies about Russia, in order to make good in the eyes of the Duluth businessmen. If he intends to make good with Duluth businessmen, then why does he not get out of the labor movement and ACT LIKE A MAN?

The Labor World also attacks the "Dial" for making the following statement, read it for yourself and be your own judge:—

KEEP THE FAITH.

With us rests the choice to break through all the hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free.—DECEMBER 1917.

No nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong.—DECEMBER 1917.

The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants.—JANUARY 1918.

The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations will be the acid test of their good will.—JANUARY 1918.

WOODROW WILSON.

A nation that cannot keep its promises is weak. A nation that will not keep its promises is faithless. Within the next few weeks the American people must choose either to admit their helplessness or sanction their betrayal.

In entering the war we pledged ourselves to create a new international order. Our aim was nothing less than to make the world "safe for democracy." Spurred by our magnanimous statement of purposes the peoples of Europe weary of the riot and carnage and death, stiffened their backs to bear a little while longer the burden of the war. Nearly three hundred thousand American soldiers sealed the pledge of honor with their blood. Millions more stood ready to make the sacrifice.

The arrangements effected by the Peace Conference are a mockery of our democratic faith and our idealistic promises. We are offered a "peace" which only further warfare can keep intact. The League of Nations has become a bond exacted by usurpers. Not for such a pact did the American people pledge their lives and their fortunes. We sought a "league of honor." We cannot satisfy ourselves with the sort of honor that is found among thieves. To accept the present treaty and covenant would betray the dead. It would sell the common people of the world into the slavery of perpetual

militarism. It would smirch the honor and blacken the historical character of the American people.

"The ultimate peace of the world and the liberation of its people" still remain to be achieved. The Treaty and Covenant block the path to a new order. Hence The Dial rejects the Treaty and demands an honest Covenant. Unless the American people have the moral honesty and the political force to back up this demand, their promises are flouted, their hopes are betrayed, and their pledges annulled.

Now is the time for a lineup. On one side—submission, reaction, chaos, and warfare without end. On the other—resistance, progress, order, and the foundation of a genuine peace. The Dial has frankly indicated the ground upon which it stands. It believes that the American people must "hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end," and that they cannot boast themselves a free nation unless they are able to keep the faith they have pledged. Holding that democracy itself is at stake. The Dial appeals boldly for popular moral support. The daily press is venal. The national legislature is subservient. The liberal journals must serve.

Will you help us keep the faith? The government has failed. The American people must finish the job.

The Duluth Labor World could have been of valuable assistance to the local labor movement. A product of the labor movement, it could have voiced the ideals and aspirations of that movement. But no, it serves to hold back the labor movement, in order that it may achieve financial success, through its advertising. We want to extend to the readers of the Labor World and also our own, the sterling advice given many years ago, by a well-known and beloved labor leader:—

"The workman who wants to read a labor paper with the true ring, one that ably, honestly and fearlessly speaks for the workingclass, will find it safe to steer clear of those that are loaded with capitalist advertising and make his selection from those that are nearly or quite boycotted by the class that live and thrive upon the slavery and degradation of the workingclass."

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

The United States Government has granted the right of an appeal to the members of the I. W. W. now incarcerated in Leavenworth penitentiary. The granting of the right to appeal a case implies a reasonable doubt. Therefore one is "playing safe" by assuming that until the United States Supreme Court has finally given its decision on the case of the imprisoned I. W. W. members, that these men are innocent.

Any member of the labor movement, who is alive to his class position and fully understands the workings of human society, will admit, despite the ravings of a Nebeker or the spectacular displays of a Landis, that the members of the I. W. W. ARE INNOCENT. It is as much as a union can do these times to lend all its support to the members of the I. W. W. who are now in prison. Why should trade unionists wait until after the grim hand of death has been placed on these unfortunate men? Is it necessary to allow a man to die before we dare stand up and say he is innocent, when we know he is innocent? Must we have a repetition of the Haymarket judicial scandal? If we leave this matter to the officials of the Labor movement, every member of the I. W. W. will be sent to the gallows. The I. W. W. come as a challenge to parasitism all over the country, whether it be in capitalist society or the labor movement. The members of the I. W. W. with the glow of youth on their cheeks and the enthusiasm of the young, stand up and defy all those who dare to oppress labor. They march with heads erect and cast all on one side who dare to impede their progress. There is something to be admired in the courage and the daring of the members of the I. W. W. Therefore we are at loss to understand why labor unions should help the master-class to oppress the I. W. W.

