

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

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DISCONTENT IN PARIS

Reaction From Wave of Jubilation at War's End Plunges Workers Into Depths, But Steels Their Determination to Abolish the Social Abyss.

Paris, June 12 (by mail).—Are the glowing embers of labor discontent verging into revolutionary flame? Here in Paris one hears nothing but revolution. The word has taken to itself a special shape that walks in every street, in every boulevard, appears in the bourgeois press, echoes through the mines, in the military barracks in Toulouse and upon troop trains that carry men and munitions to the German frontier.

Gustave Herve, editor of *La Victoire*, who threw himself in with the machinations of the government during a time when it was unpopular and unprofitable to do otherwise, printed this pregnant query in the latest issue of his newspaper:

"Is the working-class capable of replacing the bourgeois as the bourgeoisie replaced the aristocracy?"

France is recovering from the artificial stimulus of sudden victory, a stimulus which in the first months following the armistice gave to the nation a sense of "God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world," and that the Germans, the old, old enemy, the thieves of Alsace-Lorraine were beaten down. At that time the collector of bills had not yet put in his account for the cost of war, and things were similar to what they had been during the five years of war, for the taut strings of industry had not yet relaxed and the taste of hardship was intermingled with the sweet sensation of an end to war and France free of invaders.

In the provinces France is numbed and the peasants are turning to that one consolation—their land and their work. Rain or shine, war or peace, the seed must be turned, the wheat grown, the manure carefully preserved. Revolution will turn France upside down one of these days—tomorrow, perhaps, or next month or next year, but soon, as time is reckoned in the fundamental grown of nations. The peasant is shaking his head and saying:

"Revolution? Perhaps in Paris or Marseilles or Bordeaux, but not here."

Will Be Proletarian.

It will be proletarian, this revolution, not agrarian, for the agrarian revolution in France is a loody history. Now the cauldron is coming to a boil in Paris where the flame is hottest, where the city is overcrowded, where food and rents are high, where industry is at a standstill and the helpless, blind old man with a soul steeped in "revanche" and peasant ownership of Russian railway bonds and imperial rubles hopes to bully the peace of Germany by Foch's expensive army and by an invasion of Russia to overturn the Soviet government and redeem the money put into Russian bonds by French bourgeois and land-owning peasants.

Paris today is in the throes of a transport strike with which the government cannot cope. The strikers disappear into the country for holidays and no "disorders" can be incited from them. The strike goes quietly on its way. The only people getting really excited are the government and its press, who are freely declaring that the whole movement is financed by German gold recently sent in through Switzerland.

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By permission of the New Majority

Back of the beating hammer
By which the steel is wrought;
Back of the workshop's clamor,
The seeker may find the Thought;
The Thought that is ever master
Of iron and steam and steel,
That rises above disaster
And tramples it under heel!

The Drudge may fret and tinker
Or labor with dusty blows;
But back of him stands the Thinker,
That clear-eyed man who knows.
For into each plow or saber,
Each piece and part and whole,
Must go the Brains of Labor,
Back of the brawn, the Brain!

Back of the motors humming;
Back of the belts that sing;
Back of the hammers drumming;
Back of the cranes that swing;
There is the eye which scans them,
Watching through stress and strain;
There is the Mind which plans them—
Back of the brawn, the Brain!

Might of the roaring boiler;
Force of the engine's thrust;
Strength of the sweating toiler;
Greatly in these we trust.
But back of them stands the Schemer,
The Thinker who drives things thru;
Back of the Job-the Dreamer
Who's making the dreams come true!

—Berton Braley

"IS NOT A COMMODITY"

Impressions of the A. F. of L. Convention.

(Special to Truth by John Reedy)

Samuel Gompers has fought for years for legal recognition of the fact that "Labor Is Not a Commodity or Article of Commerce." At the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor just ended, Mr. Gompers proudly proclaimed from the platform that he had written this sentiment into the Peace Treaty at Paris. It developed that after the American delegates left Paris the provisions of the International Labor Charter had been "somewhat weakened" — according to a cablegram President Wilson himself, and the sacred sentiment itself had been changed to read "Labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce." Andrew Furuseth said that it was as if he had demanded a declaration stating "Andrew Furuseth is not a scab"—and instead, they had put it, "Andrew Furuseth is not merely a scab."

In the great white hall away out at the end of the Steel Pier at Atlantic City, with the heavy surges running underneath, and the sea-wind sweeping over, six hundred delegates of the American Labor Movement met in the "reconstruction" convention. (Said one delegate, in a spread-eagle speech, "Reconstruction? We don't need any reconstruction in this glorious country. All we need is a few slight reforms!") No one suddenly dropped down in that hall would have guessed that this was the annual meeting of delegates from all sections of one of the most powerful labor movements in the world. Portly figures, good clothes, expensive cigars; diamond rings and pins in abundance; buttons of lodges and fraternal orders—Elks, in whose ranks these "workingmen" hob-nob with business men, manufacturers, members of commercial clubs and Chambers of Commerce. Few workingmen here. It looked like the Democratic National Convention—but a little more prosperous-looking; or like the annual Congress of the Dress-Goods Manufacturers.

And it was like that. This convention was composed of persons with a commodity to sell; and the commodity was Labor. Moreover, Labor was sold there—in hundreds of different ways.

Let us take a rapid survey of what was done by the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. Sentenced Tom Mooney to life imprisonment, by condemning the July 4th General Strike, and ferociously denouncing the International Workers' Defense Union.

2. Officially denounced the One Big Union movement, and all forms of industrial unionism.

3. Approved of the Initiative and Referendum in politics, and disapproved of it in the American Federation of Labor.

4. Ignored the Winnipeg strike and, in a speech by Gompers from the chair, ridiculed the Seattle strike.

5. Refused to endorse the Labor Party, and advised against it—although, owing to the strength of the movement, the Federation declared that it would not interfere with the affiliated national and international unions in this matter.

6. REQUESTED THE GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE THE IRISH REPUBLIC AND NOT TO RECOGNIZE THE SOVIET REPUBLIC.

7. Condemned the Russian people to starvation wholesale, by

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WHY THE WORLD REVOLTS

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA

Obscure prophets had said this would be the state of Europe when the Great War came to an end. But faith that their dire prediction was fulfilled grew slowly even among those of open mind who visited the Continent during the past winter. It still seemed ridiculous to say that governments capable of unparalleled warfare would collapse when smitten by the pipes of peace.

Political towers still stood erect in Entente countries, and journalists lived well in Paris. Statesmen were gracious to them, and governments took them on cushioned tours of battlefields and capitals. They knelt and were blessed by the Pope. They were slow to suspect that their imposing hosts were less than complete masters of men and things throughout Europe.

Even the complete shutdown, in the midst of the Peace Conference, of every subway, tram and bus line in Paris by workmen demanding one franc more a day for subsistence did not make the reporters see that boundary lines and mandates were items alien to the interests of the masses. Europe clamored for work and bread, and diplomacy offered it a new map.

Consider the map; it is the holy parchment of politicians, the symbol of race rivalry, the torn chart by which prime ministers still seek to steer mankind through the flood they have loosed upon earth. With industry stagnant and debts mountain high, diplomacy sat for five months at Paris with its eye fixed in fascination upon the provinces it covets. For years the people had bled in patience to insure victory—they could endure a year of neglect while the prey was being skinned and dressed.

From every quarter of Central and Eastern Europe came the monotonous story that men and women were starving, and that governments were helpless to stay the spread of famine. In January, expert appraisers of the American Peace Mission reported that the Germans were consuming their March and April stores of food. From Bohemia to the Dardanelles, the masses were known to be subsisting on scraps. Brigandage flourished everywhere, the brigandage of discharged soldiers, who refused to die, unresisting, in the desert of unemployment and who had resumed the profession of arms as a private calling. Old trench systems and battle forests in Northern France had become the haunts of furtive ex-heroes, who found there was more bread in banditry than in good citizenship.

Paris heard that slave markets had been revived in Dalmatia, and that Greek girls were being sold at fire-sale prices. Mothers in Poland kept the bodies of their dead babies hidden in cellars so they might retain a few days longer the bread cards of the deceased. The French Government was selling flour to the people at one-third what it cost, yet the masses cursed, because it was so hard to get.

You may ask how a conference of intelligent statesmen could ignore such omens of disaster, why they locked themselves behind heavy doors on the Seine embankment, and made public from time to time little mimeographed items about the Caroline Islands and the position of Paderewski. I wish to make the point that they could do nothing else.

The war that ended in November, 1918 was a war of nations. The peace to follow was to be a nationalist peace. During four tremendous years Nationalism gripped humanity by the throat and filled the space between heaven and earth with screams of justification. Cannon, pulpit and print-paper joined in the most thunderous acclaim of separate sovereignty that any doctrine ever received. Jehovah was wrapped in "Our Flag," and outsiders were condemned to die.

That was the doctrine of victors and vanquished, and none held it so sacred as those who fought from afar. These could not see that in the supreme effort for salvation Nationalism had ruptured itself, and was already writhing in the grip of strangled hernia. Its growing weakness, outcries and distortions they labelled "anarchy" and orderlies were summoned to apply the straightjacket. Pichon, foreign minister of France, described a "sanitary cordon" of bayonets around Bolshevik Russia.

Nationalism had won the war, and its disciples gathered at Paris with strict mandates from conscience and necessity to procure, first the pounds of flesh which separate sovereignty must have if it is to flourish and expand. Only America needed nothing out of the peace, and because of her opulence became the sentimental pest of the Conference, until in the League of Nations was found the outlines of a Holy Alliance against rebellion.

Observe the proof that peace was made subordinate to power: eighty at Paris, Poland, Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia—infant sovereignties born of the war—all scouted the order to cease firing, which the Great Powers sent them weekly from Paris. As well command the shark's spawn to stop eating. Sovereign Poland knew she could not endure and flourish without coal deposits and an ocean exit. Sovereign Ukraine clung to Lemberg and a "safe frontier," as a lusty baby bites into its mother's breast. Czechoslovakia came into being as an act of "self-determination," but her cabinet sent armies to annex Poles and Magyars, and appealed to the author of the Fourteen Points to justify their killings.

Eight sovereign proteges of the Entente engaged in war with heavy artillery, while their creators talked of world peace at Paris! And no defender of Nationalism could chide them for it without indulging in inconsistent nonsense. The highest tenet of Nationalism is that a government shall make war in defense of its vital interests. And the dearest belief of "practical" men is that possession means nine-tenths of ownership. Patriotism of the very highest conventional standard was displayed, then, by the pugnacious Czechs, Poles and Ukrainians when they tore up the protests sent them by Paris and ordered their subjects to continue dying for the possession of ore fields, ocean outlets and strategic cities. They could not do otherwise without being guilty of "a base betrayal of national interests."

And even as they chided their precocious underlings the Great Powers at Paris dedicated themselves no less to a bitter struggle for strictly nationalist advantage. Which of them should profit most from the coming indemnity, which inherit Constantinople, Syria and the bulk of the German fleet?

There is no room to rail against this bickering if one believes in national sovereignty as the loftiest political expression of mankind. Consider the fate of Clemenceau, a venerable patriot whose life is crowned by the highest office in a bankrupt and debilitated state. More clearly than any confused sentimentalist he knew the minimum necessities of sovereign France, without a vast cash indemnity, and doomed to a lingering, fatal sickness unless that indemnity were supplemented by the conquest of neighboring ore fields.

