

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

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
Duluth, Minn.
Permit No. 40.

VOL. III, No. 31

14

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8.

WHOLE NO. 112

FIVE CENTS.

STAND FIRM

For your demands, railroad shopmen, coal-dockworkers, printers and all strikers. The magnificent manner in which you have tied up industry is a splendid tribute to your growing power. All stand together and act as one and victory is yours. Teach the profiteers a lesson that they will not forget in a hurry. The mighty forces of labor are now awakening to a realization of the power they possess. With that power scientifically organized and the workers possessed of a complete understanding of their economic position, ALL THAT LABOR DESIRES LABOR CAN OBTAIN.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR

INTERVIEW WITH THE RUSSIAN PREMIER-LENINE

MOONEY SENSATION

Washington, D. C. The recent presentation of the report of John B. Densmore has created a sensation. Besides conclusively proving that there was a frame-up of Mooney and his co-defendants, the Secretary of Labor informs the press that they have a clue to the real perpetrator of the bomb outrage.

In the meantime, organized labor must not let up in its work for the release of Mooney and Billings. They must bend to and work unceasingly for their release. The government MAY release Mooney and Billings, in order to stave off the demands of radical workers for the release of ALL class-war prisoners. With the release of Mooney, if it should come, the radicals must gain fresh courage and renew their energy. The case of Debs, Haywood and the rest of the twelve hundred class-war prisoners is no different to that of Mooney and Billings.

COAL DOCK WORKERS QUIT

Where is this strike fever going to end? That is the question that more than one person is asking during these trying times. Just when we have almost forgot the molders' strike, along comes the railroad shopmen, then the coal-dockworkers.

Coal dock workers, including operators, oilers, loaders and laborers on all commercial docks at Duluth, Superior and Two Harbors, numbering between 1,650 and 2,150 men, went out on strike completely tying up the coal industry at the Head of the Lakes. Demands which the men have submitted some time ago, coupled with increased demands to be in effect at the present time is given by the men as the reason for the strike. Between 1,500 and 2,000 men are affected at Duluth and Superior and about 150 at Two Harbors.

Seven boats with cargoes of coal are now in the harbor waiting to be unloaded and sixteen more are on the way, averaging about 8,000 tons to each boat, the twenty-three boats, it is estimated, have a combined tonnage of approximately 184,000 tons which must await the settlement of the strike before being unloaded.

According to information given the demands of the men are that they be given an increase of 15 per cent, retroactive to May 1, 1919, and an additional increase of 15 per cent to be in effect at once. The demand by the men is as follows:

—Cents Per Hour—
Old From New
Scale. May 1. Demand
Operators ... 66 76 86 1-8

Oilers	55 61 69 7-8
Car loaders	57 66 75
Laborers	50 57 65

That the action of the coal dock men will completely tie up the coal industry at the Head of the Lakes, is conceded by the operators, who are somewhat in doubt as to just how to handle the situation. Previous labor controversies were handled by the war labor board relieving the coal operators of all responsibility in the matter. The present demands have been submitted to the coal operators.

More Recruits to Strike.
The ranks of the striking shopmen are being recruited by the addition of roundhouse and shopmen not affiliated with the shopmen's unions. Twenty-five oilers, wipers and handy men employed at the Great Northern roundhouses at Alouez went out on strike.

CANADA

Trades Council for O. B. U. Winnipeg.—As an aftermath of the big general strike here, the workers, disgusted with the manifest alliance of the international officers of various unions with the employing interests, have united in a solid block of opposition against craft unionism as at present constituted and have declared for industrial unionism.

The vote recorded from 51 unions was 8,841 for separation from the A. F. of L. and alliance with the O. B. U. and 705 against.

SHOPMEN STRIKE TO AFFECT ROADS

UNAUTHORIZED WALKOUT GAINS STRENGTH AND MEN DETERMINED TO STAY OUT UNTIL DEMANDS ARE MET

Today the railroad shops of America are like tombs of silence. Not a wheel is running and not a sound can be heard. The mighty forces of labor that run the railroad shops have called a halt. Unable to exist on the wages they were receiving, the men of the International Machinists', Blacksmiths', Boilermakers', Pipe-fitters' and Sheet-metal workers' organizations, employed in the various railroad shops, decided to take a vacation. AND THEY DID!

The demands of the men are to say the least of them, very modest, 85 cents for skilled men and 60 cents for helpers. After you consider the profits that have been made during the war, who created them and who GOT them, you must agree that it is a standing disgrace to any set of employers that thousands of men must resort to a strike in order to obtain a paltry wage of 85 and 60 cents per hour. It plainly shows you how true has been the criticism of the railroad directors of this country. Where are the directors and the shareholders now? Why are they not in the shops scabbing on the men? Is it because they are in sympathy with the men? Foolish questions, not as foolish as those who tell you that you cannot run railroads without the brains of the masters, yet where are the masters' brains now? They might as well be in the soupbucket as far as the railroad shops are concerned.

The strike of the railroad shopmen is the first strike on the railroads, where the rank and file have been the dominating factor. Hitherto the grand lodges have run things, but this time the men have taken the initiative and called the strike. What a tieup! What an expression of solidarity! There is one danger to be feared and that is the taking over of the strike by the grand lodge officials. If the officials are not allowed to interfere in this strike, then the strike will not be settled, it will be the rank and file. Now that the strikers have introduced democracy into their union affairs, let it remain there. Let the international officers be dictated to by the MEN and not the men by the OFFICERS.

Men of the railroad shops you have thrown down the gage of battle. When you left the railroad shops, you left because you had resorted to every method possible of obtaining a redress of your grievances. The last method is the strike. The strike is no tea-party affair, it is a responsible task that you have taken upon yourselves. So stand together and allow no man to go back until you ALL go back. Act as one and victory is yours. Many will attempt to divide your ranks with glowing and sentimental appeals. Take no heed to them. Put your confidence in those that you have delegated to carry out negotiations and with a spirit of self-confidence and a belief in the carry out negotiations and with a spirit of demands will be soon granted.

EACH FOR ALL -- ALL FOR EACH

EXPOSES THE HYPOCRISY OF THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS

Stands for the One Big Union.

(The United Press).

Paris, Aug. 4.—Nikolai Lenine, prime minister of the Bolshevik government in Moscow, in the first bona fide interview he has ever granted, asserts that:

The first Bolshevik political aim is to drive Americans and the Japanese from Siberia.

Revolution, not reform, is the Bolshevik program.

The Bolsheviks seek to overthrow all land owners and capitalists.

They propose to organize the workers of the world, Americans included, into a single fraternal union.

The Bolsheviks will crush all resistance, using terror if necessary.

The interview follows.

By Edward Birg.

Budapest, Aug. 1. — Premier Lenine, the master Bolshevik, today gave his first bona fide interview. He replied by wire to my suggestion wirelessly to Moscow from Budapest. Lenine prefaced his replies with the statement:

"I answer the question put to me under the conditions that the answers will be published without alteration or mutilation in the United States."

Scores U. S. and Japan.

Following are the questions and answers as transmitted:

Question—"What is your political attitude toward the United States and Japan?"

Answer—"With reference to the United States and Japan, our first political aims are to repel their shameless, criminal, bandit-like invasion of Russia that serves only to enrich their capitalists."

"Many times we have offered peace to these states, but they have not even answered and continue to war upon us, helping Denekine and Kolchak, plundering the Murman and Archangel regions and devastating especially in Eastern Siberia, where the Russian peasants offer the most heroic resistance to the brigands of capitalist Japan and America."

"Our further economic aim is a single fraternal union of workers and toilers of all countries without exception, Japan and the United States included."

"Exposed Many Times."

Question—"Under what conditions would you conclude peace with Kolchak and Mannerheim?"

Answer—"They have been exposed many times. For example, William Bullitt conducted negotiations with us and with me personally in Moscow in the name of the United States government—also in our letter to Nansen. It is not our fault if the United States and other governments fear to publish these documents and conceal the truth from the people."

"I will remind you of one of our fundamental conditions—we are ready to pay all debts to France and other states provided there will be real peace signed formally and confirmed by the governments of England, France, the United States, Japan and Italy, since Denekine, Kolchak, Mannerheim and others are simply pawns in the hands of the Odessa governments."

Question—"Has the soviet program undergone reforms or changes since the establishment of your government?"

Overthrow of Landowners.

Answer—"The soviet government did not have a reformist governmental program but a revolutionary one. Reforms are secured from the dominating class while the latter's domination continues—consequently, a reformist program consists, generally of many points in detail."

"Our revolutionary program consisted, generally speaking, of one point — overthrow of the land owners and capitalists' yoke, wresting the powers from them and liberating the working masses from their exploiters."

"This program we have never altered. Separately, various measures aiming at the realization of our program have often been subject to alteration, enumeration of which would occupy a volume. I will point out only one point in our governmental program regarding which there were probably the greatest number of alterations, namely, crushing the resistance of exploiters following the revolution of July 17, 1917."

Admits Terrorist Methods.

"We did not even close the capitalist papers and there was not even talk of terror. We not only freed many Kerensky ministers, but also released Krassoff, who made war. It was only after the capitalist exploiters began developing their resistance, applying even terror."

"It was the proletariat's answer toward such action from

DEFECTIVE PAGE

the Bourgeoisie just as springs conjointly from the German, English, French American and Japanese capitalistic efforts to restore exploiters to power in Russia. The Czech-Slovaks are supported by Anglo-French money while Mannerheim has German-French funds.

"The unsuccessful conspiracy aimed at the surrender of Petrograd by officers was possible by the Swiss legation participating in the conspiracy, using English and French capital to employ many Russian employees."

Question—"What is the real character of the activities which the Russian government is carrying on in Afghanistan and India as well as other Mohammedan countries?"

Answer—"These activities are the same as ours among the non-Russian people within Russia. We made it possible for a lower people to create their autonomous republic within Russia."

"We help all independent free development of every nationality to increase and spread, for which we offer the most heroic resistance toward the brigands and capitalists of Japan and the United States."

"Our further political aims are to promote knowledge regarding our own soviet constitution which has the misfortune to please more than a billion inhabitants of the earth belonging to the oppressed nationalities more than do Western European of American constitutions of the Bourgeoisie 'democratic' states which try to strengthen the yoke of the few 'civil' capitalistic countries over the hundreds of millions of masses in Asiatic and African colonies."

Wall Street Fears Debs; Joyful When He Is Put Into Cage.

Wall Street has a well-defined opinion of Debs and a terrible fear of him.

Broadenwall, the New York American's financial expert may rightfully be regarded as one of Wall Street's mouthpieces, and when Debs was sent to prison, Broadenwall delivered himself of this comment in his paper:

"Any clemency to Debs on the part of the government would be regarded by Wall Street as bearish on the situation Wall Street knows Debs and does not consider him a true labor leader."

"Wall Street is willing to deal with labor under other leaders, and believes that his elimination would be a great step toward complete understanding."