H. J. Kane, is a worker of about fifty years of age. He was a member of the International Typographical Union. Kane is no "cissy" trade unionist. It does not matter who is struck at, if he is a worker, then you can rest assured that Kane will be fighting by his side. So when the workers were being deported out to the hot desert of Arizona, Kane was with them. He stood by the A. F. of L. members and joined in with the I. W. W. Kane does not TALK solidarity, he LIVES IT. It is the spirit of men like Kane that will herald in the dawn of the new society. Tonight Kane lies on the cold cement floors of the Leavenworth penitentiary. He is there because he has fought for you and all of us. He is there with the rest of the brave I. W. W.s! While he is in prison, mark you! In prison we said! The International Typographical Union expels him from their organization because he was convicted under the Espionage Law. The government has not yet disposed of the I. W. W. case, but the I. T. U. has. The disgrace is with the International Typographical Union, the honor is with fellow-worker Kane.

Send a line to H. J. Kane Box 7, Leavenworth, Kansas. Send him a note that you are a real worker and that you stand for all that Kane stands for—SOLIDARITY. Kane will appreciate it and you will feel good. Why not send him something to read also?

The labor fakirs are in a desperate condition. Soon the broom will be brought out and then—? ?
GOOD-NIGHT.

JUDGE FOR YOURSELF

"I am not in sympathy with the Irish Nationalist or the Sinn Fein. This Sinn Fein Government is the same as the British Government to me. I am international. I believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world.

"I don't believe in conciliation or mediation. I don't believe in arbitration. Our work is to wipe out the capitalist class.

"WIFE OUT CAPITALISM."

"All those who support the regime of capitalism must be wiped out. We want direct action. But we must beware of the enemies inside the movement the men who wish to hold you back, the men who theorize. They are false and corrupt. They are our false friends. Do not forget that Liebknecht was killed by Socialists. Take a lesson. Beware of the enemies in our movement."

"THE PATH OF REVOLUTION."

"The work of Karl Liebknecht shall continue. That is the glorious thought that penetrates my mind and absorbs my intellect. They have shown us the path that must be followed, the path of revolution all over the world.

"You are the radicals. You have fought all your lives. You are the ones that have fought conscription and you know how hard the fight has been. But we will continue until we have reached our goal."

JIM LARKIN.

SINN FEIN NOT "RED."

"We Irish Are Neither Russian Nor International."
"Is Sinn Fein Bolshevik?" Mr. de Valera was asked by

a correspondent of the "Chicago Daily News."

Mr. de Valera replied that Irish workers, as he understood them, did not think of the dictatorship of a class, but sought equal rights and equal opportunities for all on the basis of a common humanity. "As regards Bolshevism," he added, "what it really is I do not know. I know too much of how the Press has treated Irishmen to believe much of what it says of the Russians."

"Any statements current in America to the effect that the Sinn Fein is under the Red flag or is Bolshevik are not made in good faith," said Professor John MacNeill. "We Irish are neither Russian nor international." Sinn Fein was not committed to any special program of social reform or against any.

THE LEFT WING CONVENTION

The Left Wing section of the Socialist Party of Minnesota decided to call a convention of the Socialist Party Left Wing members of Minnesota. The convention met last Sunday, in Minneapolis, there being present forty-two delegates representing over 1,500 members of the party. The work of the convention was carried out in a brisk and businesslike manner and reflects great credit upon those delegates that took part in the proceedings. True it was, that at times there were hot debates, but at no time were the delegates forgetting the aims and purposes of the convention.

The first debate centered around the following resolution, introduced by ourselves:—

"THAT WE OF THE LEFT WING OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MINNESOTA RESOLVE TO ENTER INTO EVERY ECONOMIC STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS AND ADVOCATE REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AS EXPOUNDED BY THE I. W. W."

The main argument of the delegates was, that being that the I. W. W. does not recognize the political state, we could not endorse them. The resolutions committee, with the exception of ourselves, were also of the opinion that we should be more "broadminded" and so they brought in the following resolution:—

"That we of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, in convention assembled, resolve to enter into every economic struggle of the workers, as far as possible whether by the I. W. W. radical factions within the A. F. of L. or any other group of organized or unorganized workers, and endeavor to educate the workers to revolutionary industrial unionism as a political weapon."