Colleagues might whisper to Clemenceau that babies and old men were dying like mice of starvation in Vienna without chipping a stone of his resolution to keep in escrow the gold of the enemy state until France should collect her bill. Were it not better a million babies die than that France should suffer. To squamish associates he had only to say:

"Let him that is without sin cast the first stone; during four years we have slain ten million men, bombed cities and starved children in defence of national right; shall I now cast France into a pit of mawkish disaster? Will you who have given your strength and applause to the past four years dare say there is any extreme of human anguish which is not sanctified by the needs of national sovereignty? Every nation is 'uber alles,' and France shall remain a nation while I am France."

Nor did any associated peace-maker attempt to dispute that logic. They all believe it sound, however dangerous to the peace of the world and the present aims of their own governments. The other great Powers, except Italy, wanted a quick peace more than they wanted big indemnities and territorial changes on the Continent. Nationalist Germany was crushed, and already halfway along the road to social revolution, but the nationalist imaginations of America and Great Britain made their envoys sure Germany

would recover her old psychology and soon be lusting for revenge if Clemenceau were allowed to exact his full demands.

"This Tiger" had exacted his Treaty of London by threatening to end the war over England's head by coming to an agreement with Berlin that would restore Alsace-Lorraine to France and give Germany a free hand in Russia. So Lloyd George confessed at breakfast to a London editor in March, 1918. But peace has now come and Clemenceau must find fresh weapons.

Christmas, 1918, was observed in Rome by the bitterest denunciation of France, whose diplomacy was accused of having created the Jugoslav nation with a sole view to barring Italy on the east and thwarting the sacred dream of a new Roman Empire to re-embrace the entire Eastern Mediterranean. France, with a dwindling population would possess the richest coal and iron mines in Europe, an Italian official told me, yet in spiteful jealousy she plotted to shut fast-growing Italy out of Istria and Dalmatia. Very well, warned this official, if Italy were denied "justice" at the peace table she must renew her alliance with the Teutonic nations and procure with their help the realization of her righteous ambitions.

I traveled in early January with President Wilson through Rome, Genoa, Milan and Turin and heard chambers of commerce warn him that Italy must sooner or later resume the war unless her yearning to expand over Greek and Slav populations were satisfied by the Peace Conference. Incidentally, I saw working class denunciations of this nationalist yearning stricken from newspapers in Rome, Milan and Florence.

Two of the conquerors faced ruin, so the Peace Conference stood still from the date of its birth until Bolshevism leaped over Mr. Pichon's "sanitary cordon" and established itself in Hungary. For a quarter of a year the deadlock at Paris was denied by diplomats, but Hungary frightened the bourgeois world and blame for the disaster at once began to appear through inspired agencies.

As I write the cable supplies a lucid and striking illustration of how French nationalists view the outcome of the four years struggle. "On the promise that his name would not be used" a French statesman furnishes an analysis of the situation for the New York Tribune, from which I quote:

"You will sometimes hear foolish statements that Germany has really won the war," he said. "Of course she hasn't, but neither has France. Two nations only can be said to have won the war in the sense that they have emerged from it with benefits more than counterbalancing their losses. The first is the United States, which has leaped to a position greater in power and influence than any nation ever has had in all the history of mankind. The second is Great Britain. Formerly the German naval power had been utilized as a basis for establishing a grip upon the commerce of the world. The war ruined that possibility and fended to strengthen the maritime position which Britain has held for centuries."

"The United States and Great Britain, therefore, may fairly be said to have won the war, France lost it, unless in the peace discussions now going on she can establish terms that will put her, so far as possible, where she was strategically in 1914. That is why the great mass of the people of France is behind the old man who is acting as their spokesman today."

"There is a feeling of terrible uneasiness abroad—a feeling that the Anglo-Saxons are hanging together at the expense of the Latins. There is common knowledge that France today can do virtually nothing without the financial aid of the Allies, and there is a horrible suspicion that this financial mastery is being used to constrain her to approximate passivity when with every fibre she is crying out for vigorous measures."

"Then there is the question of reparation, inextricably intertwined with that of military dispositions, because one can never be obtained without a guarantee of the other. The French people look at the vast debt they have assumed during the war and see three solutions possible:

"First, that Germany pay."

"Second, that the League of Nations take over the whole question of financial rehabilitation of exhausted countries."

"Third, that France go bankrupt, mean financial chaos to the entire world which would drag others down and world."

"It is surprising that the French people are asking themselves bitterly whether Germany is meeting with solicitude because it will afford a better field for trade in the future than France? This is a cruel thing to say, but the fact that it is said shows how far we have come since the armistice was signed. Remember, I don't believe it, but I tell you it is being said because I am talking frankly and because I believe the time has come for France to talk."

For this extensive borrowing I make no excuse save that the interview confirms forecasts made in my Paris correspondence of last December and January and is a shouting indorsement of my present contention that nationalist necessities are wholly to blame for the impotence of the Peace Conference to beget anything but confusion, strife and that neglect of the masses which fires the boilers of proletarian revolt.

Peace fell like a ponderous sledge upon the ideology of the Allies, shattering and scattering the preposterous lie that they were a group of governments with interests that were and would remain intact and in harmony with everlasting peace. "The captains and the kings depart," and with them depart all the sweet assertions that this was a different and holier kind of war. A nation wins at war, says the honest Frenchman, when it emerges from the conflict richer in trade and stronger in arm than it was before. America and England accused at Paris of preferring German markets to French affection! Verily, "this shows how far we have come since the armistice was signed."

So, the useless mask comes off, and we find in the Peace Conference a gathering of practical men engaged in the practical business of defending the commercial prosperity and military security of their respective nationalities. But how practical are they? I ask the question with no scornful inflection.

"The Prince" is still the handbook of statesmen, and Machiavelli gives them fair warning against his own precepts of government, declaring that a ruler "may be seen happy today and ruined tomorrow without having shown any disposition or character."

That he will be successful who directs his actions according to the spirit of the time. But a man is not often found sufficiently circumspect to know how to accommodate himself to the change, both because he cannot deviate from what nature inclines him to and also because, having always prospered in acting in one way he cannot be persuaded that it is well to leave it."

In which class are the major statesmen of our kaleidoscopic times? The Romanoffs were clearly in the second category, having always prospered in one way they could not be persuaded to change. The Hohenzollerns were not different in the end. Nor the Hapsburgs. Yet these have all passed away and even in the few months which have elapsed since their departure something akin to precious circumspection which Machiavelli found so rare has made its way into high places.

The proletariat seized Russia in 1917 and during two years the old diplomacy has tried in vain to break its hold there, while the great gamble of arms dragged to an end in the west, leaving the losers unable to pay and the winners unable to forfeit their winnings. Deadlocked in council and unable to resume hostilities, statesmen sat in a stalemate and issued threats while famine and rebellion spread over Europe.

Clearly the times have changed, and new methods were in order. So Count Karol embraced the proletariat as a device of nationalism and turned Hungary over to the workmen and soldiers. (How far the Soviets have gone beyond the purpose of the Count will be considered later.)

A fortnight elapses. Clemenceau presses his exactions against Germany. Then Professor Eitzbacher, spokesman of the Conservative party expounds his views in "The Red Day" of Berlin, saying:

HOW TO ESTABLISH COMMUNISM

By BUKHARIN

"By what means is the communist world order to be established? How are we to attain it?"

The answer of the Communist Party to these questions is: "Through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Dictatorship" means a power as strong as iron, a power which gives no quarter to its enemies. "The dictatorship of the proletariat" means the government of the working class which abolishes the landowners and capitalists.

A workers' government can only be produced by a social revolution of the working class; a revolution which will destroy the capitalist state and erect on its ruins a new power; the power of the working class and the poor peasants who support the workers' government.

We Communists therefore stand for a workers' government until the workers have gained complete control over their adversaries; until they have remodelled the entire employing class and knocked out its pride, and until the employing class itself has given up all hope of ever again coming into power.

Of course, it will be said: "Then you Communists are believers in force?"

We shall answer: Most certainly; but our belief is in revolutionary force. We are convinced that by soft words the working class will gain nothing from the capitalists. No good will come of the conciliation advocated by the Musheviki and Social Revolutionaries. Nothing short of a revolution, which will overthrow capitalism and destroy the bourgeois state, can liberate the working class.

Every revolution means using force against the former government. Force was used against the tyrannical landlords and Czar in the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, and in the Revolution of November, 1917, force was used against the capitalists by the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Such force—the use of force against those who are oppressing millions of workers—is not merely free from evil; it is sacred.

Moreover, the working class is obliged to use its power against the capitalists even after capitalism has been openly overthrown by the revolution, for even after the workers have destroyed the capitalist state, the capitalist class still exists. Its members by no means disappear all at once. On the contrary, they still hope for the return of the old regime and are prepared to make any kind of alliance against the victorious workers.

The experiences of the Russian Revolution furnish convincing proof of this. In October, 1917, the workers eliminated the capitalist class from all share in the Government, but the capitalists did not throw up the sponge; they agitated against the workers, mustering all their forces, and using every means to overthrow the workers' government and recapture power. They organized sabotage, procured a counter-revolutionary strike of government officials, and employees; they mobilized the troops of Duvov, Kaledin, Kornilov, Semenov, and called for help to the armies of foreign capitalism in Germany, Japan and elsewhere. Thus the Russian experiences have proved that even after what seems a decisive victory the workers' government is forced to resist attack by powerful enemies from abroad who

It is not enough to announce every day to the enemy that his policy is driving us into the arms of Bolshevism. That is a weak policy of negation. On the contrary, we must ourselves take the responsibility for Bolshevism, whatever its evils, in order to escape slavery, and in our interests insure that when it comes it will also stream over Western Europe and flood away Clemenceau and Lloyd George."

Does the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly established in one country, dictate to the entire world? It is too soon to make positive answer. As I write Paravia takes the leap and establishes a Soviet Republic. All enemy countries, so far, we tell ourselves. But there is the French statesman and his third alternative: That France go bankrupt and drag the whole world in her train."

Sunday Call.

stretch out helping hands to the fallen capitalists at home.

A thoughtful survey of the position reveals to us that Russia is the only country in which the proletariat has yet overthrown the bourgeois state. The rest of the world is still possessed by the capitalist exploiters. Soviet Russia, with her workers' and peasants' government, is like a tiny island in the stormy ocean of capitalism. Should the victory of the Russian workers be followed by the victory of the German and Austrian workers, there would still remain the other great robber states of capitalism. Should the entire capitalism of Europe give way under the hammer strokes of the working class, there would still remain the capitalism of Asia, headed by Japan, and the capitalism of America.

These capitalist states will not surrender their position without a struggle. They will fight desperately in order to prevent the proletariat from securing world power. The greater the onrush of the proletariat the more precarious becomes the position of capitalism, the more must it strain every muscle in its fight against the workers.

When the proletariat has been victorious in one, two, or three countries it will come into unavoidable collision with the capitalist world still remaining, which will endeavor to crush, with blood and iron, the attempt of the workers to liberate themselves. Therefore, even after the Revolution we must understand, that there will be, in some countries, an interim period between capitalism and communism, in which the workers will be faced by a hard struggle against their enemies both at home and abroad.

For this struggle it is necessary to have a rigid, widespread, and firmly-welded organization completely equipped for the struggle. The Proletarian State, the Workers' Government, provides this organization. Like every other state that of the working class is an organization of the ruling class. In this case the ruling class is the working class, and its organization is at once a defense against capitalism and the means which will finally destroy it.

Those who shrink from the establishment of such a power are not really revolutionaries. The assumption that every kind of power must be vicious is arrant nonsense. The power used by the rich, against the power by the capitalists against the workers, has for its object the maintenance of the predatory capitalist system. The power used by the workers against the capitalists has the opposite aim of liberating millions of workers from the yoke of capitalism, and the freeing of humanity from annexationist wars, which entail the savage pillage and destruction of works and collections on which the human race had been engaged for thousands of years. The rigid mechanism of the proletarian dictatorship is essential for the success of the Revolution and to secure the period of establishing the Communist social order.

