

THE TRUTH

VOL. III. No. 32.

14

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15.

WHOLE No. 113. FIVE CENTS.

"I am confident that I will be able to mete out the same treatment to Denikin by the autumn as we are now meting out to Kolchak."

Wireless message sent out by Lenin

AN APPEAL TO ALL STRIKERS

WEST DENOUNCES
DEPORTATION OF
HINDU POLITICAL
REFUGEES

The Seattle Star in its issue of July 22, 1919, asks the American people and Government: "Shall we send Bhagwan Singh to a firing squad? Shall Bhagwan Singh, a leader in an attempted revolt against the British Government, be condemned to death by the United States Government?"

It must be remembered that Bhagwan Singh, Santokh Singh, Gopal Singh, G. B. Lal, and Dhiren Sarkar are held for deportation because of "too much love for their Motherland," as Judge Van Fleet of San Francisco characterized it. They violated the neutrality laws of this country and were convicted in San Francisco U. S. District Court. They served their sentences. But it was political crime as far as the United States Government was, or is, concerned.

The Seattle Star points out that "this country opened its arms to Carl Schurz after the unsuccessful revolt of the liberals in Prussia; and he rose to eminence here, and gave the United States devoted service. The United States has been the haven of refuge for thousands upon thousands of political refugees. As a nation, it aided and abetted the revolt of the Cubans against Spain. It has always extended a hand of sympathy to its South American neighbors in the attempt to throw off the yoke of monarchs."

"At this moment," continues the Star, "President De Valera of the Irish Republic is on a speaking tour in the United States, spreading propaganda against British rule, a political refugee even as Bhagwan Singh is. Would we send De Valera to prison for 'violating neutrality' or anything kindred to it?"

Bhagwan Singh and others frankly admit that they wish to see British rule in India overthrown, but they emphatically deny that they ever attempted to do any harm to or interfere with the United States Government.

Besides the action of Western papers, many labor unions have passed resolutions against the de-

HIGH COST OF LIVING
Meeting to Discuss Ways and
Means of Combatting it.

Next Wednesday evening a mass meeting will be held in the Shrine Auditorium for the purpose of devising ways and means of overcoming the high cost of living. The meeting is timed to commence at eight o'clock and all workingmen and women are urged to attend this meeting and state their views regarding this vexed question of the high cost of living. We strongly urge all of our readers to attend and give their views, because it is absolutely essential that our energies be used to their utmost and not wasted by engaging in futile movements that lead us nowhere. So attend this meeting and lay before the people your view of things. NEXT WEDNESDAY AT THE SHRINE AUDITORIUM 8 P. M.

REAL LABOR LEADER

(In response to the many requests of our readers, who are desirous of understanding more about the Irish question, we will publish a few articles on the Irish Labor movement and its relation to the Irish ques-

tion. Every side of the Irish question has been told except the Labor side. In order to bring our readers in closer touch with the Irish labor movement, we are publishing an account of the earlier life of Jim Larkin, the one outstanding personality of the Irish movement, and who in the main is responsible for the remarkable work achieved by this movement. When you realize that a small nation like Ireland was able to prevent the British Empire from fastening conscription upon them, you will feel all the more proud of the fact, that it was the working class that fought the fight of 1916, that made conscription in Ireland impossible. The organization that formed the backbone of the Irish revolution of 1916 was the Irish Transport Union. Its founder was Jim Larkin, the subject of the following article by W. P. Ryan, associate editor of the London Daily Herald.—EDITOR.)

Jim Larkin is the greatest figure in Irish Labour mythology. He has of course very human and realistic significance also, but his first association—possibly we ought to say concussion—with the Irish mind in general was distinctly mythological. To many he is non-human and mythological still. Historians used to hold the view that only after long periods of time did fighters and heroes become transhuman; latterly there has been a tendency to adopt the theory that the process may be swift if not immediate: that a bold or revolutionary individuality may become a figure of myth and marvel in his own era or the one succeeding it. It is held, for example, that the legendary, as distinct from the real, St. Patrick, was largely a creation of the fifth or sixth century of the Christian

era. Whatever we may think of the general application of the theory there is no doubt of its truth in the case of Jim Larkin. He was a legend in less than a year after he had broken with British trade union officialism to extend his labours amongst the under-men in Dublin and throughout his native land. I well remember the swift, strange growth of the marvel, the dire magic of the sinister, tremendous "Larkin" of the legend, several months before I met the human "Jim" in the actual world. We have seen a good deal already of the long and patient toil, the serious teaching, the deep convictions of Connolly. Now and then his doctrine or criticism had heartened or antagonized elements in Ireland, but his personality had not really come home to the popular mind, had not taken any definite place in its consciousness. Like sensations that are read of in newspapers or novels his light and logic had passed leaving no ultimate trace. Nobody as yet had been really frightened or irritated, though a section had been given guidance and stirred towards enthusiasm. No, apparently neither friend nor foe had felt any sense of mystery, anything of draoidheacht on the one hand or diabolism on the other. Larkin came, agitated Belfast, and generally set to work in far obscure quarters of our Irish world, and soon there was a curious sense of something sinister and haunting in the background of life.