Subscribe for the
TRUTH!

CALL TO ALL

On Labor Day, Labor will turn out and celebrate its annual legal holiday. It will be a day that will be given over to much speech-making and as a result of the recent actions of the American Federation of Labor, there is a danger of organized labor forgetting the brave men and women that now lie in prison, victims of a brutal autocracy that seeks to crush the rising forces of labor.

With a view to reminding Labor of the solemn task that is set before it, we are bringing out a special edition of TRUTH, on Labor Day. This special edition will remind Labor of the brave men and women who are in prison, why they are in prison and what Labor must do to ensure their speedy release. We shall further sound a call for action. Action that will speak louder than the words that will be uttered on Labor Day. Action that will compel Labor to rise up from its knees and stand erect, with the red blood flowing and the mind of Labor awakened. This call will be sent out to thousands of union men and women. We would like your local to be amongst those to receive this call. For the sum of ten dollars we will send you 400 copies of our paper, or a lesser number at the price of \$2.50 per hundred.

Kindly let us know AT ONCE how many your local can take.

Yours for the freedom of Labor, which must come through the ranks of Labor itself.

JACK CARNEY, Editor.

When the Break Came

An interview with Col. Raymond Robins, previously Commander of the American Red Cross in Russia.

By ANISE

(Seattle Union Record.)

I had been talking with Raymond Robins for several hours. Then suddenly, out of a clear sky came a statement which made me lean forward with excitement.

"Colonel Robins," I said, "that is the most startling thing you have yet said."

SUPERIOR SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL

meets at 8 o'clock

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
TERMINAL HALL
Corner Winter and Ogden

This was the statement. "Three weeks after Brest-Litovsk," said Col. Robins, "every Allied officer in Russia was engaged in helping to train the Red Army under Trotsky. This was done by the agreement of every Allied ambassador in Russia and every chief of an Allied Military Mission!"

"After Brest-Litovsk?" I asked again in amazement. "After the peace which was heralded in all our papers as a betrayal of Russia by the German-bought Bolsheviks! Three weeks after that we were helping organize the Bolshevik army?"

"We were," said Col. Robins. "We were doing it because it seemed the best way to beat the Germans. We were doing it because it seemed to those on the ground that the Red Army was the only force likely to be effective in holding Germany busy on the Eastern front."

Our Own Ambassador Helped
"Furthermore," he added, "six

months after Brest-Litovsk our Ambassador Francis was trying to have the American Railway Mission under Stevens sent in to co-operate with the Bolshevik government."

He handed me a photographic copy of a letter from Ambassador Francis, dated May 2, 1918. In it I read the words:

"You are acquainted with my efforts to bring railroad men to the assistance of the Soviet Government, and you are also aware of my action in bringing about the aid of the military missions towards organizing an army, and you are likewise familiar with the result of such efforts."

"Evidently," I said, "the Allies actually on the ground in Russia did not believe all these tales of Trotsky and the Bolsheviks being German spies."

The Forged "Sisson" Documents
"Every Bolshevik paper," said Col. Robins, "denounced the peace

terms of Brest-Litovsk in unmeasured language. They announced openly that they were getting ready to resume war, as soon as they had strength. They would never have signed the peace at all if the Allies had promised them aid."

"As for Trotsky's being a German agent, when I first arrived in Russia, I found Trotsky in jail and Lenin in hiding, under the charge of being German agents. A week later Trotsky was let out; his case never came to trial. This was in the most trying time of the Kerensky regime, when the government desired above all things to keep Trotsky and Lenin suppressed."

"I asked Tseretelli, the minister in whose department these matters came, why they had let Trotsky go without a trial. He replied that the arrest had been made on the basis of certain documents, but that these documents had been shown to be such evident forgeries that the government could not afford to have them examined in a trial."

"These were the documents afterwards brought to this country by Sisson and spread abroad by Mr. Creel's division of Public Information, and believed widely throughout our land."

The British Empire Afraid
"If the Allied officers were helping train the Red Army for weeks after Brest-Litovsk," I asked, "what caused the change?"

"The repudiation of the French loan," answered Col. Robins, "and the fear of the British Empire of the principle of self-determination."

"Word reached London that the natives of Turkestan were forming soviets and talking self-determination. It is not so very far from Turkestan across Afghanistan to India. All down through Asia the movement of the people was spreading. Great Britain feared for her empire. I saw the messages that discussed these things."

"At the same time France feared for her money. After the Soviet government repudiated the foreign loans, French feeling grew bitter."

Why the Foreign Loans Were Repudiated

"I had long talks with both Trotsky and Lenin on the subject of the repudiation of the foreign loans. For forty-eight days the passing of the repudiation bill was postponed. Once when it was being pushed to passage in Lenin's absence, I hunted him up in his flat, woke him, and brought him to the meeting of the Executive Committee to stop it."

"But in the end he sent for me and told me the bill was to be passed. I brought out all my old arguments—the division it would create; the hatred from the Allies. He answered patiently: 'Col. Robins, you talk to me as if I held a handful of cards to play. I have only one card; the rest are blank. The card of Allied co-operation is blank; they will not help us.'"

"The only card I have which is worth anything is the unity of the workers of Russia. For the sake of that unity, we must pass the repudiation bill. The workers from every part of Russia will not rest until we do."

"I urged delay. 'No one asks for

A TRUCKER DIES

By David Bobspa.

He dropped dead today,
Just a working man—
A numbered slave in a glutted market,
A trucker of steel in a warehouse.
I saw him, dark and sweaty,
On iron slab he'd helped lift from the car,
His head pillowed in dirty paper.

A wife and kids at home?
No one knew.
His name?
No one knew.
In all that throng he'd been slaving among.
"Only a working man," said the crowd and passed along.
"Find his name if you can," said the manager,
As he turned away to joke.

Death found him there
In warehouse overalls,
Grimed and dirty.
Too heavy a lift for a weak heart
And one conscript slave was gone.
Five minutes of rest
For idle, curious fellow-slaves
Ere they returned to their heavy burden bearing.

Just a dead worker.
The ambulance clanged away
And work was resumed.
A nameless grave in paupers' field,
And a new slave at warehouse truck.

TO SHOW YOU IS TO SHOE YOU

IF WE CAN FIT YOU—THESE ARE SNAPS

Our advice is buy them at pre-war prices—not only one pair—but as many as you can afford.

Mens' Dress Shoes \$5.00 to \$11.50
Mens' Nailed Work Shoes \$4.50 to \$8.00
Our Iron-Clad Boys' Shoes are as strong as their name suggests.

Closing-out at pre-war prices.
CHILDRENS and MISSES' SHOES
Baby Shoes, 2½ to 6 \$1.00
Children's Shoes 6 to 8 \$2.00
Childs' Shoes 8½ to 11 \$2.50
Misses' Shoes 11½ to 2 \$3.00

—BUY YOURS NOW.

MORTERUD-KONECZNY CO.,
2101-3 West Superior Street. Duluth, Minn.

your money now," I said. "Do not take this definite stand."
"Do you know of the circumstances under which these loans were made," he said. I confessed a partial ignorance.
"These loans kept the czar's black hand in power for thirty years longer than he would otherwise have remained," he answered. "They paid for the Cossack whip and sword. They were made to the autocracy of Russia against the protests of the people of Russia."
"The workers of Russia will not believe in our integrity and revolutionary honor," he said, "if we do not openly repudiate those debts."

Note: Since this time the Soviet government has offered to pay the debts in order to buy peace.

IT IS YOU

WORKINGMEN who produce everything. IT IS YOU workingmen who have to buy your own products.

WHY PAY HIGH PRICES?

IT IS TRUE that we are in the business for PROFIT. But we believe in a legitimate profit.

Convince yourself by calling at our store, where you will find UNION-MADE shoes, pants, shirts, hats, caps etc.

Everything You Need--We Sell

Remember the place:—

A. Y. LITMAN'S STORE

1831 West Superior Street.

Corner 19th Avenue West

THE STORE WHERE THE WORKERS TRADE.

WHY THESE STRIKES?

A lecture on the causes of the present strikes will be given at the

WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY AUG. 10th 8 P. M.

by

W. E. TOWNE

President of the Duluth Typographical Union.

W. E. Towne can speak with authority on the causes of the present strikes. He is a well-known local labor leader and has been in the front ranks of labor ALL the time. Listen to this speaker and become wise to your power workers of Duluth.

An orchestra will deliver musical selections.

Admission 35 and 15 cents.

Refreshments.

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA

ELECT DELEGATES STATE CONVENTION

State Secretary, Jack Carney Rex Hotel Duluth, Minn.; State Treasurer Joseph Ungar, 1080 Park Avenue St. Paul, Minn.; State Executive Board, Comrades, Emma Gordon, A. A. Larson, O. E. Thompson, Joseph Ungar and Jack Carney.

This page is under the supervision of the Left Wing Press Committee.

Emma Gordon)
D. E. Earley) Press Committee
Jack Carney)

All matter for this page must be in by first mail Tuesday. Left Wing locals are invited to send in a report of their doings.

ATTACK NOT DEFEND

When the old handicraftsmen of the pre-Industrial Revolution period found how their economic position had been modified by the introduction of the machine, they also found that they must seek employment at the hands of the hands of the new factory owners, or accept the usual alternative of the workers—remain unemployed and starve. Their position was further complicated by the presence in industry of large numbers of women and children, whose employment had been made possible by the simplification of the productive processes. The craftsman, with their craft monopoly swept away by the new conditions, found themselves incapable of offering resistance to the pressure of adverse circumstance so long as they were unorganized, and the rise of the early craft unions was due to the attempts made by the workers to remedy the terrible industrial conditions of that period. The small local unions that were formed were often successful, within limits, in withstanding the demands made by the employers, and were even able to secure for the workers a tolerably decent standard of living. The employers were ISOLATED, and were not in a position at first to obtain help from others of their class. But later combinations of capitalists took form and shape, and the great National Manufacturers Associations came into being. The growth of these bodies has been rapid, and their construction, we regret to state, is more scientific than the organizations of the workers, and hence today local strikes are powerless. The National Manufacturers' Association, as in the case of the Molders' Strike, are able to assist the affected companies to the extent of making a strike or lockout an affair of no financial loss to the firms concerned and they can ever arrange for the disputed work to be done in some other shop or town—often by the members of the union to which the strikers belong.

The growth of the power of organized capital has placed the unions on the defensive. They are now, and have been for a generation, concerned mainly with protecting their "rights" and with preventing the employers from taking away such things as are considered to be advantageous to the workers. The claim today of certain labor leaders that the workers should be allowed to maintain their present standard of living, is only another example of the prevailing conception of the function of a trade union, namely that of maintaining present conditions. While the workers' organizations have been DEFENDING their position, the employers have been attacking in full vigor and still insist on attacking. Their attacks, it is true have been camouflaged, but they have nevertheless been sure and certain of their results. Machine development and the continued application of science to industry have resulted in enormously increasing the productivity of Labor. Foolish workers argue that every adoption of a new invention means the manufacture of more machines, hence there is no displacement of Labor. They forget that the placing of a new invention on the market, is with the object of saving labor-power. If the invention does not reduce the number of workers employed, then the employers do not waste their time considering it. The automatic lathe, the linotype machine, and the new machines introduced into the chemical industry are but instances of how by the use of new methods one worker can be enabled greatly to increase his or her output without apparently having suffered any adverse change in working conditions.