It is our opinion that the A. F. of L. must sooner or later split up. That will come about by the expulsion of radical unions or their voluntary withdrawal. The international unions are now expelling locals for engaging in O. B. U. work and propaganda. That means that a new organization in the shape of the One Big Union will be formed. Out in the west, members of the A. F. of L. carry cards in the I. W. W. There is direct relationship between the radical members of the A. F. of L. and the members of the I. W. W. The former have faith in the A. F. of L. for a while, but as soon as they realize that there is no hope WITHIN the A. F. of L., they will flock to the I. W. W. and the I. W. W. will become the leading organization, both in numerical and working class strength, in this country. But a slight knowledge of the labor movement will convince any worker of the correctness of our views. That being so, it was our desire to place the Socialist Party in a position of being possessed of sufficient foresight to realize this. But we regret to state that the convention, despite the fact that the Cook County Convention endorsed the I. W. W. thought otherwise.

The talk about the abolition of the political state is all right. But let us remember that abolition of any institution means action. Action without organization leads to chaos.

But nevertheless the convention accepted the manifesto of the Left Wing of Greater New York, which states:—

"The organization of Workmen's Council; recognition of, and propaganda for, these mass organizations in the immediate struggle, as the form of expression of the class struggle, and as the instruments for the seizure of the power of the state and the basis of the new proletarian state of the organized producers and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The adoption of that clause compels the convention to come round to our point of view, so we feel that after all the convention endorsed our resolution.

A permanent organization of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Minnesota was suggested and formed. The following are the members of the Executive Board:—

Emma Gordon, (Minneapolis), A. A. Larson, (Minneapolis), Jos. Ungar, (St. Paul), O. E. Thompson, (Duluth), and Jack Carney, (Duluth). Comrade Ungar, 1080 Park Ave. St. Paul, Minnesota was elected treasurer and Jack Carney Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minnesota, elected secretary.

We trust that all delegates will see that their local pays the ten cents assessment and send it immediately to Comrade Joseph Ungar. We feel sure that this assessment will only have to be paid until the holding of the National Convention, as the party will then go to the Left. This is urgent, so see that your local pays up AT ONCE.

All communications relating to the Left Wing to be sent to the writer at the Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minnesota. Any matters that you may wish the State Board to act upon, kindly let us know at once.

We beg to call your attention to the following resolution passed unanimously at the State Convention of the Left Wing:—

"That it is the consensus of opinion of the delegates to the Left Wing conference that the present State Executive Board of the Socialist Party of Minnesota be recalled."

This is an important resolution and we trust that your local will IMMEDIATELY send in a recall motion to the State Office. Do not delay this matter, but act at once. The S. E. B. is 80 per cent Right Wing and you cannot expect a Right Wing State Board to work with a Left Wing rank and file. It is a matter of policy that they be recalled. Send in your motion to recall, to the State Secretary and also send us a copy.

Comrade Earley, not being a member of the Socialist Party of MINNESOTA was nominated as a delegate for the National Convention of the Left Wing. We protested and after one hour had been spent, discussing same, the members realized the correctness of our viewpoint and voted to send the two following delegates, Emma Gordon and O. E. Thompson. The members of the Socialist Party of Minnesota who carried on the burden of the fight, here in Minnesota, during the war, are best qualified to represent the Minnesota locals. Comrade Earley insisted upon being nominated as a delegate, so we resigned as a protest against his being nominated. We have no personal quarrel with Comrade Earley, only a faith in the members of our own State organization. That is all.

Every issue of Truth will contain matter pertaining to the Left Wing. So if you have any news relating to the Left Wing send it in.

We are living in stirring times. Winnipeg, and other places prove to us how keen the struggle is. The master class see danger ahead and so more than at any other time

Pres. Wilson Likes Truth

Dear Comrade Reader:—

The President speaking to Lloyd George and Clemenceau the other day, said that the Allies stand by the Truth. Therefore in anticipation of the rush for copies, we have decided to inform our readers of the fact that many of you who subscribed for the first copy will find that your subscription is about due. So send in your sub, as our printers can only print 100,000,000 copies per week, and there are that many people here in America.