It may seem strange to say that his work was in far obscure quarters, seeing that much of it was in Belfast, and more in the capital of Ireland. Yet such was the feeling of the following article by W. P. Ryan, associate editor of the London Daily Herald.—EDITOR.)

A dispatch from Rawalpindi, Punjab, India, July 27, says that Sirdar Ali Ahsan Khan, President of the Afghan delegation, refused the plea of Sir Hamilton Grant, chief of the British Delegation, who sought peace on behalf of the British Government. Sirdar A. Khan pointed out that victory did not lie with military superiority but with combination of all possibilities.

Bhagwan Singh and others frankly admit that they wish to see British rule in India overthrown, but they emphatically deny that they ever attempted to do any harm to or interfere with the United States Government.

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FRENCH FORCE
PROFITEERS TO
CUT FOOD PRICES

People, Tired of Governmental Delay, Effect Reductions by Demonstrations

Paris.—The population here evidently is growing tired of waiting for the government to reduce living costs. The public is again resorting to its own methods of dealing with profiteering by retailers.

In one instance a grocer was compelled to lower to prices of chicken and rabbit upon the insistent demands of the consumers.

At Dunkirk, in the northern section of the country, spinners are striking as a protest against the high cost of living. A demonstration held Saturday forced the retailers to halve their prices. At Rouen the populace achieved the same results.

The outstanding fact in these demonstrations was that no violence accompanied them. The mass meetings were sufficient notice to the retailers that the consumers meant to reduce living costs.

Producers at Havre were forced today by officials of the Federated Trades Unions to sell them food stuffs at prices varying from 5 to 75 per cent below the average market price.

The officials then sold the products at cost price at one of the public markets.

BATTLE SONG

By S. A. De Witt.

They are marching on us in dread,
For all of their numbered might;
We stand where the dawn is red,
On the edge of the moors of night;

They are weak with the fear of fate,
And we in our hope are strong,
And for every blast of hate we reply with the chords of song.

We reply in the thundering chords
Of freedom's stirring mass,
When the Persian broke his hordes
On the heart of Leonidas;
We reply in the song of songs, of
The freeman to his son,
When the farmer broke the thongs
On the field of Lexington.

What if the hosts of hire spatter
Their leaden hail?
We have love to return for fire—
We have truth for our armor
mail;
What if the leagues of lords strangle
With hangman ships?
We have hope for our hungered
hordes, and faith for our fevered
lips.

And never a lie shall rise from the
tongues of perjured knaves
But be drowned in the anguished
cries from out of our myriad
graves;
And never a bludgeon's thud or the
clank of the weighed gyves
But will quicken the pulsing blood
In the veins of our lifted lives.

On the edge of the waning gloom,
Where the dawn is new and red,
We await their ranks of doom—we
await their withering lead;
For might tis of no avail, where
love is the lighting scheme,
Where truth is the armoring mail,
And the battlements—a Dream.

Huge Mass Meeting

To Welcome Back To The Socialist Movement

ALLAN S. BROMS

Who has just been released from Ramsey County jail after serving a second term of imprisonment. Shew by your presence that you appreciate the sacrificing nature of Allan Brooms.

WOODMAN HALL

AUGUST 17th, 1919

Admission 35 and 15 cents.

Refreshments Served.

Come to this rousing meeting.
Editor of Truth will preside.

A German Poster

In Memoriam

Of Our Brave Woman Champion

ROSA LUXEMBOURG

Murdered June, 1919.

Dull henchmen! Your order is built on sand.
The revolution shall exalt itself again with sound
and crash. She calls to you with daring prophetic
voice: I was! I am! I shall be!

"You've dared to kill our dearest heroes,
The people's best ye slay and blight;
Yet mark one word, you paltry zeroes,
It rings exultant through the night:
The last of all our yokes will rend,
And Spartacus shall gain his end!"

(The above poster was posted all over Germany and taken down by the orders of the Allied representatives).

BOLSHEVIK NUMBER

In our next issue we will publish some remarkable fine articles dealing with the Bolsheviks.