The changes have meant by the force of circumstances over which the workers have had no control, that the conditions the unions were defending have been entirely displaced by new ones, and the first result has been that, out-put being increased, the employer is enriched by and to the extent that the increased wealth production has made possible. The second result is that with fewer workers needed to perform the necessary industrial functions, some are turned off, and go to swell the ranks of the unemployed, which every advance in mechanical and technical development tends to make larger and more helpless. The increase in the number of unemployed means that these will be forced to menace the position of those men working, and the conflict between the two sections of workers ultimately results in a general reduction in the standard of life. The net result of the changes in industry has always been that the workers have become more and more dependent upon the owners of the tools, and have become more and more divorced from any control over the means of production or over the product they have created. And while this has been going on, the trade unions have been content to attempt to DEFEND; and have not even claimed—in fact, have NOT been in a position to claim—that the improvements effected in industry should benefit only the workers whose collective labor has made the improvements of social value.

The great significance of the industrial changes made during the war period, is this—that is the unions continue to DEFEND, they will find that the conditions they are trying to defend no longer exist, but have been replaced by other conditions. In addition, the tendency will be for the army of unemployed competing workers to be swollen to enormous proportions, to the certain detriment of the workers as a class. The IMMEDIATE POLICY for trade unionists must therefore of necessity be not "DEFENCE," but "ATTACK."

A policy of attack must be based on a clear understanding of:

1. Why we are attacking?
2. What we are attacking?
3. How to attack!

Finally we must understand what object we have in view.

The trade unions exist because between those that own the means of wealth production and those who have nothing to sell but their labor-power, and are forced to sell to the highest bidder in order that they shall live, there is perpetual conflict of interests, economic interests, which manifest in the shop, mine, factory, etc. This conflict is clearly seen in places where industry is highly developed, Steel plants, copper mines, etc. The desire for profits is clearly demonstrated by the master class in their various "speeding-up" schemes. On the other hand the workers strive to obtain a higher rate for their labor-power. The desire for profits and the desire for higher wages, are the two economic interests that create the class war. The conflict that takes place on the job is reflected in all the walks of social life. In politics the master class dominates and uses the machinery of the State, including the last resort the armed forces, to prevent the workers from securing any appreciable advantages that circumstances might favor their obtaining. In our schools, the workers' children are shut off from participating in the delights of continued study, and are supplied with the required amount of education that will fit them for the factory. In the Press, we note how all strikes are lied about and how the workers are made to appear as a bunch of anarchists, foreigners, etc. The Press that, when a strike is called, calls for the use of the State Militia, as in the case of the recent

strike of leather workers in Sault Ste Marie, Michigan, is but expressing the desire of the master class.

The trade unions must develop into attacking bodies, because they are the organized expression of the workers partial recognition of the fact of the class struggle, and that the basis of the capitalist system of wealth production is the exploitation of the workers that makes economic organizations necessary.

The individual employer with one small factory, employing a small number of workers, gave place to the large employer, who in turn has been displaced by the huge combine or trust. So interwoven is the fabric of capitalist society today that it is practically impossible for us to say where one industry begins and another leaves off. The U. S. Steel Corporation is an example of this. The Steel Trust controls every company that deals in raw materials necessary in the production of steel. For a long time the Steel Trust had to fight to obtain control of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Coal, but eventually by virtue of its superior economic strength it succeeded in taking over the company. So that today the Steel Trust is absolutely independent of any other corporation. By such methods as those of the Steel Trust, the employing class tends to come closer and closer together, so that we eventually find them organized completely and thoroughly as a class. The middle class—shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, etc.—as industry becomes more centralized, are being crowded out and each in turn becomes an employee or multiple shop concern, or the State. In 1902 Pierpont Morgan proved how easy it was to wipe out the middle class as a class. Lured on by the glowing prospectuses of the Steel Trust, thousands of members of middle class invested their funds in the Steel Trust. After the stock had been sold, the manipulators of the stock forced the price of the stock down, until it sank as low as 8%. Hordes of middle class investors were ruined. The operation has been repeated and is still being repeated, every day. On the other hand when the middle class refused to respond to the glowing appeals of the Steel Trust, etc., their funds were repositioned in the various banks and the banks used their funds of the middle class to crush them out of existence. There is no escape for the middle class. They are situated between the two grinding stones of the capitalist class and the working class. The means of production are so highly developed and costly, as to render it impossible for the middle class or the workers to enter into competition with the employing class. Side by side with the divorce of the workers from the means of production has, grown up the separation of the capitalists from active participation in industrial direction or management. The latter functions now fall upon the shoulders of managers, superintendents, etc., some members of the middle class who have eluded out and others, members of the working class. The lack of ability on part of the capitalists to manage or direct their business affairs was clearly demonstrated during the sitting of the Industrial Relations Committee. The working class becomes more each day definitely a propertyless class, and the gulf between the two class has been widened by, amongst other things, the trustification of industry that has been pushed forward by war conditions. New forms of State control have been put into operation during the war, to the advantage of Capital, because they have eliminated competing interests, have increased the power of the dominant class, and have given it full control over all the machinery of the State. The State functions for and behalf of those whose economic power enables them to control all the avenues of public expression and administration. The workers, therefore, stand arrayed against their exploiters. All talk by Gompers and his ilk will not alter the fact. The struggle of the workers is no longer against the SINGLE employer or a group of employers, as the prosecution of the I. W. W. proves. It is against the CAPITALIST CLASS AS A WHOLE.

Therefore the attack of the workers must be the attack of one class, the workers, against the other class, the capitalists. This attack must be made by the workers in a mass, and not as a craft. The craft unions are ill-fitted to wage the fight of the workers, there must be a complete re-organization of the craft unions. The present unions must re-organize themselves into industrial unions. Each industrial union having a direct relation with other industrial unions, combining the whole of the industrial unions into one huge union of the working class. The workers must not rest with the organization of the One Big Union. They must wrest from the control of the capitalist, the power that permits the capitalist class to keep the working class in subjection, the State. Industrial unionists may argue as much as they like, but at every turn of their fight they are confronted by this self same State. It bars the way of every radical organization. The State must be conquered, so that the industrial unions may function.

With the formation of industrial unions, organized into ONE BIG UNION and the engaging of the workers in political action for the purpose of abolishing the State, the working class must come into its own. To further the attainment of such an objective, we must develop within the ranks of the working class a fighting spirit, a class-conscious fighting spirit, which will compel the workers to ATTACK and NOT DEFEND.

J. C.

MENSHEVİK CALL TO ARMS

Social Demokraten (Christiania), June 6, prints a manifesto issued by the Moscow Menshevik Committee.

"The Revolution is in danger. The bourgeois and the landowners, the dark powers of reaction, threaten wholly to swallow up the conquests of the working classes. Victorious Imperialism in England, France, and America continues, notwithstanding opposition from the people, to mobilize troops with the object of destroying the Russian Revolution. Great armies, recruited of land-owners, capitalists, and all the privileged cliques of Tsarist days, are fighting side by side with the foreign conquerors. Whether they appear openly under the Monarchist flag or under false colours as Democrats, they have the same object; to re-establish the dictatorship of the propertied classes and secure the power for the advantage of a clique of exploiters. The Tsarist, Admiral Kolchak, who has assembled a formidable force, is now conducting a decisive offensive from the East. He threatens to cut off Central Russia from the necessary sources of food supply, and thus to overcome the revolution by famine and perhaps destroy it by force of arms.

It is not only revolutionary power which is in peril of death, but the whole working class.

Kolchak is going about distributing promises and representations right and left. A section of the peasants and urban democrats, who are hostile to the old Tsarist regime, but exhausted by hunger, dissatisfied with the present conduct of policy, and thus detached from the Revolution, may believe in Kolchak, and welcome him in the hope that he will improve conditions. But those who believe in this will bitterly repent of it. Kolchak's victory would signify that of the anti-democratic powers, and would entail fresh servitude for the working class. The peasants would lose their land and the working class its conquests. . . . It would be a tremendous blow against the world revolution, which would increase the prospects of world reaction. . . . Notwithstanding all our differences of opinion as regards Communism, we exhort all those to whom the cause of the revolution is precious, to rally round the Soviets, defend the revolutionary Republic, and repel Kolchak's attack. We exhort our comrades and fellow citizens in the Red Army to fight val-

antly under the Red standards. We appeal to workers and peasants to enter the Red Army, and to advance the progress of mobilization, together with our comrades who belong to various organizations. We advise all those at the front to do everything to support the Red Army's campaign against the counter-revolutionaries, and to contribute to its success. All workers forward to the defence of the Revolution! All to the war against Kolchak! Only with a united front and the co-operation of the working-classes can we conquer Kolchak. . . ."

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Captain Sadoul, member of the Right Wing of the French Socialist Party, was sent to Russia to investigate the Bolsheviks, in behalf of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT. Going there as a member of the MILITARY MISSION, Sadoul could hardly be accused of being sympathizer of the Bolsheviks. Yet when he had been there but a few weeks he threw all his support on to the side of the Soviets and in the French Socialist "La Vie Ouvrière," he writes as follows regarding the Third International. It would be as well if Gompers and a few more members of the N.E.C. would study the writings of our foreign comrades. — Ed. Truth.

"The Third International has been founded at Moscow. Already for five months a weekly organ of French Socialists has been published in Moscow, under the title of "The Third International." Soon, at latest in a few months, the Third International will be in France as in all countries of Europe, the name of a great party of the working class whose flag will be the rallying point for all revolutionary elements.

"Down there, in France, our comrades still seek a resolution, they still hesitate. The historic act accomplished on March 4th by the International Communist Conference, will draw them along, will force them to choose between the old world which is dying and the new one which is being born. It will help them to understand that they must choose either the continuation of the present regime which is leading humanity to its complete destruction to complete destitution and barbarism—or the victory of Socialism, that is to say the realization of all the dreams and aspirations of the proletariat.

"It will not be only our Socialist comrades who will understand this, but all the most healthy elements of the French people, whom victory has not blinded or intoxicated. The problem, present itself in too sharp a form for the workers not to understand what must be their resolve. Capitalist society has violated all its democratic promises. . . ."

The article then points out that in order to prolong their existence the big French capitalists must suppress all small industries, must justify capital and carry out an enormous plan of socialisation for their own profit—and all this will make clearer than ever the cruelty and rapacity of bourgeois society. The financial problem too can only be solved by revolutionary means—by the cancellation of the State loans.