It is clear that in this period of transition, the working class must strain every nerve in the struggle with its many adversaries, and that the only organization through which it can attain to victory is one in which the workers and the poor peasants are banded together. Could this organization resist the attacks of foreign imperialists without having control of the home government and army? Certainly not.

How will it be possible to force the capitalists to submit to government by the workers and to all sorts of confiscations unless the working class is in possession of the means to force the rich to do their duty?

Again, it must be emphasized that it is the peculiarities of the transition period which necessitate dictatorship.

Members of the employing class have been for so long accustomed to live in idleness exploiting the workers, that even after capitalism has been overthrown in every country, they will endeavor to evade work and to injure the working class. They will have to be forced to serve the people and force will not first be necessary.

In backward countries, of which Russia is one, there are still many small proprietors, contractors, us-

urers, and other plagues, all of whom are opposed to the poor peasantry and are even more opposed to the industrial workers. These little profiteers range themselves on the side of the big capitalists and ex-landlords, and they must be restrained by the workers and poor peasants whenever they act in a counter-revolutionary spirit.

The workers must establish a system for organizing the business concerns which have been taken over from the manufacturers; they must see to the transport of the crops produced by the peasantry; and secured a fair distribution of corn, manufactured goods, agricultural implements and machinery.

However, the small usurer and war profiteer may refuse to serve the community and may say: "I am my own master." The workers and poor peasants must force him to obey, and they must coerce in the same way the big capitalists and the former landowners, generals, and officers.

The more perilous position of the workers' revolution, the greater the number of its enemies; the more firm must be the revolutionary rule of the workers and of the poor peasants, the more energetic the dictatorship. The power in the hands of the workers is the axe which they must hold in readiness against the attacks of the capitalist class. In the communist social order, when the capitalists will exist no more and all class distinctions will have disappeared, when there will be no more peril from within or from without—then there will be no more necessity for this axe. But we are in the period of transition now, when the enemies around us are showing their teeth, and are ready to drown in blood the whole working class movement. To prove this one need but recall the shooting of the workers in Finland and at Kiev, and the wholesale shootings of workers and peasants in the Ukraine and in Lettland. In this period only those who are wholly ignorant of the situation can wish to act without the indispensable weapon of state power.

A hue and cry is raised against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat from two sides. On the one side from the Anarchists, for they are against any kind of government and, consequently, also against the Government of the Workers and Peasants. To them we can only say: "Go into a nunnery, if you are against putting into the hands of the workers the means to coerce the bourgeoisie!"

On the other side the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is attacked by the Mensheviki and the Social Revolutionaries. Though formerly they used to advocate it, they are, so they say, against the interference with the privileges and the liberty of the bourgeoisie. They are of opinion that the workers are not yet "ripe" for a dictatorship. We can only say to them: "Why do you not join the capitalist class which you love so much and which you are trying to protect?" They do not wish to because they would have to own that they are in opposition to the workers and poor peasants.

It is just because the Communist Party stands for the iron dictatorship of the workers over the capitalists, the usurers, the former landowners, and other lovely products of the old bourgeois regime, that it is the most radical, the most revolutionary of all the existing groups and parties. "Through the inexorable firm government of the Workers, to Communism" is the watchword of our party. And the program of our party is the program of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"It was a period of incessant meetings at factories, in the 'modern' and Cinselli Circuses, in the clubs and barracks," says Trotsky in his book, dealing with the period just prior to the conquest of power by the Russian workers. An immense number of meetings were held by the French bourgeoisie in the acobin Clubs during the French Revolution. Meetings are a quick and ready way of spreading ideas amongst the democracy and enabling it to come to swift decisions, so necessary in these days of the Iron Heel—endeavoring to crush the New Order. So let our propaganda be wide, and strong, and incessant. Let us see the Red Flag at every street corner. Let us have meetings, and meetings, and still more meetings. For we must speed up our discussions, we must quickly spread Socialist consciousness amongst the non-Socialist workers, we must develop our plans and transform and adapt our organizations for the final struggle.

London "Call."

DISCONTENT IN PARIS.

(Continued from page 1)

Daudet, in L'Action Francaise, cries in big headlines that he has proof of the complicity of Cachin, Brizon and Longuet with the German government. The said proof consists of the fact that a Berlin newspaper had quoted an article from Brizon's paper, Le Vague, on the mutiny of the French sailors at Odessa. But, on the strength of this Daudet demands the immediate arrest of all the Socialist deputies of the Left.

The Paris railwaymen have shown the government pretty clearly the temper of the French working classes.

Their crowded meeting at the Bourse, du Travail would scarcely give a hearing to Bidegarry, the general secretary of the French "cheminots," though, in urging them not to strike for the moment, he only pleaded for delay "until we have time to reach an entente with our comrades in England and other countries."

Would Stop Troop Trains.

And then, after a stormy meeting, they unanimously passed this resolution:

"The railway men and railway women of the Paris district—in a meeting 10,000 strong—consider that the counter-revolutionary activities of the government have lasted long enough; considering that the Russian, Hungarian and German revolutions are only applying the principles they have always supported; and considering that the expropriation of the capitalist class is part of the program of their propaganda and action resolve:

"That they approve the action of the soldiers and sailors who have refused to support the criminal and anti-constitutional manoeuvres of the government.

"That they declare themselves in favor of immediate action for the purpose of stopping the passage of the troop trains, munition trains and supply trains, with the exception of leave trains, in order to stop the enterprises undertaken by the French government against the strikes which are in progress, against in revolution and soldiers in revolt.

"That they hold that the Federation of Railwaymen ought immediately to take steps in this direction and out its action until the armies are completely demobilized and until a full and complete amnesty has been granted."

That is straight from the shoulder. And they mean it, too, and are looking anxiously to British trade unionism to back them.

Nevertheless, if the question of transport is not settled the rich see themselves participating in the straits of the poor.

Indeed, transport is very far from settling itself, and the trams and buses are being more and more taken over by the military—a fact which serves only to irritate the strikers. The streets present an unusual appearance. From an early hour they are thronged with the crowds of workers who, having long distances to cover, set out at neep of dawn.

Not a taxi to be seen—not a delivery cart—what a pedestrians' Paris! And those roads are the most thronged which lead to the places fixed for various demonstrations.

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Yet in spite of all this activity a strange atmosphere of inertia seems to have settled over the city. It reminds one of a pall—there is something deathlike about it, for is it not a living death for any family to seek to live in these moments of "la vie chere" on a wage of 10 or 12 francs a day, and is this sum which the employers have

settled for those on whose productivity the future prosperity of the country depends.

Nevertheless, the situation is not without hope. The printemps laffair is a great victory for the strikers, giving, as it does, not only to the actual strikers but to the employees of all other great drapery stores both improved pay and pensions and sickness allowances, besides free time from six on Saturday evening till one on Monday afternoon, which is a great concession.

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The noteworthy thing about this whole extraordinary situation, however, is the extraordinary calm which reigns everywhere: only one in any way disorderly episode has occurred. When a procession of about 7,000 metal workers from Nanterre and Puteaux were marching yesterday along the Avenue de la Defense, they were met by Monsieur Caulet, the commissioner of police, his secretary, and three inspectors. The commissioner of police, his secretary and three inspectors, leaping from his car, rushed to the head of the procession attempted to seize the red flag which the strikers were carrying, and a tussle ensued in which Monsieur Caulet was assisted by his friends and a number of police in civilian clothes, who suddenly detached themselves from the crowd.

Political Angle Important.

The economic character of the situation still remains undoubtedly uppermost. Yet the political side is of equal interest. We must not forget that at Milan a few days ago, labor leaders of England, France and Italy decided, subject to the agreement of the mass of labor, to call a general strike of a day or two days' duration in the three countries as a protest against the Allied intervention in Russia. They propose to meet again in Paris in a week or ten days with the object of concluding such an arrangement—and one of the objects of the French metalworkers now on strike is the revision of the peace terms so as to bring them into line with President Wilson's fourteen points.

In the provinces there is apparently even worse political trouble. The censor, no doubt, though he was very clever when he suppressed nearly all an article in Humanite on "What Happened in Toulouse," but by leaving in a reference to "complaints to the General" he let us know that the army was moving.

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And in these words we can hear the voice of the whole of French labor, which if not burning is coming steadily to ignition point.

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And it would seem as though this provocation were growing interminable, for the most recent inspiration on the part of the government is a rumor circulated over the Underground strikers to resume work on pain of prosecution.

The latest move, moreover brings grave doubts as to the complete settlement of affairs in the Nord and Pas de Calais, for we now hear that, as a result of the Congress held yesterday at Bethune, a continuation of the strike "a l'outrance" was every where acclaimed by the miners.

The agreement, too, which was practically reached in the metal trades was knocked on the head by the aeroplane carriage makers. An interesting feature of today's development is the "white collar" strike, which includes cashier, accountants, and even hospital staffs, who are vigorously demanding an 8-hour day.

The strikers' demands, though categorical, are of the simplest—wages in keeping with the cost of living, the application of the cost of living, the application of the social laws, and the end of the capitalist smothering of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat. What is more, the horizon of the workers' claim broadens from day to day. They are no longer limited by nationality. "Brotherhood" is now the slogan, and in the world's largest sense.

L'Humanite announces that the executive committee of the Socialist party and the parliamentary group at a joint meeting yesterday discussed the situation resulting from the strikes. The meeting also heard Ramsay MacDonald and Charles Roden Buxton on their mission to Italy and Switzerland.

The Censor.

But you haven't heard about Toulouse. "King Mandel" and his censors have been hush-hushing very vigorously, and all you will see in the French papers is big blank spaces headed "a Toulouse."

He's a queer fish, the French censor. The Egyptian story was printed in Humanite this morning. But the headline ran thus: "Des—dans l'armee anglaise." "Anastase"—the French Dora—wouldn't allow the word "Soviet" in a headline, though, queer, dear lady, she passed it in the text.

However, Toulouse has been kept very, very dark. For when three regiments of infantry break barracks and march through the streets crying "Hou hou, Clemenceau! A bas la guerre! Vive la Russie!" and announce their determination not to fight against the revolution—well, it doesn't do to let these things be known.

So the censor has cut it all out of the papers, and the Chamber burked Cachin's interpellation on this and the Odessa mutiny, and no one here is supposed to know or say a word about the deadful occurrence.

Effect of Censorship.

Result, of course, that half Paris believes that Toulouse is in the hands of a Soviet government. But that isn't true; and for the moment the "disturbances" are over.

But all the same it shows, and indeed everything shows, that the temperature is rising very steadily and the government is beginning to realize that France will not fight against the revolution. That undoubtedly is why there are hints being quietly already that the Russian war is "off"; just, apparently, as our Mr. Churchill is trying to persuade people at home that it's all a fuss about nothing.

But the French workers are not being had, and nothing is going to satisfy them short of a definite peace and the absolute withdrawal of all troops from Russia and of all financial and material assistance to Kolchak and his friends.

Only remember this is the question they all ask one immediately, "England—What is England going to do?"

IS NOT A COMMODITY

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9. Decided to organize the Steel Industry.

10. Passed a resolution condemning the abuse of judicial powers in constructing the law, and advising workers to disregard injunctions in industrial disputes.

11. Voted down a proposal to change Labor Day to May 1st, and another to arrange that all contracts expire May 1st—because the International Labor Movement of Europe—which is revolutionary—celebrates on that day.

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13. Voted down a proposal that the workers demand the right to elect their foremen. "Why," said Matt Wall, speaking on this motion. "That is the business of the employer—not the worker. You might as well have the workers elect the Board of Directors!"