SIX MONTHS WITH LENIN
By Albert Rhys Williams.

OPEN LETTER TO LENIN WRITTEN BY THE FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY

LENIN OR WILSON!
By Maxim Gorky.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS FROM RUSSIA

This number will be one of the best ever published. The articles in themselves will be well worth reading, besides the current news that we will have. You must circulate this number. If you cannot circulate it, then send us a dollar and we will send it to the best places where it will make good.

We need to spread the TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA. The forces of reaction are gathering together and they intend to crush the rising tide of working class discontent. Department of Justice officials are investigating many radical papers, they have investigated TRUTH and its editor, in the meantime while the investigation is being investigated let us bend our shoulders to the wheel. Let us have solidarity. Come all of us—SOCIALIST, I. W. W., INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST, RADICAL A. F. of L. members—and let us all come together. With the solidarity of labor and the awakening of its mind the future is ours. The future is ours no matter what the other side may be. The victory may be put off, but it is going to be won. The tramp of marching men can be heard and soon the clouds will have melted away before the rising sun of liberty.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONALE!

REAL LABOR LEADER

(Continued from page 1)

at first—after the starting of the Transport Union—among most of those, apart from the actual workers concerned, who gave heed to the name and the doings of Larkin. The so-called "unskilled" folk whom he sought to combine and energize seemed remote, and to some extent unreal, to the minds of many who strove for a regenerated Ireland. This was especially so amongst the Gaelic League pioneers. The underworld of city labour, where Larkin was busy from 1908, seemed far from their experience and imagination. And the drama of Belfast in 1907, in which Larkin had been an enflaming central figure, had apparently left no more impression upon them than a thunderstorm of the last decade. On the other hand, to the most active of the Sinn Féin leaders Larkin was a dangerous intruder and a menace: "The Strike Organiser," nothing personal or human enough to be given a name: a portent, a deadly visitation to be feared and fought like the potato blight or an epidemic.

Yet the school in which Larkin had been made and moulded as a labour revolutionary had been one of pitiful and sometimes terrible realism. From the record we learn not simply the story of an individual but the torture and distortion of a class.

Jim Larkin was born in the neighbourhood of Newry in 1876. He was taken to England in his infancy and brought back at the age of six, attending the local school in Co. Down for half-a-year, till the family fled to Liverpool, where Jim was set to work forthwith. He delivered milk in the mornings and evenings, and worked in a butcher's shop throughout the Saturdays. He was given immediate insight into the resourceful ways of capitalism, as past of the time his business was to chop up fat, value 2d. a lb., to mix among the suet sold at 8d. a lb. The little lad of less than seven worked forty hours a week for which he received 2s. 6d. plus a penny currant bun and a glass of milk on the Saturday night. "These early experiences are responsible for what some of the respectable trade union leaders call Larkin's want of tact," said George Dallas, Secretary Glasgow I.L.P. Federation, writing of Jim's early fortunes and misfortunes in Forward, 1909. He attended school between the milk deliveries, so life had a relieving side; but at the age of nine he felt he had enough of the fat-chopping and the rest of it. Already a big boy, he was able to start as a full-timer with a jobbing painter and paper-hanger, receiving 3s. a week wages as an apprentice. It was his fate to work hard and to learn more of the ways of masters. The new master was a heavy drinker, and in consequence a good deal of extra work was thrown on his latest apprentice, whose wages, however, he substantially increased. Amongst other things it became young Jim's business on occasion to make up the wages list; he thereby made the interesting discovery that his employer had been charging the stand-

ard rate of 8½d. an hour for him. He took the first favourable opportunity of letting that worthy know that there was another side to the matter; he claimed half the wages charged, with 6d. an hour overtime. The boss felt that he was not in a position to refuse the demand. Joining the S.D.P. Jim began to think out social problems; that he thought to some effect, despite his extreme youth, was proved by his conclusion that by remaining at his post he kept a man out of a job. So he went to serve his time as a French polisher. His new master went to Mass every morning, but refused to allow his apprentices to go on holidays of obligation. Young Larkin quarrelled with him over the restriction, and at the end of the quarrel found himself out of employment. In the next seven weeks he tramped and tramped and starved on the roads between Liverpool, London and Cardiff; he slept in fields, and in barns, and by the wayside; uneasy sleep, when it came, was at least some release from the gnawing hunger. He was not yet eleven years old!