"From the political point of view who does not see the abyss of reaction into which bourgeois dictatorship has plunged France? Precisely, the dictatorship" . . . Parliament no longer represents the country, for five years the workers and peasants have had no chance whatever of expressing their opinions, and under the guise of national defence the most precious national liberties have been suppressed and a military regime practically established with the ensor, imprisonment, and exile. "Clemenceau reigns, and in these two words everything is expressed. To continue on these lines is to lead the country to its ruin by the shortest possible road. No, this is not what the French people wanted. The Government has deceived them. They wanted something quite different. We (that is, the workers) did not go to war in order to conquer the Left bank of the Rhine or Syria or in order to crush the revolution in Germany or Russia. We declared war on war. We want justice and peace. . . . it is not so much men as the system of society which is to blame for deceiving us, it is the logic of the system itself to contradict and refuse its own principles.

"This system proclaims peace yet perpetuates war; promises disarmament, and yet declares the need to increase standing armies; preaches equality yet oppressed the workers at home and pursues a foreign policy tending to ruin weak nations.

"No, there must be an end to vacillation. An abyss yawns between the blind and those who can see; between the exploiters . . . and the workers . . . After the proclamation of the Third International, the workers will hurry into its ranks. The eyes of working class France are already turned towards the Kremlin (where the conference of the Third International was held), its centre and support.

"There are already in France a small group of candidates for Communism; its influence is already greater than the number of its direct adherents. It will soon draw the popular masses who are more and more abandoning the official Socialist leaders, disavowing them, attacking these social patriot traitors, these timid bunglers. The Russian question furnishes a precise occasion for this movement. We know the emotion evoked in the popular masses of France by the intervention of France in the affairs of Soviet Russia. And who can say how far the soldiers landed in Odessa, Archangel or sent to Omsk to crush the Russian revolution, how far these soldiers will come back infected with the Bolshevik bacillus—won over to Communism?

"However, that may be, in spite of the support of the traitors to Socialism capitalist society is definitely condemned. The war and its consequences, the impossibility of solving the new problems that have arisen by means of the old resources all this has cleared the way for the victorious march of the Third International. A wide road is opening for it in France. The words of welcome with which its has been greeted for two or three months now, the new battle cries of the French revolutionary party, the cries of "Long live Lenin," "Long live Trotsky!" "Long live the Soviet Republics!" "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!" which resound at all working class meetings, show that some change has occurred, that in the hearts of the workers the flame which exalted our forefathers has been rekindled. The revolution is advancing in France. "Long live the Third International." JACQUES SADOUL.

LEST WE FORGET

I.
Silence reigns in prison. The cells are bare; the work is monotonous; the food is coarse, almost tasteless in its simplicity, and nauseous; and the sanitary and washing arrangements are an offence to all sense of decency. Everything is cold, hard, deadly dull, oppressive, degrading. Life is robbed of its interest, color, graces, and is reduced to a barren existence such as no animal lives.

There is no human feeling in prison. The officials are, with few exceptions, in their attitudes towards the prisoners, cold and brutal. They retain their jobs because of that fact. Let a warden utter a kind of word and exhibit one spark of humanity, as in the case of the warden of Moundsville Penitentiary, and he is either dismissed from his position or the prisoners removed from his influence. Such is the system!

In addition to all this, comes the confinement. No one who has not been shut up in a cell can fully imagine what prison confinement is like. To a man naturally active, sensitive, imaginative—used to a vigorous physical and mental life—no torture is so keenly cruel.

THAT IS PRISON LIFE.

The modern American penitentiary is the latter-day substitution for the rack and the torture chamber; this product of our boasted civilization has the effect not so much of destroying the physical body as of strangling the soul. Healthy men in every respect come out of prison wrecked in body and mind. There are more criminals made in American prison, than outside of them.

Living in this silence, monotony and confinement, dressed in convict clothes, sweating beneath the hot sun of the South and ill-fed is a man whose only crime is that he fought for the economic and social freedom of the working class. He loved the right like heaven and hated the wrong like hell. He educated the workers and organized them and spoke to them at the street corner, factory-gate, on the engines and at the mouth of the mine. Restless, quick to resent injustice, forcible and energetic, he expressed his opinions fearlessly in such a manner as to rouse in the workers a desire for a better state of things.

II.

The applause is deafening.

The rooms of the hotel are gorgeous; the life is full of all that makes life feel good. Packed into this life is all the glory that a ruling class can bestow upon those that fawn at its feet and obey its commands.

You can hear the clinking of the glasses, as they are raised and the voices sing in unison, "For he is a jolly good fellow." What a merry throng and how they pay tribute to this member of the working class! Listen to the fine speeches lauding his great work. Why even Presidents and Kings pay tribute to his glowing deeds.

Travelling through Europe, this man is welcomed. No prison doors open to receive him, only the doors of palaces. Such is the reward that is paid to all those that sell and betray Labor.

III.

The man in prison is Eugene V. Debs. His only crime is that he spat upon the offers of the ruling class that sought to buy him out. For his loyalty to his class he is in prison.

The other betrayed his class and sold it into the hands of a mad Imperialist gang of blood-sucking pirates. His name is, but why tell you of those that you already know of? You know who we mean.

Soon the mighty power of Labor is going to be express itself and then the seats of the mighty will rock. In that day, Gompers, the workers will reverse the tables. As you denounce Debs today, the day will arrive when you will be at the feet of Debs begging for mercy, for there is nothing more vengeful than an aroused working class that has become wise to its betrayers. Drink

the wine, while the drinking is good! Hobnob with the kings while kips are in fashion! Soon the forces of labor will unite, despite your reactionary leadership. In the day that Labor becomes conscious of the task set before it, the grave will offer you more hope and solace, than the gorgeous salon of an Atlantic liner.

J. C.

WHAT THE WORKER SELLS

In these days of "reconstruction" in industry when working men and women are pushing and elbowing each other in the mad scramble for jobs you may have frequently read in your newspaper about the condition of the markets, and how their general dislocation is responsible for the unemployment and the various disputes which exist at present between employers and men.

You, perhaps would notice that in the same columns where information is given about the metal market, the cotton market, the fruit market, etc., there is also the heading "Labour market." These two words "labour market" are not without special interest, though it may not have occurred to you before. As you are doubtless aware a "market" for anything means a place where that something is bought and sold, as, for instance, pig-iron, cotton, leather, etc. And, just as when we talk of the fruit market, we think of the buying and selling of fruit, so when we talk of the "labour" market we think of the buying and selling of something called "labour." This something called "labour," as you know, simply means workers offering themselves for certain jobs.

But while for all practical purposes the use of such language as the labour market, i. e., a place where labour is bought and sold, is quite permissible, strictly speaking, and from the standpoint of economics, we are not speaking correctly.

It is certainly a common experience in economic text-books written from the point of view of the capitalist, to read about the "price of labour," the "value of labour," etc., but a close examination of the real facts will show you how wrong it is to use such language; how confusing it is to the mind and, therefore, how far-reaching in its effects upon the labour movement as a whole.

Labour or Labour Power.

You may have listened to some of your mates who have attended Marxian economic classes, and heard them expatiating upon the importance of defining wages as the "price of labour power," and not the "price of labour." To you it may have all seemed a mere splitting of hairs and of very little consequence, but yet it is not so. As a matter of fact, books could be written upon the significance of the difference in these words to the workers' movement generally.

Let us consider this for a moment in one or two of its aspects. First of all, suppose we clear up or, as the logicians say, define our terms, we shall then perhaps appreciate the difference by contrasting the one term with the other. When we talk, then, of Labour Power we mean the power or the capacity to do work, i. e., to move an object from one place to another; to add to or take from or modify it in some way. It is from the expenditure of human energy or working upon some natural object in this way that all wealth is produced. And when we look upon the results of our efforts we then see so much expended energy expressed as a given object, or, in other words, so much "labour."

Which Is It You Sell?

Labour, therefore, may be defined as expended or congested labour-power is that energy in motion. What is it, then, as a worker you sell to your employer? Clearly your labour-power or capacity to do work of a particular kind. As to the results of your work, so long as things are arranged as they are to-day, these belong to your employer. Your concern is the wages you receive, and that represents the price of your labour-power just as the two pounds you pay for a pair of boots is said to be the price of a pair of boots. If it was the case that your wages could be regarded as the price of your labour, or an equivalent for what you produced, then not only would you have no quarrel with your employer, but the existence of profit could not be explained. Where there was an equality in exchange, neither the one side nor the other would have the advantage such as the employers have over the workers at present.

You may now understand why

your mates were keen on defining wages as the price of labour-power.

Without that clear understanding that the worker sells his labour-power and not his labour, we should be obliged to fall back on the philanthropy or generosity of the capitalists for help, as did those Utopians of the early part of last century.

The Theory of Wages.

But with this theory of wages we are able to add right to the justice of our claims, and to explain the whole industrial and social conflict of our times. This conflict is centred round the difference between the price paid for the workers' labour-power, or its exchange value, and its use value or the value of its product.

So long as the workers are paid a price less than the value of the commodities they produce there never can be social peace. And it is because so many of our labour leaders and others interested in the social question either do not know these things or deliberately refuse to see them, that they are obliged to fall back upon sentiment, morality, and ethical appeals generally as a basis for the workers' case.

But when you understand that profit, or surplus value as economic scientists define it, comes from the difference between what the workers as a class receive in wages, and what they produce, you can see the strength of our argument to abolish the capitalist and his system. The capitalist is seen to be in a peculiar position—a position in which his whole activities consist in extracting from his workers as much labour-power as he can. Having bought your labour-power at a certain price for so many hours a day, it is his business to keep you at top speed, if he can, the whole time you are working. That, in substance, is really what he is after when he talks to you about increasing the output, since the more he can extract from you in a given time the more profit or surplus there is for him.

To him "time is money." That is why he puts foremen over you to see that you go all the way when he is absent. He may try to urge you to accept piece work in place of day work, payment by results or bonus, and all manner of inducements to increase your output. He may, and does, try to play upon your patriotic feelings by holding up the bogey of international competition as a threat upon your job, but you would do well, when you listen to such tales, to remember the relations between you and him, as summed up and expressed in the term "price of labour-power."

The Workers' Foot-rule.

How far can you reduce this margin between the price of your labour-power and the value of what you produce? Such is the foot-rule or test to be applied on all labour questions. Indeed, the wages issue forms the pivot of all the industrial, political, and social strife of our times.

Nevertheless without a clear knowledge of what exactly the worker sells, this wages issue cannot be solved.

With this discovery, however, that it is his labour-power and not his labour that the worker sells it is obvious that the problem of economic slavery can only be solved by independent working class action, since the existence of the employing class is wrapped up in the maintenance of the present wages system. To abolish this wages system is the historic mission of our class, the practical achievement of which has already begun in Russia.

Tom Bell.

Glasgow Socialist.