14. Endorsed the bill in Congress to restrict foreign immigration for a term of years—including Mexican immigration.

15. Refused to support Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils, and in particular, the Soldiers', Sailors' and Marines' Protective Association.

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18. Endorsed the Labor Charter attached to the Covenant of the League of Nations—which has been denounced by the Labor Movement of every civilized country on earth—and gave its unqualified approval to all the words and deeds of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.

On the same day that Delegate George Sauter of Delaware introduced the usual fulsome resolution, "We recognize in Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the greatest labor leader living in the world today, etc.," the Mooney case came up for consideration.

The report of the Resolutions Committee recommended that the Executive Council "give their early attention" to considering ways and means to get a new trial for Mooney. Then it launched into a bitter attack upon the International Workers' Defense League, accusing the League of attempting to break down the Trade Union movement by taking a strike referendum among the rank and file outside the regular machinery of the organization. "Irresponsible groups of men," it said, found in Organized Labor "a rich field for exploitation." ... An attempted general strike would, in the words of the Committee, "seriously injure the effort to secure a new trial for Tom Mooney." The report ended:

"The Committee would be remiss in its duties if it failed to call attention to the fact that representatives of the International Workers' Defense League who are its agents soliciting funds for T. J. Mooney's Defense are doing him an incalculable injury and also creating internal disturbance within the Trade Union movement through their continuous attacks, unjust criticisms and misrepresentations of the American Federation of Labor, its officials and the officials of affiliated organizations."

Patterson, of the Defense League, was given the floor. In a passionate speech he pointed out that for two years various labor leaders had been going around the country whispering that Mooney was guilty; that repeatedly he had offered the San Francisco Labor Council and the San Francisco Building Trades Council full charge of Mooney's defense, and offered to turn over to Organized Labor funds and machinery and that both the American Federation of Labor and the great International Unions had refused to do anything to help Mooney; nor had the convention done anything.

John P. Frey, for the Committee, said that money collected

to defend Mooney had been used to pay expenses of delegates to the Mooney Convention, and intimated that the funds had been misappropriated. Immediately James Duncan of Seattle was on his feet. "We've seen a lot of drunken A. F. of L. organizers out our way!" he cried, furiously.

Concerning the Committee's recommendation against the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L., I interviewed Frey. His argument was that if there were initiative and referendum in the Federation, some outside organization would surely be able to get hold of the membership and break down the organization. He admitted to me that the masses of the membership could not be trusted to make laws for themselves without the intervention of some higher deliberative body, and some rule which provided for a "period of deliberation."

The recognition of the Irish Republic was the price paid by Gompers to the Sinn Fein politicians in the Convention, in return for which they agreed to throttle Soviet Russia and support the League of Nations. This action was on a par with the deeds of the Tchekho-Slovaks, who, to gain their own independence, sold their arms to the Allied Imperialists for the black purpose of destroying the freedom of the world's workers. Anyway, it meant nothing—nothing but words; and even then, the United States Senate has demanded practically the same thing.

The Committee's objections to recognizing Soviet Russia was, according to Frey because it was not "democratic."

"As far as I can understand it," he said, "it is a government of the workers, and the workers alone. Therefore we cannot recognize it!"

The proposal to terminate all contracts with employers on May first, and to change Labor Day from September first to May Day was voted down for two reasons: first, because May Day was celebrated by European Labor and Socialists—and second, because if the workers of the United States celebrated on the day following the abrogation of their contracts, they would be too excited! "We don't want to have a Labor Day when every body is hot-headed," explained Frey.

Thursday, June 19th, was taken up with the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. At 9:30 A. M. Louis N. Morones was seated as a fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor. At 11:30 Matt Wall read the report recommending the exclusion of foreign immigration, which was quickly amended and passed to apply also to Mexican immigration. I saw Morones afterward. He was pale, and very much agitated.

"What effected," I asked him, "will this have upon the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention, which is to meet in New York in July?"

He wiped the sweat from his forehead. "Disastrous!" he said. "In the present moment, when the great American interests are urging the invasion of Mexico, the Mexican workers believed that they could rely upon the American Federation of Labor to oppose plans of annexation. They will not now be so sure."

When the question of the

League of Nations came up, Andy Furuseth made a violent attack upon the Labor Charter in the Peace Treaty. He declared that it had been altered by the diplomats after the American delegation left Paris, and that it provided, anyway, that the League of Nations would be able to interfere in the daily life of every worker in the world. He said that a clause against human slavery, and another guaranteeing the rights of seamen had both been rejected.

Gompers, in reply, adopted the usual tactics of accusing Furuseth of acting behind the back of the American delegation. He then went on to say that while the provisions of the Labor Charter were not adequate, the American delegation accepted them to help the workers of the "backward nations". He said that American labor, under the beneficent rule of the Federation, had advanced more than the labor movements of any other country in the world—which of course is not true, since the workers of Europe have, during the war, gained a position far in advance of the United States, as was proven by the Berne Trades-Union Conference; and that not only politically, but also in the purely trade-union province of wages and hours.

At this point Delegate Brown of the Machinists, moved that Miss Margaret Bondfield, fraternal delegates from England, be invited to tell the Convention what was the attitude of the British Trades Union Congress toward the Covenant and the Treaty. This was a mistake; he should have asked the attitude of British Labor For Gompers immediately took advantage of the lapse, and declared that the British Trades Union Congress had not met since the Treaty was published—thus shutting off Miss Bondfield, who would have proved his statements false.

The ignorance of the delegates concerning the Labor Movement on foreign countries was extraordinary, and deliberately fostered by the Gompers "machine". According to the officials the A. F. of L. was the largest, most powerful, most advanced, most enlightened workers' organization in the world. It had, according to them, led the workers of the world inaugurating a Labor Day in fact. Gompers claimed that the A. F. of L. first suggested May Day to Europe! He added that in Europe the workers did not dare take a full holiday on Labor Day, as Americans did—but celebrated on Sunday or at night after work: a most remarkable statement! According to Frey, all democratic political reforms in the United States, including the Initiative and Referendum, were invented by Organized Labor.

The delegates listened to the reports of the Foreign Labor Missions without a smile—the hob-nobbing with King George, King Victor Emanuel, Clemenceau, the visits to Venice, the art galleries of Paris, pleasure tours and banquets; the shaking of hands with generals and military heroes on the battle-front; and the ignorant abuse of the great Socialist movements of Europe, and of the tremendous Labor groups supporting them. They did not even laugh when Gompers was telling of the International "Labor" Congress at Paris; at which, he said, he and the other American delegate (re-

SUPPORT FOR THE SOVIETS

Plan Is to Block Movement of Troops and Supplies Consigned to Anti-Bolshevik.

(Special Cable to The Call).

Stockholm, June 8.—Sweden's Socialist Left Party has addressed the Norwegian Socialist party, proposing that these parties urge the Communist and Socialist parties and the trades unions, particularly the seamen's and transport workers' union in France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, America, Italy Austria, Bohemia and Spain that they blockade all countries waging war against those countries where the workmen's revolution has been successful.

This would include a blockade of the countries now opposing by military force the Soviet Republic of Russia and the Soviet government of Hungary.

The blockade, it is urged, should be made effective beginning June 15 against these countries, which would include the "Omsk" government in Siberia and blockade Finland, Esthonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and both the Kolchak and Denikine and Krassnow regimes in Russia.

presenting the employers), were in absolute harmony—and complained bitterly that the Socialists attacked him as violently as the reactionaries!

But what, you will ask, has all this to do with Labor? True, the Convention denounced the usurping of legislative functions by the courts, and also resolved to organize the Steel Industry in the face of the most hostile trust in America. But these actions were in no sense revolutionary actions; they were merely to protect the Federation's monopoly of the commodity, Labor.

The real business of the Convention was the settling of jurisdictional disputes. Just as one of the functions of the capitalist state is to settle disputes among the capitalist class, and to suppress the weak capitalists in favor of the strong, so the main function of the Federation is the adjustment of troubles between groups of skilled workers, and the strengthening of the powerful at the expenses of the weak.

A little union is formed in a new trade. This union grows gets a charter from the Federation, becomes important enough so that the great national and international unions about it covet its dues-paying membership, which would strengthen their own financial and political position. So they fall upon the little union and begin to compete for its membership. Then the little union appeals to the Federation; and the Federation appoints a committee to investigate, and this committee is composed of persons obedient to the Gompers machine, in which are represented the presidents of the great unions. Then begins a bitter fight between the great unions for the fragments of the little union, and the end is that they partition it between them, like the Kingdom of Poland, or the Austrian Empire.

(Continued on Page 5)

SUNDAY JULY 6TH, 1919,

CALEB HARRISON

Candidate for Vice-President of U. S. on the S. L. P. ticket and one of the finest speakers in the socialist movement, will speak at the

WOODMAN HALL

at 8 P. M. PROMPT.

Harrison comes with a real workingclass message. He is from the factory and understands his subject and knows how to deliver it. We invite all workers to hear this speaker.

"Holds his audience from the beginning to the end." Ed. Truth. Refreshments and a good musical program. Everybody welcome. Harrison can only make this one trip. Don't fail to hear him.

DISCONTENT IN PARIS.

(Continued from page 1)

Daudet, in L'Action Francaise, cries in big headlines that he has proof of the complicity of Cachin, Brizon and Longuet with the German government. The said proof consists of the fact that a Berlin newspaper had quoted an article from Brizon's paper, Le Vague, on the mutiny of the French sailors at Odessa. But, on the strength of this Daudet demands the immediate arrest of all the Socialist deputies of the Left.

The Paris railwaymen have shown the government pretty clearly the temper of the French working classes.

Their crowded meeting at the Bourse du Travail would scarcely give a hearing to Bidegaray, the general secretary of the French "cheminots," though, in urging them not to strike for the moment, he only pleaded for delay "until we have time to reach an entente with our comrades in England and other countries."

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And then, after a stormy meeting, they unanimously passed this resolution:

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On the same day that Delegate George Sauter of Delaware introduced the usual fulsome resolution, "We recognize in Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the greatest labor leader living in the world today, etc.," the Mooney case came up for consideration.

The report of the Resolutions Committee recommended that the Executive Council "give their early attention" to considering ways and means to get a new trial for Mooney. Then it launched into a bitter attack upon the International Workers' Defense League, accusing the League of attempting to break down the Trade Union movement by taking a strike referendum among the rank and file outside the regular machinery of the organization. "Irresponsible groups of men," it said, found in Organized Labor "a rich field for exploitation." An attempted general strike would, in the words of the Committee, "seriously injure the effort to secure a new trial for Tom Mooney." The report ended:

"The Committee would be remiss in its duties if it failed to call attention to the fact that representatives of the International Workers' Defense League who are its agents soliciting funds for T. J. Mooney's Defense are doing him an incalculable injury and also creating internal disturbance within the Trade Union movement through their continuous attacks, unjust criticisms and misrepresentations of the American Federation of Labor, its officials and the officials of affiliated organizations."

Patterson, of the Defense League, was given the floor. In a passionate speech he pointed out that for two years various labor leaders had been going around the country whispering that Mooney was guilty; that repeatedly he had offered the San Francisco Labor Council and the San Francisco Building Trades Council full charge of Mooney's defense, and offered to turn over to Organized Labor funds and machinery and that both the American Federation of Labor and the great International Unions had refused to do anything to help Mooney; nor had the convention done anything.

John P. Frey, for the Committee, said that money collected

to defend Mooney had been used to pay expenses of delegates to the Mooney Convention, and intimated that the funds had been misappropriated. Immediately James Duncan of Seattle was on his feet. "We've seen a lot of drunken A. F. of L. organizers out our way!" he cried, furiously.