TRUTH is suffering from the high cost of living and on some bright morning you are going to wake up and find Truth increasing in price. So if you want to save money renew your subscription now.

All readers sending us \$1.50, we will send them Truth for one year. Come early to avoid the rush.

Yours for the change,

The Editor and the staff of Truth.

we need organization, education and agitation of the Left Wing character. We especially urge our readers to rally to the Left and so make our future one of success.

The minutes of the Convention will be found in another column. The above is just the expression of one delegate and not an expression of the State Board of the Left Wing, of which we are the secretary.

LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

"REVOLUTION IS THE LOCOMOTIVE OF HISTORY,"
KARL LIEBKNECHT.

P. S.—At the weekly meeting of the Scandinavian Local (Duluth) the report of the Left Wing Convention was unanimously adopted. It was also decided to pay the ten cent assessment at once and a check for \$30.00 has been sent to the treasurer.

The Editor of Truth will represent the Duluth Scandinavian and English Locals, at the National Left Wing Conference.

See that your local acts immediately on the recommendations of the Convention and sends in the assessment to the treasurer at once.

All Left Wing locals desiring to send in any news to the Left Wing page must do so at once. Matter must be in this office by the first mail Tuesday morning of each week.

Subscribe to the Revolutionary Age 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass., one dollar for six months.

THE LEFT WING CONQUERS

The Left Wing, as shown in partial election returns, has swept the Socialist Party. Early returns indicate a complete victory for revolutionary Socialism, the conquest of the Party for the Communist International.

The official vote on international delegates from 11 states—Georgia, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida, Rhode Island, Maine, Kentucky, Arkansas, Minnesota, Michigan and Massachusetts gives the following results:

John Reed, 7,679; Louis C. Fraina, 7,077; A. Wagenknecht, 5,423; C. Ruthenberg, 4,523; I. E. Ferguson, 2,538. These the candidates receiving the highest vote are all Left Wing candidates. The moderates of the Right Wing received these votes: Victor Berger, 1,139; Adolph Germer, 908; Seymour Stedman, 789; James O'Neil, 778; A. Shipiloff, 683; Algeron Lee, 565; John M. Work, 457.

In the District 1 elections for National Executive Committee, returns from Maine, Rhode Island and Massachusetts give these results: Louis C. Fraina, 3,130; Nicholas I. Hourwich, 2,544; E. Lindgren, 1,472; Ludwig Lore, 940; Morris Hillquist, 838; James O'Neil, 688; A. Shipiloff, 319.

In the eleven states, Kate Richards O'Hare has overwhelmingly beaten Morris Hillquist for International Secretary. Incomplete reports from other states indicate that the Left Wing has secured a substantial majority in all state organizations. This is the election that the moderates on the N. E. C. are trying to steal.

RUSH YOUR SECONDS.

Resolved, by the Joint Meeting of the branches of Local Cuyahoga County, (Cleveland), having an average of 1,821 members in good standing for the year 1918, that we initiate the following referendum motion, to be submitted to the party membership of the United States:

Resolved, that the act of the National Executive Committee in expelling from the Socialist Party of Michigan from the Socialist Party of the United States, a state with 6,000 members, without giving the state a trial or even a hearing in its own defense, is hereby rescinded and annulled and the Socialist Party of Michigan restored to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Socialist Party of the United States.

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee of the Party in arbitrarily suspending the Russian Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Polish, South Slavic and Hungarian Federations from the Party is hereby rescinded and annulled.

Resolved, that the action of the majority of the National Executive Committee, which is largely composed of candidates for re-election in the referendum just closed, in holding up and refusing to tabulate the vote on Referendum B and C, for the election of the National Executive Committee, International Delegates and International Secretary, and calling a National Convention, is hereby rescinded and the national secretary instructed to immediately tabulate the vote and to declare the candidates receiving the highest number of votes elected in accordance with the National Party Constitution.

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee in preparing to place the property of the Socialist Party in the hands of a Board of Directors, three to be elected for three years, three for six years and three for nine years; these directors not being subject to recall by either the National Executive Committee or the membership of the party be reversed and rescinded.

If all the Left Wingers are expelled from the Socialist Party will the Right be Left?

THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE IS STILL ON.
ONLY MORE SO.

The Vancouver Local of Moyer's Union has been expelled. Hats off to Vancouver.