JAPANESE TERROR IN SIBERIA

In the Ekho, April 15th (Vladivostok) the Japanese authorities at Blagovestchensk published a statement meant to justify the terrorist measures employed by them. Our readers will see from the apology how criminal the action of the Japanese is in interfering in Russian affairs; their apology is in fact the best condemnation of the Japanese methods, and those of all interventionists. The statement is as follows:

"The object the Japanese troops had in coming to the Amur district was to restore order and exterminate Bolshevism, which had plunged the Russian population into the greatest distress. To accomplish the task thus undertaken, the Japanese first used humane measures to turn the population from Bolshevism, which had already taken a strong grip on them; then repressive and severe measures were used to stamp out Bolshevism. The Japanese Command regrets and abhors this

course, but will, nevertheless continue its present methods.

"Since last Autumn Japanese and Cossack detachments have been used in Ivanovka to suppress revolts, always trying humane measures as far as the existing civil war would allow. But no result was obtained, for when the troops left the village, the Bolsheviks (for the most part local inhabitants) would reappear and restart their criminal activities.

"The villagers refused to disclose who the culprits were, and therefore the Japanese and Cossack troops failed to capture them. Despite all warnings that the harbouring of Bolsheviks would be punished, the villagers continued to protect them as hitherto. In consequence of this the Japanese Command had no alternative but to use drastic measures against the villagers, who deserved to be thus treated. Accordingly, the village of Ivanovka was razed to the ground as a punitive measure; the Japanese Command has already notified the inhabitants of Amur district of this fact."

TO PREVENT WAR!

We are still being told that the League of Nations is to prevent war. The supporters of the League tell us that those who dare to oppose the ratification of the League of Nations Covenant will have the blood of the people upon them. Sounds alright, until—

At a recent exhibition, under the auspices of the scientists of ENGLAND, not Germany, a new invention was shown. It is the work of Sir William Pope, one of England's foremost scientists. Remember the League of Nations is to prevent war. "The invention," said Sir William Pope, "is a decided improvement upon the German idea. It is twice as deadly and creates greater havoc." What do you think that invention was? It was a machine to manufacture mustard gas. The gas that has made many men lose their lungs and driven thousands of others into the mad-house. The German machine will only yield 40 to 60 per cent mustard gas, but the English machine will yield 98 to 99 per cent. Woodrow, we are running short of democracy, put on another record!

J. C.

THE ITALIAN SOVIETS

Labor Ousts Town Councils; Government's Hasty Action

Rome, Monday.—Latest advices show that the Labour revolt is spreading. The trouble originated in the smaller towns, but the leaders are now inviting the larger cities to join in the movement.

In the province of Bologna the strikers have formed committees which have usurped the powers of the municipalities, and are now issuing decrees regulating commercial affairs and fixing maximum prices, not only for food, but also for other articles of commerce.

Following yesterday's Cabinet meeting an announcement was made that the Government had taken important measures with a view to the reduction of the prices of many commodities. In future the Government will control through a number of national syndicates the requisition and distribution of a large number of essential articles, which will be retailed by Co-operative societies at municipal stores. Exchange.

WHITE ATROCITIES IN RUSSIA

Why the Russian Workers Hate Denikin and Koltchak

500 Shot in One Night
London.—The People's Russian Information Bureau has issued a "Red Book" of counter-revolutionary atrocities.

From this it appears that the reign of terror instituted by the Czech-Slovaks and the agents of "the Constituent Assembly" was in no degree inferior to that of General Mannerheim in Finland.

In each town, as the Red troops retreated, the local Whites, with the assistance of the Right Social Revolutionary, started organised lynchings.

Denikin, K. C. B.

Most revolting of all are the revelations of the state of the provinces under the command of General Denikin, Knight Commander of the Bath, honoured by the King. In Rostoff Prison more than 1,000 workers were imprisoned, and the secret police restored. General Krasnoff in Novo Tcherkask divided

the city into eight districts for domiciliary search. All "Bolsheviks" were shot, and not merely all Bolsheviks, but persons convicted of being in sympathy with them or "having spoken improperly of the Tsar."

No defence, it is said, was permitted. Perfectly innocent people and avowed Mensheviks were shot. Magistrate's Letter.

The Commission for fighting Counter Revolution has possession of a letter written by a member of this tribunal, who boasts of the number of his executions. In one night 500 were disposed of. The remainder "are to be turned into slaves."

Denikin in December telegraphed to Yusovka that every tenth worker arrested was to be hung and left hanging for three days in the main street.

Innumerable other stories show that whatever be the truth of the tales of Bolshevik atrocities, the population has certainly received the most terrible provocation.

CAPITAL & LABOR!!

Let those who prate about the interests of capital and labor being identical, stand on the picket line for a week or more. Let them listen to a one-man court demand and denounce in one breath. The banquet table pictures human satisfaction, while the battlefield and the strike headquarters ring with the dissatisfaction and human misery.

There can be no alliance between the oppressors and the oppressed, and those who chant the divinity of their station are the obstacle to our industrial development. Strikes today represent the groans of a dying system of society that was born through workers' social indifference, and is fast decaying because of the workers' industrial independence. J. HENDERSON, Organizer International Machinists Union.

STORY OF THE GREAT WHITE RETREAT

Massacres at the Front and Mutinies in the Rear.

Stockholm, July 8.—From so sure a source as the Finnish War Ministry your correspondent has heard, concerning the disposition of the troops at the Olonets front, especially at Tuulos, that the retreat of the Finnish Volunteers became a pure panic.

The losses of men were excessive, especially among the younger part of the Volunteers. It has been stated that the regiment which was destroyed contained 220 "voluntary" soldiers of 15, 16, and 17 years.

In the extreme Jingo circles there is now very much nervousness, increased by the rumour that mutiny threatens at break out in the Finnish coast artillery.

On the disposition of the relief troops sent to the front, your correspondent has heard from members of the force that at the call for volunteers, which took place one week after midsummer, it was quite impossible to get a sufficient number of volunteers for the purpose of going to the front.

The sounding of the troops, done after midsummer by the Naval Ministry, gave the following result: 70 per cent of the troops were "quite red," 25 per cent were wavering, and only 5 per cent really to be trusted.

DENIKIN BEATEN

The Ukrainian Soviet communiqué reports:

July 7.—Our advance in the direction of Kharkoff has created a feeling of alarm in the ranks of Denikin's army. The place of the infantry has been taken by officer units.

To the north of Bogodukhoff we are driving back the enemy in the direction of Kharkoff.

July 8.—Our advance is continuing. The enemy is now retreating in disorder.

Petliura Gone.

The following details are given by Soviet wireless concerning the operations in the Ukraine against ex-Hetman Petliura. Ukrainian military authorities state that Petliura has been defeated and cut off from Galicia. He therefore was obliged to turn to the southwest, in the direction of Kamenty-Podolsk, and then to the south-east in the direction of Zhmerinka.

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SO LONG, SAM!

REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND POLITICAL, INDUSTRIAL IS BEGUN

London, July 27.—The long-looked-for political and industrial revolution in England is under way today.

Leaders of every shade of opinion agree that the nation is facing a crisis.

"Momentous," "portentous" and "epoch-making," are some of the terms used by publicists to describe the events that are in the making.

For the first time in years, such widely divergent partisans as the extreme Tories and advanced Liberals are seen in substantial agreement that the predicted industrial and political upheaval not only has been accelerated but has actually begun.

Leaders in both camps pointed out to a correspondent of the United Press, the dangers besetting the government. The Tories naturally blame the present government for its obsequiousness toward labor, while the Liberals charge that Carsonism and Northcliffeism is responsible for the present situation and pending difficulties.

Blame It All on Government.

In the meantime those who are following a middle course, charge that the government's willingness to compromise and its failure to take a decided stand on any question involving public welfare brought on all the trouble.

Although the government's surrender to the miners is the most important development of the week-end, the comment appearing in newspapers is chiefly concerning the triple alliance's proposition for direct action unless purely political questions are solved according to its policies.

Parliament Between Two Foes

The extreme right and the extreme lefts admit their attempt to overthrow parliamentary authority. For instance, the Morning Post, the organ of the reactionaries and aristocracy, charges that the policy of

dealing in a conciliatory way with the revolutionaries, and placating them as if their demands were loyal and constitutional is as fatal as it is foolish.

"This is the way to give revolutions a head," says the Post. "We warn the government that the revolution is making headway in this country. If English hands turn against English hearts then England falls. But the government continues to concede and surrender to these people, acting under the principle that 'this will be the last time.'"

A. G. Gardner, editor of the Daily News lets go a broadside against the laborites.

"The action of the triple alliance is the commencement of a political revolution," he writes.

"If the referendum favors a general strike, it means the nation will be paralyzed until parliament surrenders to the workers."

Power Passes to "Mob."

While favoring the political policies advanced by the alliance, Gardner deprecates their methods.

"I'd rather be badly governed by Parliament than wisely governed by trade unions," he declared. "But none will pretend that parliamentary government isn't in danger. Its authority is lower now than in the days when it was bought and sold by imbecile kings. The blow struck by Carson was driven home by events of the war, but this was not all. The alliance between Lloyd George and Lord Northcliffe transferred the authority from the House of Commons to the mob outside. But, in face of this tragic decadence, the prudent course for labor is not to complete the work of destruction which the Bolsheviks have begun, but to restore the power and prestige of Parliament."

Daily News is a semi-government paper.—(Ed.)

"THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT"

Avanti (Milan, S. D.), May 26.—"Caesar" argues that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was laid down as a necessity by all the great Socialist writers from Marx to Jaures. Acts of violence are inevitable in a revolution, witness the French Revolution, though that was essentially bourgeois. It is said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is unjust. But it is only a temporary measure, for Socialism aims at suppressing class differences. When the bourgeois becomes a worker he will become a citizen and an elector, and all dictatorship will cease. The dictatorship of the proletariat would be better defined as a majority government without the representation of the minority. How can those people protest or be shocked who have hitherto always denied political representation to minorities, even to apparent minorities which in reality are the majority? The bourgeois must be excluded from Government just as certain classes of criminals are excluded from civil rights. The bourgeois and "reformist" say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is "anti-democratic." That is exactly why we want it. "Democracy is the worst enemy of Socialism, both in practice and in theory." To the bourgeois democrat liberty means the "just utendi et abutendi," fraternity is impossible between exploiters and exploited; and political equality is destroyed by economic inequality. The only possible equality is based on the law of compulsory labor for all.

RUSSIA & HUNGARY EXCLUDED FROM COMING WORLD PARLEY ON LABOR

Washington.—Two attaches of the department of Labor, Grace Abbott and Ethelbert Stewart, have sailed for Europe to assist in preparations for the World Conference on Labor, to be held in Washington next October. This is the conference provided for in the labor clauses of the Paris peace treaty.

In this connection a further word can be said about the provision which restricts labor's representation to one-fourth of the convention membership, the other three-fourths being divided: one for capital and two for each of the various governments participating.