Concerning the Committee's recommendation against the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L., I interviewed Frey. His argument was that if there were initiative and referendum in the Federation, some outside organization would surely be able to get hold of the membership and break down the organization. He admitted to me that the masses of the membership could not be trusted to make laws for themselves without the interposition of some higher deliberative body, and some rule which provided for a "period of deliberation."

The recognition of the Irish Republic was the price paid by Gompers to the Sinn Fein politicians in the Convention, in return for which they agreed to throttle Soviet Russia and support the League of Nations. This action was on a par with the deeds of the Tehekho-Slovaks, who, to gain their own independence, sold their arms to the Allied Imperialists for the black purpose of destroying the freedom of the world's workers. Anyway, it meant nothing—nothing but words; and even then, the United States Senate has demanded practically the same thing.

The Committee's objections to recognizing Soviet Russia was, according to Frey because it was not "democratic."

"As far as I can understand it," he said, "it is a government of the workers, and the workers alone. Therefore we cannot recognize it."

The proposal to terminate all contracts with employers on May first, and to change Labor Day from September first to May Day was voted down for two reasons: first, because May Day was celebrated by European Labor and Socialists—and second, because if the workers of the United States celebrated on the day following the abrogation of their contracts, they would be too excited! "We don't want to have a Labor Day when every body is hot-headed," explained Frey.

Thursday, June 19th, was taken up with the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. At 9:30 A. M. Louis N. Morones was seated as a fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor. At 11:30 Matt Woll read the report recommending the exclusion of foreign immigration, which was quickly amended an passed to apply also to Mexican immigration. I saw Morones afterward. He was pale, and very much agitated.

"What effected," I asked him, "will this have upon the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention, which is to meet in New York in July?"

He wiped the sweat from his forehead. "Disastrous!" he said. "In the present moment, when the great American interests are urging the invasion of Mexico, the Mexican workers believed that they could rely upon the American Federation of Labor to oppose plans of annexation. They will not now be so sure."

When the question of the

League of Nations came up, Andy Furuseth made a violent attack upon the Labor Charter in the Peace Treaty. He declared that it had been altered by the diplomats after the American delegation left Paris, and that it provided, anyway, that the League of Nations would be able to interfere in the daily life of every worker in the world. He said that a clause against human slavery, and another guaranteeing the rights of seamen had both been rejected.

Gompers, in reply, adopted the usual tactics of accusing Furuseth of acting behind the back of the American delegation. He then went on to say that while the provisions of the Labor Charter were not adequate, the American delegation accepted them to help the workers of the "backward nations". He said that American labor, under the beneficent rule of the Federation, had advanced more than the labor movements of any other country in the world—which of course is not true, since the workers of Europe have, during the war, gained a position far in advance of the United States, as was proven by the Berne Trades-Union Conference; and that not only politically, but also in the purely trade-union province of wages and hours.

At this point Delegate Brown of the Machinists, moved that Miss Margaret Bondfield, fraternal delegates from England, be invited to tell the Convention what was the attitude of the British Trades Union Congress toward the Convention and the Treaty. This was a mistake; he should have asked the attitude of British Labor For Gompers immediately took advantage of the lapse, and declared that the British Trades Union Congress had not met since the Treaty was published—thus shutting off Miss Bondfield, who would have proved his statements false.

The ignorance of the delegates concerning the Labor Movement on foreign countries was extraordinary, and deliberately fostered by the Gompers "machine". According to the officials the A. F. of L. was the largest, most powerful, most advanced, most enlightened workers' organization in the world. It had, according to them, led the workers of the world inaugurating a Labor Day in fact, Gompers claimed that the A. F. of L. first suggested May Day to Europe! He added that in Europe the workers did not dare take a full holiday on Labor Day, as Americans did—but celebrated on Sunday or at night after work; a most remarkable statement! According to Frey, all democratic political reforms in the United States, including the Initiative and Referendum, were invented by Organized Labor.

The delegates listened to the reports of the Foreign Labor Missions without a smile—the hob-nobbings with King George, King Victor Emmanuel, Clemenceau; the visits to Venice, the art galleries of Paris, pleasure tours and banquets; the shaking of hands with generals and military heroes on the battle-front; and the ignorant abuse of the great Socialist movements of Europe, and of the tremendous Labor groups supporting them. They did not even laugh when Gompers was telling of the International "Labor" Congress at Paris; at which, he said, he and the other American delegate (re-

presenting the employers), were in absolute harmony—and complained bitterly that the Socialists attacked him as violently as the reactionaries!

But what, you will ask, has all this to do with Labor? True, the Convention denounced the usurping of legislative functions by the courts, and also resolved to organize the Steel Industry in the face of the most hostile trust in America. But these actions were in no sense revolutionary actions; they were merely to protect the Federation's monopoly of the commodity, Labor.

The real business of the Convention was the settling of jurisdictional disputes. Just as one of the functions of the capitalist state is to settle disputes among the capitalist class, and to suppress the weak capitalists in favor of the strong, so the main function of the Federation is the adjustment of troubles between groups of skilled workers, and the strengthening of the powerful at the expenses of the weak.

A little union is formed in a new trade. This union grows gets a charter from the Federation, becomes important enough so that the great national and international unions about it covet its dues-paying membership, which would strengthen their own financial and political position. So they fall upon the little union and begin to compete for its membership. Then the little union appeals to the Federation; and the Federation appoints a committee to investigate, and this committee is composed of persons obedient to the Gompers machine, in which are represented the presidents of the great unions. Then begins a bitter fight between the great unions for the fragments of the little union; and the end is that they partition it between them, like the Kingdom of Poland, or the Austrian Empire.

Plan Is to Block Movement of Troops and Supplies Consigned to Anti-Bolshevik.

(Special Cable to The Call).

Stockholm, June 8.—Sweden's Socialist Left Party has addressed the Norwegian Socialist party, proposing that these parties urge the Communist and Socialist parties and the trades unions, particularly the seamen's and transport workers' union in France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, America, Italy Austria, Bohemia and Spain that they blockade all countries waging war against those countries where the workmen's revolution has been successful.

This would include a blockade of the countries now opposing by military force the Soviet Republic of Russia and the Soviet government of Hungary.

The blockade, it is urged, should be made effective beginning June 15 against these countries, which would include the "Omsk" government in Siberia and blockade Finland, Esthonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and both the Kolchak and Denikine and Krassnow regimes in Russia.

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(Continued on Page 5)

SUNDAY JULY 6TH, 1919,

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California May Be Forced To Reopen Tom Mooney Case

Defense League Now Has an Affidavit Saying Oxman Lied

NO POSTSCRIPT TO NOTORIOUS LETTER

Fickert's Pet Tool May Have to Face the Court Again

San Francisco.—An affidavit that may force a reopening of the famous Mooney case has been received, the Mooney defense league announced.

The affidavit is sworn to by Will H. Donaldson, now in New Orleans and came unexpectedly and un-solicited. Donaldson, a former employer of Ed. Rigall, declares there was no postscript to the letter Frank C. Oxman sent to Rigall, which figured strongly in the trial of Oxman on charge of perjury in the Mooney trial.

Oxman testified the postscript told Rigall not to come to San Francisco as a witness unless he had actually been here the time of the explosion. Rigall insisted there was no such postscript, and stated that Donaldson, whose whereabouts were then unknown, had read the letter.

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ORGANIZE! EDUCATE! AGITATE?

A new spirit is animating the workers today.

This new spirit is largely the outcome of the spread of Socialist knowledge, and the reaction from the war with all its horrors, needless waste of life, and its restrictions of human liberty and freedom of expression.

To develop this spirit, to wisely guide the emotions and ideas of the wide masses, to give clear, Socialist, organized expression to all the confused thought and feeling of the working class, is the mission of active Socialists. Only by doing so can progress, real progress, be made.

Now conditions are different in this country to what they are in other countries.

Britain stands today as the chief capitalist bulwark against the social revolution. There can be no gainsaying that. British secret diplomacy is operating all the time against the Socialist Republics of Europe; British "statesmen" are doing their utmost to build dykes against the "lava" of Bolshevism, and British troops are being used to destroy, with guns and swords, the fabric of the new civilization.

Meanwhile the capitalists of Britain are not idle. Not by any means. They are swiftly and silently entrenching themselves and preparing plans for their continued reign of plunder. Press campaigns are being inaugurated against the workers—particularly those workers in receipt of the unemployment doles, which the ruling class, out of its fear and its dread of Bolshevism, granted them. The brave and noble munition workers of yesterday are the lazy loafers—the shirking girls who prefer remaining unemployed to doing laundry work or going into domestic service—of today. In the same way the battle-scarred heroes of yesterday will become the shiftless scamps of tomorrow. How quickly the capitalist newspapers change their tune

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in the interests of their owners and masters? And side by side with these press campaigns, elaborate preparations, economic and industrial, are being carried out which the capitalists hope will enable them to digest the world.

British capitalism is very much shattered, and very much buried in its own fat, but it is making swift haste to rehabilitate itself. And it has the means: Unlimited resources, immense potential wealth, command of the machinery of Government, control of the press, possession of the guns. It has power, and by the free distribution of "honors" and the corruption of working-class "leaders," it is rallying about itself all available strength.

Let us, therefore, have no illusions about the position. British capitalism, allied with American and French capitalism, is a much more formidable proposition than an outworn Tsardom or an archaic Kaiserdom.

But, while having no illusions about the strength of the hideous capitalism which mars and ruins our country, let us also realize its weakness and our own strength. Without the workers not a wheel would turn, not a train would run or a ship go over the seas. The great weakness of British capitalism—as of capitalism in general—is its parasitism, its dependence on the workers. And by that weakness shall we strangle it.

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To win Power the workers must oppose to the forces of capitalism stronger forces able to vanquish them.

Those forces can only arise out of the organization of our class. Those forces can only be developed by still further developing the political, industrial and co-operative organizations from which the working-class movement obtains all its strength.

All those forces can only be intelligently and consciously and boldly led and directed by men who are possessed of Socialist knowledge and Socialist daring.

Progress—real betterment of our class—then is dependent on: The consolidation of all the forces of Labor and their central and local direction by men who have fitted themselves, by study and sacrifice, to become the natural leaders of the workers' struggle for emancipation.

But time presses. The workers, in their turn, must be swift and bold if they would escape the shambles foreshadowed by conscription or the social pit with its misery and pitiless exploitation.

The new spirit must find expression in words and deeds.

We socialists are convinced of the ultimate triumph of our principles, and the success of the practical application of our ideas.

Let us, then, use every means to get the workers together so that arising from the discussions the "way out" can be properly planned, prepared for, and the social revolution accomplished.

The need of the time is meetings, meetings of the workers at the street corners, Socialist and Trade Union branch meetings, huge mass meetings, Trades Council meetings, joint local conferences, and great national conferences. These gatherings, in themselves, are means of expression, and are of much more importance to our class than the windy verbiage of Parliament, and our massed movement can make them much more effective. Why, Parliament itself cringes before the Triple Industrial Alliance, because it realizes the tremendous power it can wield. The hour demands a plethora of meetings, an immense outburst of free discussion. We know who will win in the end, whose ideas will be finally accepted. At these meetings and conferences no chance should be missed of voicing our principles and spreading our literature; and no effort spared to consolidate and unify our movement.

IN RAGS AND HALF STARVED

How the British Army in the Caucasus Lives.

"UP TO THOSE AT HOME."

Official communiques don't tell the whole truth.

Here is a letter from a British soldier in the Caucasus which shows how our men there are being treated.

They are there to keep the Georgians from rising against Denikin's "brigands," and to look after the interests of the owners of the Baku oil wells.

Is it good enough?

We have ceased to be an army out here, and are merely a mob. We are going about in rags with hardly any boots on our feet, miles away from everywhere, with discontent all along the line. Speaking of myself alone, I have hardly any boots on my feet, a shirt I am afraid to touch for fear it will fall off, living on bully beef and biscuits, have not had any pay now for two months, no tobacco or cigarette papers.

Snowed Up.

The only thing that we have in plenty is snow. We have been snowed up for a week, cut off from everywhere except by telephone. On the second day our rations ran out, and we were five-days without. Only for the luck that we had been able to get hold of some flour we should have starved. For three days we lived on flour and water, making a kind of bread known as chappatis, and you can imagine it was as heavy as lead without any fat or anything else to lighten it. I had a bottle of Eno's salts, and I gave that over to the cook, and he used that to lighten it a bit.

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O. T. ROSAAS PHOTOGRAPHER. Lincoln 259-K. Zenith 2519 2020 West Superior Street.

RENA MOONEY

Will speak in Fairmount Park Sunday July 13. Hear the wife of Tom Mooney tell her wonderful story. This is the only occasion you will have the opportunity of hearing her. Mrs. Mooney is on her way home.

After five days of severe starvation the train arrived, and as much as we all detest it, we made a good meal of biscuits and jam with a drop of tea.

Forced Native Labor.

There are about 100 to 150 natives at work with the engine clearing a way. Dirty, half-starved, and literally beaten to compel them to work, with armed native police over them, and if one attempted to escape they would not hesitate to shoot them. They have one meal a day, and that is a bit of very dark, coarse-looking bread, and not much of that.

Veiled Threats.

Last night we had a message read out from the C. O. to the effect that we could not look forward to demobilization yet, as the war was not over, and demobilization would not commence until peace is actually signed, and finished up with a veiled threat, that no man will be demobilized whilst undergoing field punishment, which I take merely to mean that if we cut up rough it will be the worse for us.

If the authorities are really asking for trouble I am afraid they will get it before long, and then I suppose we shall be branded as Bolsheviks. We are pretty well helpless out here, with no opportunity of combining, so if any small party was to cut up rough I guess they would drop in for it pretty hot.

"Make a Noise About Us."

The authorities have got the pull on us and they know it, and I think it is up to those at home to make a noise on our behalf.

I think myself the only way to deal with it is for everybody who has any relatives out here is to write to their local M. P. and do their best to see that he takes notice of it. What I have come across, the majority of the chaps come from London, if it was taken up by all of them, they would be worried into doing something.

TOWARDS DIRECT ACTION

London.—Labor here is, as it may well be, profoundly disturbed at what is going on in Britain's name abroad today.

A growing number of the more progressive elements are loudly calling on the organized workers to take direct action, and by withholding their labor to make it impossible, for our government at least to continue to support the Entente in the suppression of the Soviet governments of Russia and Hungary and the discouragement everywhere of Socialist propaganda, and in the inhuman policy of retaining the blockade and otherwise contributing to the starvation of vast populations in the famine areas of Europe.

So far, it is true, organized labor has done nothing but pass resolutions protesting against these things, but there are signs that, although slow to proceed to extremes, it is actually moving in that direction. The indignation is greatest over conscription and the official treatment of Hungary.

With regard to treatment of Hungary, Colonel Wedgwood, M. P. could extract no more satisfactory reply in the House of Commons than that "the Foreign Office had no official information" of the reported suppression of the Hungarian Soviet by Allied troops.

As to conscription, the Daily Herald learns from a high military authority that the new armies thus raised are required for India, Egypt and Ireland, where apparently, British rule can at the moment be secured only by force.—Evelyn Sharp of the London Daily Herald.



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THE MAILED FIST

against

THE IDLE HAND

(Special to Truth).
By Rose Pastor Stokes.

Our American Black Hundreds have been busy these many weeks preparing for the glorious dependence historic the bourgeoisie which the bourgeoisie had appropriated to itself, is to come into the possession of the proletariat. This is the day of the nation-wide strike. The privately owned and controlled Fourth is to become a day of supreme significance to the workers of America, and the Black Hundreds, the bourgeoisie in action, are preparing in their own characteristic fashion, to defeat if they can this ruthless policy of expropriation.

On the Fourth the toiling masses of America, to make effective their demand, have determined to shut the gates of industry that the prison gates may be opened and their class war prisoners go free. Against this day (whose approach our parasites dread as much for the sense of power the workers will gain, as for the profits they themselves will lose) the 100-percent-profit Americans are preparing a campaign of intimidation, provocation, and violence.

But, as heretofore, we shall refuse to be provoked, intimidated, stamped. We know wherein lies our strength, and we shall not forget what we know when the Fourth arrives. We know the power that lies in our unitedly idle hands. If it is to be Mailed Fist against the Idle Hand, we look confidently to the ultimate outcome—victory for the working class. We shall lay down our tools, shut the gates of industry, put our hands in our pockets and wait for the prison doors to fly open. Five peaceful restful days at home or in the country—in which time we shall do nothing for the bourgeois minority responsible for the imprisonment of our comrades, and everything necessary for each other. This we have decided to do, and this program we shall carry out, regardless.

Once the Mailed Fist was "kid-gloved"; that was before Russia tore the fierce mask from the weak, frightened face of the bourgeoisie and sent him shrieking panie-stricken through the world. Now, in a last desperate effort to hold sway over a determined working class, the unmasked bourgeoisie strips the glove from the hand and thrusts the Mailed Fist, steel-bare, into the face of Toil. At last, the peaceful workmen on strike are answered in the streets of our cities, with machine-guns! with rifle fire! with man-hunting armed thugs! with army tanks; with mounted Cossacks! How long will it be before a rain of death and destruction will be poured down upon the working masses from the skies! The mask is down, the steel fist is glittering ominously as it moves to strike down its victims.

Still the silent processes of organization go forward. Our organizers are jailed, our most valiant workers black-jacked, brow-beaten black-listed, our meetings broken up, our halls closed to us, our headquarters raided, our ranks peppered with spies and provocateurs our spokesmen lied about and discredited in the venal press, our peaceful methods discredited by "bomb" plants, the violent passions of the mob roused against us by the combined misrepresentation of Capital's unholy trinity—the press, the pulpit and the platform—still the silent processes of organization go forward.

Let them use violence, the weapon of the weak bourgeoisie. We shall use the one big union—our industrial organization—the peaceful strike—the weapon of a working class conscious of its supreme power.

This morning a significant bit of news crept into the press. French workers on strike enjoying vacations in the country. Machine guns and armed police may be covering the streets of Paris, but the workers after shutting the gates of industry, go to the country, or rest at home. The French workers feel their power. The greater the sense of power, the greater the

order with which the violent "master" class will be compelled to deal.

We can afford to build our power silently, peacefully, and peacefully to make our demands when we decide to make them. No suppression can stop the work of gathering our industrial forces. They screw the safety valve down tight then sit on it: No press, no platform, no emblems, no headquarters, no this no that no t'other! Sit hard, gentlemen, sit tight! With your laws and your armies, your courts and your prisons and all the paraphernalia miscalculated by you to make ent-up steam behave! Under that funny little cap, screwed down so firmly, steam is gathering as steam has the habit of doing. Our numbers are uniting; our class-solidarity is gathering strength—in shop, mill, mine, factory; hundreds of us, thousands, tens of thousands, hundred of thousands—the industrial, the one big, union! and industry answering industry—the workers issuing a call—answering their own cry—their passion for unity with their fellow workers everywhere overriding all timid leadership—laying down tools as of one accord...

The scalding vapor gathers... gathers... The workers' countrywide strike will burst forth, soon, as the most dynamical actuality in the class conflict. Under the lid of suppression the preparations go silently forward. Nothing can stop the flaming fires of liberty from generating that force that must eventually set free not only our comrades in prison but our class.

The Fourth, the proletarian Fourth is coming. The Mailed Fist, spoiling for it these many weeks, is preparing to strike a violent blow at our peaceful ranks. But, our unitedly idle hands in our pockets, we shall keep the gates of industry shut the determined number of days, till the prison gates of our class-war prisoners fly open.

"IS NOT A COM-MODITY"

(Continues from page 3)

Again and again in the Convention these jurisdictional fights cropped up, accompanied by the savage quarrels of the great unions between themselves—forever pirating upon each other, forever stealing each other's membership or encroaching upon the boundaries of each other's trades; the increasing refinement and complexity of industry always bringing new quarrels new adjustments, new partitions.

The officials of the Federation are always repeating phrases about the autonomy of the national and international unions, and how the Federation has no power over them. But it has the power of life and death—absolutely. If a union does not behave—if it becomes too powerful or too radical, if it shows signs of revolt—then another great union is set on to organize in its trade. A jurisdictional dispute ensues, both parties appeal to the Federation and the machine gets in action and revokes or suspends the charter of the offending organization, and orders its membership to enroll in the other. And if the members of the defeated union do not obey, they are black-listed, scabbed upon by the Federation union, and in some cases, forced out of their jobs.

Thus at this Convention I witnessed the partition of the Jewellery Workers between the Machinists and the Metal Polishers. One despairing delegate of a union whose charter had been suspended because it refused to submit to the disastrous ruling of the Federation, addressed the chair:

"You have suspended our charter," he said. "That is equivalent to expelling us from the Federation. But under the rules it requires a two-thirds vote of this Convention to revoke a

REVOLUTIONARY SOVIET RUSSIA GREET'S GERMAN WORKERS

"Know that your sufferings are felt in a brotherly way by the working masses of Russia who are united with you in a workers' solidarity," wires Tchitcherin, Foreign Secretary of Soviet Russia.

Moscow, May 26th.—Tchitcherin has directed the following appeal to the German people:

"In this terrible hour in which the German people are passing through cruel experiences under the blows of a victorious imperialism, the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia send to them their fraternal greetings and expressions of sympathy and of workers' solidarity. The imperialism of the Entente has defeated its enemy, and is now celebrating its feast of victory, which will not however, as we now know, last very long. Recognizing no restraint, devoid of shame, it exposes the bandit nature of the present imperialism, which knows nothing but profit, force and robbery. "Woe to the Vanquished," it cries out, drunk with victory, and with the animal lust of the primitive savage, knowing no other object than to wound as cruelly as possible the vanquished people which has just been its opponent, to exploit them as completely as possible, and to transform them into eternal captives and slaves. Unparalleled robbery, unparalleled servitude. Such is the meaning of the treaty of peace which is shamelessly forced upon them by the Entente countries. A downright crime, that is the nature of the so-called treaty which the exhausted nation is forced to sign. Territories with unquestionably German population, are torn from them, their most precious natural resources are taken away. They are compelled to pay such monstrous contribution, that even if the whole German people should labor day and night exclusively in order to satisfy its conquerors, it would not be capable of disposing of this burden. It is being so thoroughly disarmed, that the victors may at any time penetrate into the interior of the country in order to inflict upon it the final blows. Continuously, there will be hanging over it the Damocles' sword of destruction. Under cover of guarantees and controls, the victor, the new slave driver, will follow every motion of his captives and slaves. Unbearable is the situation which is created for the German working people, and its misery would have no bounds if there were not a certainty that the dream of the victors who have lost all reason, will last but a short time, and that the barbarous governments of imperialistic violations are passing through their last days. The revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia have passed through some tribulations. They also know what the merciless triumph of a victor means when he holds his banished victim in his sharp claws.

The revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia have placed all their hopes in the general workers' revolution, approaching with giant strides in the revolutionary solidarity of the workers and of the whole world, whose hour of triumph and of victory will strike in the near future. In the days of triumph, the revolutionary force has been steeled. Surrounded on all sides by relentless imperialistic and counter-revolutionary elements, they have forged the mighty weapons of the Red Army. The hour is yet far from final victory over an imperialistic enemy. They are still waging a serious battle against the hosts of imperialism and against the counter-revolutionary bands which have penetrated into our territory. But they know very well that they are progressing step by step through this conflict to victory. For the workers and peasants of Germany also, their present suffering are only a transitory trial which must increase ten-fold your forces and your love of battle. Know that your sufferings are felt in a brotherly way by the working masses of Russia who are united with you in a workers' solidarity. The boundless shamelessness and brutality of the victor, forgetful of all reason, are in themselves sufficient proof for us that the world of robbers and violators is on the eve of its final destruction. In all the Entente countries, whose mighty rulers are plundering the defeated German people of their all, the working masses will obtain nothing more than a new sharpening of their servitude and new and heavier chains. But in those countries also, the eyes of the proletarians will open and with every victory the revolutionary movement will boil and bubble more and more powerfully. And thus, in the ceaselessly growing world revolution of the working masses, in the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all lands, and in the international union of revolutionary Soviet republics, lies the pledge of their approaching liberation from the heavy chains of the dictators, as well as also the pledge of the liberation of the workers of all lands from the capitalist system, which makes such acts of robbery possible.

charter isn't that so?"

Gompers looked at his watch. He then engaged in a lowvoiced conversation with old Jim Duncan for a few moments, while the delegate waited. Finally Gompers said, "The hour of adjournment having now arrived, the Convention stands adjourned."

But while the "machine" appeared all-powerful—more powerful than it has for years; while the old-time radicals kept silent, and only a handful of comparatively new men—Duncan of Seattle, Dentelbaum of Detroit, Sullivan of Salt Lake, Strickland of Portland, Ore., Brown of Providence, Birch of Seattle, Grow of Los Angeles, Schoenberg, Gorenstein and the foreigners generally—battled with the machine, there were signs of change not to be disregarded, and not disregarded by the ever-watchful machine. For instance, although there was a good deal of talk

about "Bolshevism" the first two days, the term was not again mentioned, but deliberately avoided.

But the most important symptom was in the attitude of the "radicals" itself. They were not disheartened by the results of the Convention. After all, it was what they had expected, and at the end their attitude seemed to be that of men who had found what they came to find. All with whom I talked were very cheerful. The Convention had proved itself not only reactionary, but entirely out of touch with the Labor movement of the new era. It was not the rank and file which was represented here; this was a gathering largely of national and international officers, profoundly ignorant, profoundly selfish—business men, looking out for their jobs. The "radical" delegates—the Westerners and the foreigners, as can be noticed, acting together,

were at last, I thought, and finally convinced that the American Federation of Labor was nothing but a putrid corpse, and that life was not in it. That what new shall come into the American Labor movement must come, not through the bourgeois political machinery by which the Federation is controlled, but from the new revolutionary impulse stirring at the bottom, among the workers on the job.

And they seemed to feel that the Thirty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor had provided them with some pretty good propaganda against the Trade Unionism of before the war, which, although it is not yet apparent, has gone as completely out of the world as Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Capitalism created the American Federation of Labor. Without capitalism there would be no A. F. of L. And the end of capitalism is in sight.

LENINE CREATED SOCIALIST STATE AFTER OVERCOMING SYNDICALISM, SAYS MINOR

By Robert Minor.

As nobody can build a state on the foundation of an officer-defying, Ambassador-killing volatile minority, the Bolsheviks now had to shift their governing structure more completely on to the steadier support of the inactive minority—in other words, to establish what practically amounts to "democracy."

They felt that they had to do to the industrial unions what they had done to the army—bring them under the central political authority. Anarchistic syndicalism was practically controlling all the industries of Russia. Political power cannot exist and tolerate an independent economic power. Syndicalism was to give way to government ownership, political control.

It was hard to make the industrial workers submit to it. Throughout the summer, while Trotsky wrestled over the Russian prairies with the independent regiments to make them accept him as War Minister instead of an adviser, Lenin wrestled in the towns to down his Syndicalists.

A "Council of Public Economy," consisting of political and technical specialists, was first appointed by the government to overlook and advise the industrial unions in their production.

There was no objection as long as the council had nothing but advisory power, and the Syndicalist worked with it harmoniously. Little by little the skilled hand of Lenin began to weld into the Council of Public Economy an absolute authority over all productions and all matters pertaining to the factories, mines and railroads.

To disentangle the government from Syndicalism, it was arranged for the industrial unionists to have two separate ways of voting.

Each has one vote for a political delegate and another vote for his factory council, which no longer has any political power.

Lenine Succeeds.

In the political field the worker has become a voter by occupational division instead of by geographical election district as in England and America. In the industrial field the worker is a member of an industrial union in a government-owned plant, the government controlling everything except some internal shop labor matters.

Lenine succeeded in this tremendous change, ditching Syndicalism and substituting conventional government ownership, only by telling the industrial unions that it was a temporary measure, due to military necessity, and that later the political authority would fall away again and leave the purely industrial organization. But I don't think it ever will, unless many years from now by another violent revolution against the most revolutionary-proof government in the world.

The ideal of the original Simon Pure Soviet system was that:

"The constituency of future society shall be defined, not upon geographical lines, but upon the lines of industrial unionism."

Without central (enforced) authority that would come pretty close to anarchist syndicalism. With central (enforced) authority it would amount to the program of the American Socialist Labor party as set forth by Daniel de Leon. But after going through the anarchist phase, which the Bolsheviks could not prevent, and then through the Leon phase, which Lenin calls his, ideal, the Russian Soviet republic is now being tempered by arrangements to let in foreign capital.

Is Labor Center.

It is important to trace the way in which the Bolshevik government eradicated anarchist syndicalism, because that government is at present planning great industrial concessions to Entente bondholders and American capitalists. As things are now, these operations would not be em-

barrassed by lawless syndicalism. Capital has before this learned the value of dealing with the center in labor matters, and the present Russian government is the most successful labor center in the world.

I cannot defend the Bolshevik government for all of the things it has done under the name of "Terror". It should be flatly stated, however, that by far the majority of the stories that have been printed about that tragic matter are hysterical inventions.

The question can never be rightly weighed until the outside world is told what the Russian laboring masses think about it. If a Moscow workman, Bolshevik or non-Bolshevik, is asked what he thinks about the Red Terror, he is likely to respond, as one did to me:

"The Red Terror is only half; the other half is the White Terror. The bourgeois do not count a hundred workmen's lives as valuable as one of theirs, but we do. They have murdered tens of thousands of us in Finland and the Ukraine, and they openly say they will do the same here in Moscow, if they get on top. Let them go the way the Little Father went."

"The red terror is our answer to their white terror. We will stop our terror when they stop theirs."

Analysis Not Complicated.

A cold analysis of the red terror is not very complicated. During the summer of 1918 the Soviet government was expected to fall any day. The counter-revolutionists—most of them royalist—boldly made their plans, feeling that their lives were not risked, and, if caught, their prison sentences would only last the few days that the government had of life ahead of it.

When one was arrested he would merely laugh and tell his jailer, "Only 30 days, and then I'll get out and shoot you!" The only sentence with which the government would inspire dread was death, from which there is no delivery.

Now that the common belief is that the Bolsheviks will preside over their jails for a long time to come, prison sentences are taken seriously, and the death sentence, rarely pronounced, is even then seldom executed. The red terror, by which I mean the execution of members of the upper classes to deter counterrevolution, is practically or entirely a thing of the past.

While stories were coming from outside cities of constant massacres and a terrible fate awaiting any respectable person who falls into the hands of the Bolsheviks, I observed one American and 14 English war prisoners recently captured on the Archangel front, who were walking about Moscow in perfect freedom forbidden only to leave the city or discard their uniforms.

Prisoners Astonished.

There were astonished at not having been killed, as they had understood that Bolsheviks always kill war prisoners. Some of them told me later that they had been given employment through the medium of a Bolshevik commissar, and would be allowed to vote for the Soviet.

During last autumn, it is true, an article was published by Karl Radek, in which he gave vent to a fanciful suggestion that working people should invade the homes of the rich and by force take warm clothing for the approaching blizzard. It made fine copy for the Helsingfors correspondents, and it made fine copy for Radek, but it was only a fancy.

New York itself has a journal that might print a like editorial, but when it comes to a question of reality—well, we know how it is. Never fear, Bolshevik police would not permit such government-endangering conduct any more than New York policemen would. Russia is ruled with a rigid law and order that will be the envy of several shaky European governments if they could see it.

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INDEPENDENCE DAY

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they shall declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted amongst Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established shall not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Again in the history of mankind, there arose a body of men who were not afraid and who had the courage of their convictions. The signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776, was also the signing of the death warrant of all monarchies. The voice of Liberty spoke in those days and the men of those memorable years answered it in no uncertain tones. What did it matter that the gibbet stared them in the face? What did it matter that their lives might have been snuffed out?

On that glorious morn, the whole world received its first real sign of the new day that was to come. So we of the Socialist movement pay our tribute to those men who had the courage to fight for that which they believed, and we know, to be true.

This memorable day serves to inspire the Socialist movement to go on with its work. We shall not merely indulge in phrases, like many will do today. We shall work with all our energy and help to bring the new day of Independence, a declaration that will mean the death of kings, kaisers and ALL autocrats no matter what their nationality may be. It is as well that we should celebrate these days. We should point out to our fellow-worker the significance of these days and point out to them that at all times there have been men who have had to suffer the abuse and ridicule of their time. But the time has always come when these selfsame men were recognized to be the real patriots. The same will be true of the Socialist movement. Today we are misunderstood, our comrades are thrown into prison, but as sure as the night follows the day, so sure will these comrades be hailed as the real patriots. It is hard to fight alone. It is hard to have to blaze the trail. But the satisfaction will be all the greater, when in the hour of victory, those who opposed us, we mean those of our own class, the other class do not count, will shake our comrades by the hand and pay them the same tribute as they are paying to Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, John Brown and other stalwart advocates of human liberty.

We shall win out in our fight. WE CAN NEVER BE BEATEN. The victory may be put off for a time, but this we do know, that the long, long night will be forced to give way to the rosy dawn. HAVE PATIENCE, MY COMRADES. In this your hour of trial stand firm. Stand all together and in the strength of your organization, you will be victorious. We cannot lie down in the fight. We could not if we wanted to. The cause for which we fight grips our very being. On we must go, until the whole working class shall have been freed. Can we forget those of our sisters who are crying for the right to live? Go amongst the sordid red light district of your big cities. See the look of sad despair in those women's faces. Then ask yourself, can you give up the fight now. See the little children, with their parched cheeks and their sorrowful eyes and then say you can give up the fight? No, we must fight on, even if the whole world opposes us. We must fight on now, for the farthest hour is before the dawn. Fight on my comrades, for the day of travail is nearly over. Fight on, for the new day is here. See yonder sun in all its glory. See its radiant hues. They are the rays of the coming morrow. They tell you that we must win. Back to the factory. Back to mine. Back to the shop. Back we say and tell your fellow-workers that we will win. Tell them that we want them to organize. Tell them why we want them to organize. Tell them that the day is coming when all men, women and children shall be happy. When the last key have been turned in the last brothel; when the last cry shall have been heard from the last starving child. Comrades, on this glorious day of immortal memory; on this day of the celebration of the foundation of this Republic, go out and do your bit and show to all that we are the real patriots.

From now on we must work or celebrate the real day of Independence, the independence of the working class. Back into the shop. Organize as you never organized before. By the strength of your organization you shall be victorious. By the strength of your economic power the world is yours. Back to the shop and play your part, and then you will do more than talk about human liberty—you will help to bring it into being.



"STILL WE CELEBRATE"

TO THE RETURNED SOLDIER

Comrade and Fellow-worker:—

The greatest war that was ever fought is now over. Today millions of you are coming home and as you come home you find that many industries created by the war, are now closing down. This means that many of you will be out of work. You know what that means. There is no need for us to tell you of the days and nights of misery that confront you. You have experienced them before. You will experience them again. Because you belong to our class, the working class, we are appealing to you to join hands with us, on this the anniversary of Independence Day, in order that we, of the working class, who create the wealth of the country, may gain our industrial freedom.