As at first drawn at Paris, the agreement provided for one delegate each for labor, capital and government. It occurred to Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian spokesman, and to others, that if the different presidents and prime ministers concerned were allowed to name only one delegate they would likely name a very conservative individual.

The strategy was then resorted to of having each government name two delegates, in the hope that friendly but timid government heads would name one acceptable pro-labor man if they could match him with a known partisan of the em-

ployers. By this expedient it was hoped that the convention might be more evenly divided between pro-labor and pro-capital, since the other plan would almost certainly leave labor in a one-two-three minority.

Governments Pro-Capital.

Skeptics may regard the above arrangement as a pretty long gamble by the friends of labor. In any case, it illustrates the conviction of labor spokesmen at Paris that if a government cannot be neutral in the dispute between wages and dividends then it will lean toward dividends.

On the other hand, supporters of the plan finally adopted contend that governments are coming into the full control of labor so rapidly that in the near future so-called "government spokesmen" will really be spokesmen of labor, just as in the past they have usually been friends of the employers.

In the coming October convention here, for example, the British labor unions will have their one particular delegate, with almost a certainty that they will also have one of the government's delegates, since the power of their unions and of the British Labor party are a direct menace to Premier Lloyd George and cannot be ignored in such an important matter. In that case, the British delegation as a whole will be at least 50 per cent pro-labor.

Russia Barred.

The French and Italian delegations may be no less evenly divided, with a chance to be nearly three-to-one pro-labor, should Premiers Clemenceau and Nitti fall because of the incessant labor attacks in their respective Chambers of Deputies, before the delegates to Washington have been named.

The five countries of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey will not be represented at this first labor conference provided by the peace settlement. Neither will Russia, if by that name is implied the 130,000,000 persons living within territory controlled by the Moscow government.

On the other hand, Poland and Finland, once parts of Russia, and Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, once parts of Austria-Hungary, are likely to send delegates. Labor is apt to be fairly well represented in all these delegations.

Offhand, it may be supposed that Gompers will be the strictly labor man named by the American unions, unless President Wilson should name his as a government spokesman.

HUNGER IN POLAND BRINGS FORTH BLIND BABIES

Warsaw, July 27 (delayed).—Babies are being born blind in great numbers throughout Poland because of the terrible hunger prevalent under Paderewski's regime, according to a report made public today by the American Red Cross.

At first physicians and health officials thought this phenomenon was due to a new disease. But a thorough investigation by the local Red Cross organization revealed that Polish mothers were suffering from extreme malnutrition.

In official circles here, there were no comments forthcoming today upon this revelation. In Socialist and labor quarters, however, it was generally remarked that the continuance of the lack of food, which is so seriously hampering the coming generation, was in a large measure due to the policy of the Paderewski government of forcing thousands of men into its army on the pretext of fighting the Russian Soviet republic.

This draft is preventing the country from rehabilitating its disorganized industries, and, what Socialists consider of most vital importance, is also keeping the peasantry from producing the much-needed crops to relieve the nation's hunger.

The report of the American Red Cross, Socialists point out, is but another indication that a serious industrial crisis is menacing the Paderewski government, which may yet have to give way to a workers' republic.

ENGLAND

By S. A. De Witt.

We still see you, Britannia—
Not with your gloried pomp and
pinions flung
Over seven seas;
But with the blood and surfeit
wrung
From the centuries;
Not with your tinsel show of
prigs and peers—
Empty as wind;
But in the scalding flood of tears
From Erin to Ind.

TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA BY AN AMERICAN

By Barbara B. McLoney
Seattle, Wash.—For three hours of lecture and an additional hour of questioning, Col. Raymond Robins, former head of the American Red Cross mission in Russia held absorbed an audience which filled the auditorium of the First Methodist church and which was the most diversified of any Seattle audience that has yet listened to a speaker out of Russia. The "right" was there, feeling safe to hear a man who spoke under the auspices so respectably as those of the Methodist church and the Municipal League, and the "left" was there, with its thirst to gain all available information of the world's first workers' republic.

It was the "left" which contributed most of the applause until the latter part of the evening, when the other element grew assured that this prosperous, humorously egotistical, middle-class American, with a sky pilot-of-the-great-unwashed touch about him, was no flaming revolutionist, but only an honest, intelligent man who had happened to be where close-ups of facts were screened.

Opposed to Policy.
Mr. Robins drew a clear distinction between the Soviets, as a form of government, and the Bolsheviks, as the party now in power within the Soviets. He declared his absolute opposition to the Bolshevik policy as a "class-forced rule," but also stated unequivocally that from the hour of Kerensky's fall the Soviets have been the only power which could control the Russian situation. In great detail, but with an imaginative power which made his

address a series of dramatic pictures of the revolution, he told of the diplomatic maneuverings which took place between Kerensky, Lenin and the allies during his stay in Russia from July, 1917, to June, 1918.

He divided revolutionary Russia into two clear groups, the "indoor," boulevard-loving, tea-table talking, wealthy, educated 7 per cent of the population, and the "outdoor" 93 per cent—the blind, struggling mass. It was with the 7 per cent that all the allied diplomats outside of Russia have insisted on dealing, said Mr. Robins, while British, French and American officials inside of Russia, no matter how conservative personally they might be, knew that the 93 per cent were the power, and tried desperately to have their governments, especially at the time of Brest-Litovsk, act accordingly.

Germans Are Blamed.
The present economic paralysis of Russia he traced to German commercial domination before the war.

"One per cent of that 7 per cent had nearly 100 per cent of the economic and industrial control of Russia before the revolution," he said, "and that control was almost 100 per cent German-managed. The educated Russian is a personal deluge, but he has no economic genius, and so he called in the practical experts nearest at hand. When the war came these returned to their own country, hoping soon to come back as owners of the Russian wealth. Without them the economic organization of the country broke, and that is why Russia has for three years been cold and hungry."

"Lenin knew this Russian weakness, and that was why he tried so hard to get American experts into

THE FIRST MAY-DAY

By ANISE
Seattle Union Record

Hour after hour	In all earth's history!	Then, swiftly,
The long procession passed	Then, suddenly,	In the long procession
Through the RED SQUARE	Tumultuous through the throng,	Swung into view,
Of the Kremlin,	Dashed an automobile,	GERMAN soldiers in uniform,
The holy HEART of Russia,	Soldiers with bayoneted guns	Prisoners who had foresworn
Where all her history	Were on each running board	Their KAISER,
Is shown in trophy and symbol,	And next the driver's seat,	And taken CITIZENSHIP
By the long line of trees	While in the rear there sat	In the Russian Republic,
The MARTYRED DEAD	COUNT MIRBACH,	They bore aloft
Of the Revolution	German ambassador,	A MIGHTY BANNER:
Lay buried in the	His cold lips sneering	"DOWN with ALL czars
BROTHERHOOD GRAVE	At the ill dressed throng;	And KAISERS!
Past them the workers moved	"WHAT are they celebrating?	WORKERS' of all the WORLD,
In SOLEMN SILENCE,	HUNGER	UNITE!"
Save that as each division	And MISERY and COLD,	Past the reviewing stand
Reached the reviewing stand	And crushing bitter PEACE!	Hands in salute they swept
The Marseillaise rang out	See how their shoes of bark	Singing the Marseillaise!
From four great bands,	Are broken, showing their feet!	Count Mirbach's sneer
And a mighty chorus of voices	What is this scum of earth	Vanished, his face grew white
Chanted the words,	To us, the Prussian lords?	With ghastly, staring RAGE!
All hands rose in SALUTE	We ground them in the dust	Did he foresee that hour
To the world-wide dream!	At Brest-Litovsk,	His end within the year—
Then they went on in silence	As we shall yet	DEATH, at the hands
Past their DEAD!	Grind ALL our ENEMIES!	Of the masses he despised?
This was the FIRST May-day	For to our hands is given	Did he foresee the END
In any WORKERS' REPUBLIC	The RULE of EARTH!"	Of ALL his KIND?

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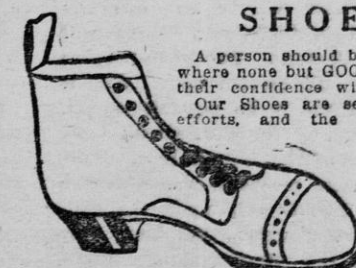
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the country—not because he liked Americans particularly, but because he thought them a much less evil than Germans.

"Those three cold and hungry years are the principal reason why the Russian army 'turned yellow' in the war with Germany. I'd like you to hear a Russian soldier talk in his barracks after the revolution:

No Reason to Fight.
"Comrades, why did we go to

war? For the Dardanelles and to put the Greek cross over St. Sophia. We don't care two whoops in half-hoja for the Dardanelles and the Greek cross over St. Sophia. Comrades, why are the Germans fighting us? Because their kaiser makes them. If we stop fighting them, they'll stop fighting us. Comrades, they're giving out land in our province. We must hurry back so as not to lose ours.

"And this spirit the Americans tried to change with pictures and lectures saying that America would have 300 airplanes on the west front in three weeks, and 2,000,000 soldiers across in six months, and that, in short, America would win the war! The Russian moujik listened to this and looked at the pictures, and folded his arms under his tunic, then said: I've fought the war for three years. I've been cold and hungry three years. America'll win the war in a walk—guess I'll go home and see the folks."

Quiet and leisurely during most of his story. Mr. Robins concluded with a passionate plea for the lifting of the embargo on food to Russia and the embargo on free speech and press in America.

"Let us send food into Russia anyway. Let us declare that we will not fight for French loans and the British power in India. And let us in our own country attack our problems on the high plane where free men who agree to differ may meet!"—Seattle Union Record.

MRS. WOODY PEEVED

The mother of a member of the 27th and 31st Siberian Expedition Infantry, according to the New Majority, hit upon an idea. She would appeal directly to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, wife of the PRESIDENT, not KING, of America, to exert her influence with her husband to act humanely and bring four soldiers home from Siberia. The reply received from the first lady (?) of the land was a painful surprise. Despite the fact that she accompanied her husband on all his recent trips in readjusting the world's affairs, she said she had no concern in matters of the state and CENSURED the soldier's mother for her presumption in addressing a communication to her. She further stated that she did not care to be bothered with such topics and warned the writer that further communications would not be answered.

Poor Woody! Now we know why he has lost his "New Freedom."

Zurich, Switzerland, Aug. 2.—The labor executive committee at Olten, canton of Soleure, has proclaimed a general strike.

SWISS STRIKERS SHOT DOWN.

Nine Killed and Many Wounded
When Troops Fire Into Crowd.

London, England, Aug. 2. — A dispatch from Geneva under date of Aug. 1 says that during fierces rioting at Basel, in connection with the strike there, troops fired on the strikers, killing nine and wounding a large number.

GERMANS REFUSE LABOR OFFICE.

Find International Meeting
Hostile.