For a time you are going to be feted. Commercial Clubs will dine and cheer you, but when the war has been forgotten, What will they do for you then? Remember the words of young Roosevelt, who said, "Boys get a job before the hero business gets stale." We today tender to you the same advice. But where are you going to get the job from? That is the question? The markets of the world have many competitors. The cessation of hostilities has made it possible for other nations to compete for the trade held by this country. The result will be, that this country will have fewer markets than it had before the entrance of this country into war and during the war. Even with the markets that it formerly enjoyed, this country had its unemployed. Now with a lessening in the number of markets and the shutting down of war industries, it can be readily seen that the number of unemployed will become considerably greater.

Hanging around the Federal Employment Bureaus will never bring the jobs, that DO NOT EXIST. And it will not suffice that you fought to defend your country, the landlord will still demand his rent and if you cannot pay that rent, out you will go. The same with the butcher, baker, grocer and all other members of the employing class who cheered you on to war.

BUT YOU MUST LIVE.

For a time you will live. The war spirit will open the hearts of many people to you. But the givers like the receivers are in the same boat. Those who have worked through the war and saved a few dollars, will find that there is a time when purses will become empty and then—!

There will come the day, when the grey wolf of hunger paws at your door. When you will sit around the fireless stove and shudder in the cold depths of winter. The war will have been forgotten by then. You will then take your place in the breadlines and you will then be a hero unsung and unhonored.

Realizing what confronts you and all of us, and fully understanding the power that we of the working class possess, we call upon you, on this day of Independence, to fight for human liberty like your ancestors fought for it. In 1776, men fought those that stood for the Independence of this country. They called them names like they call the Socialists today. But the men who fought for liberty in those days were real men and they STOOD THEIR GROUND. So we, of the revolutionary workingclass, stand our ground. With your co-operation we will drive away hunger and want. There is food, clothing and shelter for all. None need go hungry in this land rich in natural resources and filled with factories with the most modern of machinery.

So, comrade and fellow-workers, we ask you to join hands with your own class. Do not allow the other side to exploit you. Realize that we of the workingclass stand or fall together. With the working class organized together into one revolutionary army of the workingclass, conscious of the task set before it, the dawn of human liberty is not far off. We say these things to you, comrade and fellow-worker, because long and patient study and much suffering under capitalism have taught us that Socialism provides the only way out of the social mire. We ask you to work and fight with us so that we can organize our class and usher in the new day when the hills will resound with the merry laughter of child slaves set free and the happy voices of all men and women singing the songs of a new day.

Comrade and fellow-worker, WE ARE WITH YOU ARE YOU WITH US?

LEFT WING CONVENTION

It would be impossible for us to make a fair report of the Left Wing owing the short time at our disposal. There are a few things to discuss and of such vital importance to our movement, that they must be adequately discussed. So we will reserve our report for our next issue.

The Left Wing convention is the beginning of a real, live, militant socialist movement. It was the biggest thing that has ever taken place in the history of the Socialist movement. It is going to go farther than any other party we know of. It will unite all revolutionary socialists and it will also bring about the solidarity of the forces of Labor.

SCIENTIFIC INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

By Jim Larkin.

Success in the modern capitalist world implies the obtaining of the greatest amount of profit for the smallest amount of production. Production for profit results in untold waste and social loss, but the loss is not felt by the present business system, as profits are still obtainable in every industrial activity today. But there cannot exist a co-ordinated production of social necessities under the existing system. The economic demand for these necessities always exists. The so-called law of supply and demand is a purely fictitious one, as, to business enterprise, demand is only recognized when supplying that demand opens a way for business to appropriate its portion. Business administration of industry necessitates that industry shall be kept running in direct ratio to the extent of profit obtaining.

The future society lies in the hands of the workers under the direction of science. Scientific industrialism demands the abolition of private property, in the means of Production and Distribution, of industrial administration by the business class, of the business itself, and of all political forms of government. Scientific industrialism demands possession for production and production for use, a Currency based on an exact value for exchange, namely production time, industrial administration by and through each individual industry directed by authorities on that industry, and a government, of the country through industries, drawing representatives from each individual industry.

The late world war, by various estimates, wasted over seven million lives, yet this loss is puny and small compared to our annual waste of power if expressed in terms of man power. To supplant the amount of power in use in this country at the present moment it would require three billion servile slaves, yet from the methods now existing for producing the total power requirements of this country there is a loss of over one hundred percent at the source of production of this power, not to mention the waste in application. With scientific production the three billion slaves could produce an amount equivalent to seven billion. We are, therefore, wasting this tremendous amount of energy every year, and as the total production of the country increases, we have an every increasing waste.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO SERIES OF INDUSTRIAL BULLETINS AND PAPERS ON ORIGINAL RESOURCES:—

The growing demand upon our industries and original resources by the present social system leads us to present this series of papers, giving a scientific presentation of the scope of each industry, its re-lation to other industries, and the relationship of industries to the sources of raw materials and the primary production of power. The scope of each of the series shall be to take one industry, such as, for purposes of illustration, steel, showing a general way, the different process involved in its manufacture, and considering our steel plants as a steel industry, in order that we may understand in terms of industry its degree of relativity to other industries, such as coal, ore, railways, etc.

The whole series is to cover all forms of production in the industrial field, and it is proposed, here, for purposes of classification, that agriculture may be called a collection of industries, and may hereinafter be given more classified divisions, such as Cereal Industry, Stock Industry, Cotton Industry, etc.

In each individual bulletin of this series shall be noted the entire number of plants in the industry concerned, giving such data as (1) present business name, (2) geographical location, (3) daily consuming capacity for raw materials, (4) daily production of finished products, (5) amount of power and form of power used, (6) number of employees engaged, (7) ten hours production, (8) capitalization, (9) sources of supply for raw materials, and (10) present business market. The bulletin shall also contain a comparison of distribution under the present business system with one of economic distribution under a scientific regime. With each bulletin shall be issued at least three maps: (1) showing geographical location of plant units, (2) showing sources of supply and raw products under our present business administration, compared with existing scientific sources of supply, (3) showing the distribution, and on what common carriers delivered to present business centers of distribution, compared with the scientific economic division of distribution, based on ten mile haulage, (4) showing the relation of the plants of the industry in their present location to the plants of other industries which are the greatest consumers of the products of this industry under present business managed administration, compared with a future scientific location under industrial administration.

The bulletins of original resources and power shall show (1) the amount produced at the different geographical points of production, (2) the location of the points of consumption, (3) total amount produced for the country as a whole, (4) total amount consumed by each industry, and (5) the resource. It shall compare the present methods in use and the approximate estimate of the visible supply of the particular

results obtained in handling and consuming this original resource, giving present valuation of the resource at the point of production from its present business value content, compared with its multiple product value under scientific production.

Production for price disregards multiple production and concerns itself only with producing a commodity for which a profit can be obtained. The other commodities which are lost by this regard only for original raw material averages fifteen times the value of the commodity extracted. For instance, the cost of bituminous coal at the mine mouth in the year 1918 was \$1.32 yet the multiple product of the same coal is valued at \$16.00, a conservative estimate. There were 500,000,000 tons of bituminous coal used in the year for the production of power not to mention the percentage of waste in the remaining amount of coal mined, and used for other purposes. The price value of the 500,000,000 tons of coal at the mine mouth was \$650,000,000.00, while the multiple product value of the same coal is over \$9,000,000,000.00, making a loss of \$8,350,000,000.00. Using this amount of coal for steam or carbo electric power, we have lost the social use of 5,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, 1,000,000,000 gallons of benzol, and 4,000,000 gallons of tar. Transferring these amounts into other social values we find that the nitrogen contained in the 5,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate is capable of producing an additional 453,163,904 bushels of wheat, based on 115 pounds of nitrogen to the acre. The benzol is an equivalent for gasoline, and the above amount is valued at practically \$300,000,000.00 and is capable of accomplishing in terms of miles travelled between fifty and sixty-seven million miles, relieving the present inadequate supply of gasoline. The 4,000,000,000 gallons of tar would enable this country to obtain good road materials in abundance and to further unlimited extensions of rural highways. The above mentioned three are only the primary products that may result from further extraction, and that which is of first importance is that the above by-products could be extracted from the 500,000,000 tons of coal with no reduction but with actual increase by over 100 per cent to the power producing content of that coal. In other words, we would have been able to obtain over 100 per cent more power, and also the above amounts of ammonium sulphate, benzol and tar. The market value of this waste amounts to between ten and twenty dollars per capital-basing our estimate on 100,000,000 population.

The foregoing is merely one of the numerous illustrations that can be given of the present class inefficiency and the magnitude of the losses sustained by the present capitalist system of industry. By scientific co-ordination and management the above losses could have been saved for social use. Further, in the subject of coal, one third of the total freight of the common carrier systems of this country is bulk coal, the greatest single profit making freight that is hauled. But that statement does not truly represent the actual coal carrying conditions of the railroad group of common carriers.

For instance,—the Kanawha and Michigan R. R. which serves the West Virginia coal fields, transported 3,286,689 tons of West Virginia coal in 1916, while the Kanawha River carried only 1,032,349 tons. In the same year, the railroads of the United States carried 414,475,002 tons of coal, while the waterways of the country carried only 9,191,863 tons. There are several large common carrier systems in whose total freight carried during the period of one year amounts to over 90 per cent. It logically follows that no attempt will be made on the part of the railroad systems to accept a scientific use of coal, as this would involve a loss of four fifths of their profit earning coal freight. Four fifths of the railroads equipment now used on our railroad systems in hauling coal could be put to other uses and would relieve the railroad congestion of the country.

Every time an individual adopts a mechanical appliance, or purchases an article hitherto made at home or completely lacked, thousands of others will demand the same, and society refuses to turn back. It cannot turn back any more than it can weave the garments of the present by hand. The convenience of today is the necessity of tomorrow, and if we project the present trend of requirements fifteen years into the future, we but begin to gain a true prospective of the burden that shall be imposed on the back of our already overloaded, congested, inefficient system of production for price. Induce a stress of industrial expansion and waste and the stress communicated to your social fabric is correspondingly magnified. The tendency has been to provide a surplus of slack in lieu of elasticity by maintaining the facilities of production in excess of normal requirements. Such a condition constitutes a standing invitation to inefficiency and wastefulness, tending in the long run to nullify the so-called precarious potential advantage of readiness for industrial expansion, and hence is forecast for failure when put to the test. With industrialism in the past less mature and less aggressive these matters were less conspicuous but today, under present conditions of growth, these untoward propensities are becoming more pronounced. The handwriting on the wall is visible to those who wish to see. Disintegration is the only resultant that can accrue from the present methods of industrial production. Either the workmen must organize and take possession of industry or see temporary retardation, the last measure of repression that all outgoing eras and systems have used to stop a wave of advance.

The Blanket Stiff

By Wilby Heard.

Bound for where, you Blanket Stiff?
And what your mission, pray?
With Stern set face and sluggish gait,
Where ends your weary way?

No sound escapes those hardened lips,
They make no theat nor ples,
The stones beneath his road-worn feet
Bring answer back to me:

"His mission is to follow e'er,
Will-o'-the-Wisps of Greed,
Which dance and lure at Mammon's beck
Just such as him to bleed,

"With stern set face and sluggish step,
He plods from place to place;
Upon his back his HOME, his ALL—
Proof of the new formed race,

"His journey ends there, over there,
No not just there, but there;
And then from there still further on—
Still ends most anywhere."