Amsterdam, — W. A. Appleton, secretary of the General Federation of Trades Unions of Great Britain, who was elected president of the International Trade Union federation, was proposed for the office by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Appleton was chosen by thirty-one votes as against eighteen for President Oudegeest of the Dutch labor federation.

Leon Jouhaux, the French labor leaders, was chosen first vice-president, receiving thirty votes to nineteen for Carl Rudolph Legien, president of the German Federation of Trades Unions. Legien declined to accept the second vice-presidency or any other office, as he said the meeting appeared to despise the Germans. The Austrians also refused to participate as officeholders.

Mertens, the Belgian leader, was elected vice-president. Gompers declared later that Americans might accept office in the new organizations when the South American membership becomes better organized.

The German delegates stated to-day that their defense of their attitude during the war, made at a previous session, had been received badly because it was not well translated. They said they did not agree entirely with the resolution offered by Herr Sassenbach, the German socialist leader, which was criticized by the American delegation as being "unrepentant," but they said they did not repudiate it.

The contest over the fundamental questions of national representation and democratic control of future international trades union congresses resulted in a compromise, providing that each country should have one vote for 250,000 members, two votes for 500,000 members, three votes for 1,000,000 members and an additional vote for each 500,000 members above the first million. Countries having less than 250,000 members would be entitled to

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The editor of the *Riverside-Review*, the official organ of the Macdonald-Duluth company, states that the following is the OFFICIAL oath of the I. W. W.:

"I. W. W. Oath

"I do solemnly swear that I hold in contempt all institutions of Capitalism, including ecclesiastical and secular; and its laws, ITS FLAG, ITS COURT, ITS CODES, ITS CHURCHES AND ITS RELIGIONS; That I will obey all summons and commands of the elected officials of this order, under penalty of death, and spare neither my time, effort or money to obey, even to the last drop of my blood."

We will pay \$100.00 to the editor of the *Riverside-Review* or any shipyard worker who can prove that the above has ever appeared in any organ of the I. W. W. or administered at meetings of the locals of the I. W. W.

The mere fact the editor of the *Riverside-Review* has to resort to downright lying, proves how desperate are the employers. They FEAR the I. W. W., that is why, fellow-worker of the shipyards, you should REVERE them. The employers know better than you know, that the coming of the I. W. W. into the shipyards means less profits for them and that is why they lie to you, because they do not want you to know the truth. Just get wise to yourselves and think for yourselves. Let Julius do his own thinking!

We wonder if conditions are as bad in Russia as they are in the Kleinfax Linen company? Julius Barnes knows that Bolshevism means the arousing of the working class. It means the workers in the Kleinfax Linen company getting together and saying to Julius, "Quit all this foolish talk about Russia, how about Duluth?"

When Julius talks about THIS country being YOUR country, ask him why it is that he can own acres of it and you have to pay rent to live on it? If this is OUR country, what is Julius doing with it?

"When these men (the Bolsheviks), come to you, you must laugh at them," says Julius. When you laugh at the men in Russia, Julius will be laughing at you, enjoying himself when he knows how he fooled you. You know this talk about Russia, you have heard it said about Americans when they went out on strike. You will hear it again. Why not think for yourselves and have a laugh on Julius? Just try it. It will be a change for you.

Then Julius talks about wages not being cut, etc., until profits have been reduced, etc. Sounds so fine. Appoint an auditing committee, members of Local 617, and examine the books of the Macdonald-Duluth Shipbuilding company and then call the workers and the employers together. Find out how many employers and workers there are. If there are ten employers and 2000 workers and there is \$22,000 to divide up, take \$20,000 and distribute amongst the workers and give the odd \$2,000 to Julius and his partners. Just take Julius at his word. Make sure the door is open or you might get thrown through it, for taking Julius at his word.

Julius can fool you workers of the shipyards. He hands you a carefully phrased line of bunk, with a pinch of Americanism and some sauce about partners and then to further insult you he hands it to you in a scab sheet. HOW DO YOU LIKE IT?

Wake up shipyard workers and think for yourselves. If Julius is so fond of you, there are plenty of helpers who will exchange jobs with him. Ask Julius to exchange jobs?

Remember, that \$100.00 is still here for the proof of the above oath.

THE "HUMAN DOCUMENT."

We wish to apologise to the editor of the Duluth Labor(?) World. In our issue of last week, we ridiculed the idea that the League of Nations Covenant was a human document. We retract. The League of Nations Covenant is a human document. It is one that will tell future generations of the callousness of statesmen like Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George. No group of statesmen have been so cruelly brutal, as the set that framed the League of Nations Covenant. Study the history of Nero. Read how he burned alive thousands of Roman men, women and children! It was a tale of wanton murder and until today, it has had no parallel. It has been left to the Allied Statesmen to out-Nero Nero. Some day the truth about the Allied blockade is going to burn into the hearts of all men and women, burnt therein with the acid pains of social injustice that these "statesmen" are responsible for. Wilson may smile, but sure as the sun sinks in the West at eventide, so sure will that smile come off. The mask that now covers the face of President Wilson will be torn away by an aroused working class, and in that hour Wilson will stand as the Nero of the 20th Century. For what purpose is this terrible blockade being still carried out? Will it heal the pains of war any? There is no possible excuse, not even for a "Tiger" statesman of the Clemenceau type, much less a "liberal" statesman of the Wilson type. Starvation that kills children in their mother's womb, is the dread spectre that fastens its deathly grip upon the children and women of the Central Powers. For this, over seven million of the flower of the Allied countries sacrificed their lives. For this submarines were brought out and food, etc., sent to the bottom of the ocean, while the workers of the Allied countries starved. Men and women of America, forget the brave fight of 1776. Forget the Declaration of Independence. Your country's flag is stained with the blood of little children. Little children who cannot express to you their own sufferings, tell you through their colorless and sunken cheeks. Women dying in the streets. Women who fear child-birth, because they know that they are physically incapable of bringing children into the world. They know that the approach of birth means their death.

Yet the world resounds with the ringing of Church bells telling us that peace is signed. Cant and hypocrisy is no name for it. Is there amongst you, any of you that will stand up and tell the rulers of the Allied nations that this crime must stop? Have you the manhood and womanhood to protest? Within your breasts is there compassion for an outraged and starved race of people—the German people? If there is and you are real men and women, with the human touch, then you will protest with all your heart and soul against this infamy that is now being perpetrated against a nation that has been the victims of a soulless and sordid ruling class. The Kaiser and his junker element are going scot-free, while the women, children and men of the working class of Germany are being slowly starved to death.

You may think we are exaggerating, but read the following extract from *Deutsche Tageszeitung* (Berlin, June 1):

According to this, only 12.9 per cent. of the children, as compared with an average of 38 per cent. during the last five years of peace, showed a healthy development. Eight per cent. were suffering from anaemia in a serious degree, as compared with the former 3 per cent. And in this examination the normal condition was assessed by the examining physicians on a much lower basis than formerly. . . . The increase in deaths from tuberculosis, in 1918 double the number of those in 1914, is a special indication of this diminution of bodily vigour. . . . Social hygiene is at present powerless to effect much, if anything, against the increased mortality from tuberculosis, which before the war was being combated with such brilliant success over wide areas. It is owing to the entire lack of nourishing substances that tuberculosis can no longer be, as formerly, arrested and cured. Hence the unheard of frequency of deaths of young people." As Dr. Drigalski says: "Whoever falls ill of tuberculosis today is lost." He describes the "mordid irritability amongst adults and the weakness of the children which makes daily attendance at school impossible for many of them in spite of all that is done to lighten the school work. None of these people suffer from any definite disease, but practically all in a marked degree from loss of fat, so much so that the last bodily reserves of fat are being used up. The judgment of the Halle doctors was not only confirmed by the Commission of Neutral Doctors, but pronounced to be much too conservative." After visiting nursing-homes, etc., in Halle, "they declared that the German doctors in an exaggeration of conscientiousness, had kept their figures much too low. 'Treble your figures,' said Prof. Brandt, 'and you will be about right.'" R. E. May, in *Hamburg* (German Medical Weekly, No. 13 of this year) "proved that the entire absence of energy and the disinclination to work of our people results from the lack of a good third of their peace time nourishment, especially fat and albumen. The conditions are even worse in the cities. According to May the albumen ration would have to be doubled and the fat ration quintupled in order to arrive at peace time condition. . . ."

If the Allies will remove the blockade, they can prevent the re-occurrence of the above. There is no justifiable reason why they should not remove it. The war is over, so we are told, so why prolong the suffering?

Furthermore we were told, by no less a person than President Wilson himself, that the war was not against the people of the Central Powers, but against their rulers. Yet now that the war is over, what have the Allied rulers done? Have they extended the hand of fellowship to the people who have THROWN OFF THEIR RULERS? They have duped the people of the Central Powers. They led them to believe that all would be well, if they carried out the advice of the Allied rulers. They carried out that advice and with what result? Only to find themselves being more cruelly oppressed than they ever were before. During peace times, German-Austria lived on wheat from Hungary, potatoes from Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia. They depended upon foreign countries for the necessities of life. Yet the Allies places this blockade around them and refuses to allow them to even develop their industries within their own borders, so they find they cannot even pay for the necessities of life and so they are starving in their hundreds. To think, that in this 20th Century of civilization, people are living today that eagerly watch for the dying of a horse, in order that they might consume its dead body! The coal that they need so much has been given to Czech-Slavs; the petroleum to the Poles and so with all their sources of raw materials. So the terrible murdering of these people must continue. If they turn Bolshevik, the press will abuse them and the blockade will be more rigidly enforced, if they remain as they are they will starve to death. How can America or the Allies prate about democracy, when they countenance such a state of affairs? Let this state of affairs continue, but remember rulers of the world, that the old rail-splitter, Abraham Lincoln, knew what he meant when he said: "YOU MAY FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE SOME OF THE TIME—YOP MAY FOOL SOME OF THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME—BUT YOU CAN NEVER FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME."

JAMES CONNOLLY SOCIALIST CLUB

WHY IT WAS ORGANIZED!

The James Connolly Socialist Club is composed of members of the Irish race and sympathizers, and is organized to assist the revolutionary working class movement in Ireland by a dissemination of its literature; to educate the working class Irish of America to a knowledge of Socialist principles and to prepare them to co-operate with the workers of all other races, colors and nationalities in the emancipation of Labor.

The Irish working class has borne the grunt of every political struggle, and is today the only class in all Ireland which has no interest to serve in perpetuating either the political or social forms of oppression—the British connection or the capitalist system. The Irish working class must emancipate itself, and in emancipating itself it must, perforce, free its country. The act of social emancipation requires the conversion of the land and instruments of production from private property into the public or common property of the entire nation. This necessitates a social system of the most absolute democracy, and in establishing that necessary social system, the working class must grapple with and destroy every vestige of every form of government which could interfere with the unfettered control by the working class of all the resources of the country, whether it be in Ireland or America.

If the sun is to dawn upon the freedom of Ireland, we must call into action on our side, the entire sum of all the forces of social and political discontent here in America. By the use of the revolutionary ballot we can make the political atmosphere as laden with "treason" to the parasite class and as fully charged with the spirit of revolt as it is now with the cant of loyalty and hypocrisy of that class; and by the use of your economic power as producers, organized in Industrial Unions, you can destroy the power of capitalism to use you as cannon fodder or wage slaves for THEIR class interests and prepare the framework of the new social system—the Co-operative Commonwealth or Workers Republic.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE AGE

We are giving prominence to the following appeal, and we trust that our members will see to it that they respond as liberally as their slender purses will allow. The members of the Industrial Workers of the World that now lie in prison must be brought out, so that many of them who are suffering from tuberculosis and other deadly diseases, may, at least for a few more years, enjoy the little freedom that the workers possess.

FELLOW WORKERS—TAKE NOTICE

Vanderveer is trying cases in the Northwest. Christensen has gone to Sacramento to protect the rights of the Sacramento boys in the event the Chicago case is reversed. We couldn't let their rights go unprotected.

Miss Lowe is at Kansas City, Mo., working on the Wichita case.

Moore is dividing his time between Kansas and Oklahoma, to take care of Smith's case at Great Bend, the Bradley case at Lyons, the Higgins case and Denton case at Wichita and the Tyrill and Aldridge cases at Enid, Oklahoma, and the Krieger case in Tulsa and is working on the preparation of the Wichita case which comes to trial in September.

This all costs money. Cases undefended simply fasten public prejudice the more tightly on us. The cry of abandonment of legal defense comes from the outside of the filthy debasing jails of the Middle-West. It is but the alibi to keep the cash in the pocket. No case has ever been won solely in court. We need money for investigation purposes. We need money for publicity. For every dollar that goes to the lawyers, we should spend ten dollars for investigation, publicity, office expenses and allied activities.

We haven't the money, we have got to have it. You have got it or got to get it. The Convention decided for a segregation of all defense activities and all Defense Funds from the organization. This policy is being carried out. We expect to have a General Secretary-Treasurer of Defense appointed at an early date. Meanwhile, cash is needed now. The bunch in the jails are taking your philosophizing as to the value of legal defense as an excuse for not acting. You would if you were in the can.

Send funds until further notice to General Defense Committee, care of Thomas Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Thomas Whitehead, Acting Sec'y-Treas.

In a recent speech, delivered in the British House of Commons, Winston Churchill, member of the British Cabinet, stated that the troops would not be used in legitimate strikes of the workers, but were they (the workers) attempted to overthrow the existing order, then the whole resources of the State would be used. Churchill spoke with a frankness that we admire. Unfortunately American politicians are a shrewder bunch than those of the British nation. The politicians here prate about democracy, but they too will use all the forces of the State, just as eagerly as Churchill will.

It is the tragedy of the age, that the writers of the One Big Union, Solidarity, The Rebel Worker and other I. W. W. papers, fail to recognize the truth of what the apologists of capitalism state. Churchill is not fooling the workers, when he makes such a statement, he is telling the truth. When the moment arises in this country, that the capitalist class fear that the workers are being brought round to the position of the I. W. W., then they will wipe out the organization or drive it underground. If such a step is taken what remedy has the I. W. W. got or what weapon can they use? All talk of organizing on the job will be futile, because such organization will be rendered impossible. The workers fooled with the I.W.W., fooled by I. W. W. writers, that they can take over industry from the capitalist class, simply by organizing on the job, will be stampeded and the power of the I. W. W. will be taken away. The thing to do is to recognize the truth and to propagate it. What is the good of sitting down in an office and attempting to resurrect the quarrels of the past and ignore the great world-events of the present. We, of the Left Wing, are not debating with the I. W. W. for the joy of debating, it is for the purpose of ridding the minds of the I. W. W. members of the old ideas that are being planted anew.

It is for the object of bringing the workers together and getting them to use every method of conducting their fight. For remember we fight on the ground of our masters' choosing. Where they decide to fight us, that is where we HAVE to fight. Let us bear this fact in mind. What is more easier than organizing on the job? It is easier than doing things in the manner in which the people of Russia had to do them. Sure it is! But the people of Russia had to revolt and fight like they did, not because they liked that way better, simply because there was NO OTHER WAY OUT.

The need of the hour is SOLIDARITY. The machine development of recent years has removed most, and is fast removing all the dividing lines which have kept the workers separated in groups, each seeking its own advancement even though it brought injury to some other group. It is now possible for the worker in one industry to be brought into another industry and within a few months become as adept at his new occupation as he was at his old. The American Federation of Labor, with its trade union form of industrial organization, that was in keeping with the conditions that produced the craftsman and the demarcation dispute, will not and cannot perform the task that lies ahead. That task is not negotiating for minor improvements in working conditions; these will be conceded by the master class with alacrity, as that class is placed more and more on the defensive. For instance, directly after the street-car strike in Chicago, the street-car workers of Duluth without any organization received an increase of three cents per hour.

These increases are given for the sole purpose of side-tracking the revolutionary organizations of the working class. The I. W. W. know this, e. g., Lawrence workers received an increase because a threat was made to bring in the I. W. W. The industrial organizations of the future will have placed upon them a double duty. It is this DOUBLE DUTY that we desire to bring to the attention of the rank and file of the I. W. W. The workers will:

1. Have to displace the capitalist class from its position as the dominant factor in our industrial life.

2. Have to organize the workers for the purpose of organizing the industrial life of the new society.

The I. W. W. are performing the latter part of this double duty in an admirable manner. In a manner that can broach no discussion. But what of the former part of this double duty. What are the I. W. W. doing in that direction? They are, through their official organs, endeavoring to "sabotage" the organization of the workers that is seeking to perform the first part of that double duty of the working-class, the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party.

We recognize that the Industrial Union must derive its power direct from the workshops and that it must be the unity of working class organizations because it is the only form wide enough to embrace a specific department of productive activity without being so wide that the blighting influence of over-centralized, delegated authority, which always tends to assume executive power, can creep in. BUT the State, which at all times protects the interests of the master class, will use its power to stifle the growth of the working class industrial unions, the moment those unions

threaten the power of the privileged class. Read the appeal of fellow-worker Whitehead, at the head of the editorial and there you will find conclusive proof of the functions of the State. When Sandgren refers to the politicians, he is referring to the old school parliamentarians and he knows it. Against the policy of the Left Wing, Sandgren and Ebert have no arguments. Therefore they erect the old parliamentarian and then proceed to knock him down and hey presto;—exit the Left Wing. Foolish is not the word for it, when you come to describe the writings of these men. It is worse than foolish, it is criminal. It leads the workers astray, so that when the opportune moment arrives, the workers will be like a flock of sheep following the lead of every shepherd that may arise to lead them. Before the industrial republic can be brought into existence, the working class must organize itself, in readiness for the solemn moment when it will throw down the challenge to the most inefficient and corrupt class that history has ever known. It has to organize POLITICALLY for the purpose of preventing CHAOS. Chaos that will come about if the counter-revolutionists are allowed to continue in their dirty work of perpetuating the rule of capitalism. The capitalist class, like they did in Russia, in order to discredit the rule of the workers, will sabotage industry and do all manner of things. An infuriated, dispossessed ruling class will stop at nothing, when it realizes its very existence is at stake. Let us remember this and not seek to evade the issue by repeating the parrot-phrase of the politicians of the parliamentary schools: "This is not Russia!"

The I. W. W. rank and file is composed of the real fighters, fighters that will make a social revolution a working class triumph. But if this rank and file is going to be led astray by foolish writers of the Sandgren and Ebert type than who is going to be responsible for the chaos that follows? Where will Sandgren and Ebert be? They will be advising caution, let us start all over again, etc. Let us start NOW and prepare our forces. Let us co-operate and with such co-operation we will win. But if we are to scrap and fight, then the master class will continue to enslave us and we will never win. Let us discuss the tactics to be used, keeping in mind the world events of today and not writing such foolish twaddle as the following:

When the Social-Democrats Lost Their Chance

The social democrats of Sweden are getting quite numerous even in the upper house of the Riksdag. The other day it was unusually sultry, and it so happened that a great number of the bone-hard conservatives of the upper class felt a need to "go out" during the session. The social democrats counted noses and found they were in a majority. Now, you know the soc. dems., have promised that they would introduce socialism as soon as they got a majority. But did they do it? No. They passed an insignificant measure over the heads of the "fathers," and let it go at that. Would it not have been a joke if the soc. dems., had introduced socialism, while the capitalists were on the W. C. That is about the way the politicians propose to usher in the new society anyhow, so why didn't they do it while they had the majority?

John Sandgren in the "One Big Union Monthly."

THE SWISS SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

MacDonald's Vain Appeal.

Following the visit of Longuet, MacDonald, and Buxton to Berne, the Executive Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party has issued the following manifesto:

Comrades, the Executive Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party met at Berne on June 4th. Longuet, MacDonald, and Buxton, who had come from a conference with the Italian Socialist Party on the fundamental principles of the International, wished to hold a similar conference with us.

They desired to know with what the Swiss Socialist Party reproaches the International and why they have left it. They asked whether the Swiss Socialist Party considers a united proletarian International desirable.

In reply the Swiss Socialist Party enumerated the reasons already brought forward at several of its congresses, especially that of Berne in February, 1919. The Swiss Socialist Party explained that, whilst recognising the great desirability of a united proletarian International, the reasons which forced the Swiss Party first to criticise and finally to leave the Second International still exist. The Second International still holds to the idea of the patriotic political truce. It still desires to bargain with capitalism and with the imperialist bourgeois governments. It does not carry on a genuine revolutionary class struggle and shrinks from revolutionary action.

The Swiss Executive further declared that the International cannot be restored by paper resolutions. Moreover the resolutions of the Second International are often hostile towards the struggle of our comrades in Russia and Hungary, whilst they magnify the work of bourgeois democracies.

The Swiss Socialist Party will never belong to an International which courts the bourgeois democracy of Wilson and seeks to destroy the proletarian revolution of Russia and Hungary. The Swiss Party will only belong to a proletarian International which, whilst taking into consideration the varied needs of the fight and adjusting its tactics to the peculiar conditions of each country, nevertheless maintains the principle of the class struggle and takes its place beside the comrades of Russia and Hungary, who are now engaged in a tremendous class struggle; in a fight which is ours as well as theirs, and in which their defeat will be our defeat also.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled it is useless to talk of the Socialist Party re-uniting with the Second International. The Swiss Socialist Party desires not words, but deeds.

STATE COVENTION POSTPONED UNTIL SEPT. 14th.

TO OUR IRISH READERS

Owing to the strike of the Duluth R. R. shopmen and the coaldockworkers of Duluth, Superior and Two Harbors, we have been compelled to hold over our Irish article. The first article, dealing with the early life of Jim Larkin, will POSITIVELY appear in our next issue.