After those weeks of torture, he crawled back to Liverpool, where he had a measure of luck, as it seemed, going to serve as an apprentice at 75c a week with the firm for which his father had worked for a long period. He stayed two years at the work till on a "Grand National" day he refused to take part in a sweepstake. This led to clash and quarrel, resulting in the dismissal of himself and four other apprentices who were of the same mind as he. He attended meetings of the unemployed with a grimly personal interest. A minor job on relief works fell to his lot, he did odd work at the docks, and then worked his way to Cardiff in search of better things. One day an apprentice engineer accidentally struck him with a huge key, so seriously hurting him that he had to enter a hospital. But the episode had its happy side. The apprentice's father was rich; he paid Jim's expenses and gave him one pound a week for nineteen weeks. Jim revelled in luxury as he grew convalescent; the library by day, social democratic propagandist meetings in the evenings. It was a joyous burst of life, after boyhood years of toil varied by unemployment and starvation.

Before he was fourteen his fortunes were changed for the worse by the death of his "truest and best friend," his father, for whom, while going early to test fortune for himself, he preserved an intense affection. He gave interesting glimpses and memories of his father, and incidentally of his own youth in a letter to a friend (quoted by Mr. Dallas in his record) soon after he had begun his labour war in Ireland:

"My father was one of the best men I have ever known, one of Nature's gentlemen, and who from a boy had been in every movement for Irish independence, both physical and constitutional. I will never forget Michael Davitt coming to Liverpool during the dock strike, along with Cunningham Graham. My father, who had had no conversation with Davitt since that escapade at Chester Castle, had an ap-

pointment with him in Lord Nelson Street, and took me with him. Davitt had been addressing a meeting of dockers the same day, I think he said, at the waste ground in the south-end of Liverpool. When they met my father reminded Davitt of some little incident that had taken place some years previous. You know what glorious eyes Davitt had, at least I, who though but a boy then, can 'still see' the fire flashing from them. My father in the course of the conversation mentioned he had not only joined the National League, but he had also enrolled me some years previous, but that I refused to remain any longer a member and had joined a lot of fanatics called Socialists. Davitt turned, and patting me on the head, said—'Let the boy think for himself, Jemmy!' The next time I saw Davitt he was speaking in favour of Hyndman, I think at Burnley. I believed then, as I believe now, that Davitt was a socialist, but he knew the time was not ripe in Ireland to speak out. The only two Irishmen I have ever had a regard for were Fintan Lalor and Michael Davitt. I hope the sod lies light on both."

After the father's death, Jim and his mother tried hard and bravely for some time to keep the home together. "We became vegetarians from necessity, and had a fast every day. Finally I decided to throw up the trade and go down to the docks, so that my eldest brother might finish his time. I joined the National Union of Dock Labourers in 1901, and worked at anything and everything: stevedoring, portering, carting, coal-heaving, carrying bags, bushelling—in fact at every job aboard ship and ashore. Things getting slack, I along with a chum decided to stowaway to the River Plate. So I drew my wages, sent them home to my mother, and went aboard."

It was an eventful voyage from the start. Gaelic literature of the Middle Ages is rich in stories of weird and wondrous voyages, but in all that wealth of tale there is nothing like the realism of this of Larkin's. Going down the Mersey the vessel was run into, and Jim in his awkward corner thought his career had closed. But he was only in the beginning of adventure. No less than eleven other stowaways were found; but it seems that stowaways were not objected to at that period in those vessels. They had been used to carrying coals in fore-hatch, and came in handy. The mate, who knew Jim, gave him charge of the crowd. It was his lot to do a little leading on behalf of the stowaways:

"After we had broke bulk I called them together, pointed out we had only one change of clothing, and it would be destroyed working coal; they were giving us burgo and molasses for breakfast instead of hash, and those of us who smoked had no tobacco. I suggested writing out our demands, and a deputation sent to the skipper about it. Some said we would be shot for mutiny, but they agreed that an old shell-back named White and I should go. Our demands were—I have the copy before me as I write—'no watches, work from 6 to 6, regular meal hours, same food as crew, each man to be supplied with one set of dungarees and one shirt, plug of tobacco a week, and no work on Sunday.' The captain, Evans by name, was a little chap, and refused point blank. We told him we would work no more, and he replied we would get no food. Knowing some of the firemen I had them posted, and the first thing next morning, as soon as the sailors turned out and the forecastle crowd were coming forward with the grub, we waylaid them and relieved them of the grub, returned to the forecastle and had breakfast. Then the row commenced; the firemen refused to work without breakfast, and the upshot of the affair was we gained our point. White and I were sent for by the 'old man.' He tried bluffing us, putting us in irons, get us gaoled on arrival in Monte Video, and then not only conceded all we asked, but granted us also an allowance of one bottle of square-faced gin each day. It is unnecessary for me to say that I had no gin, and further I got the crowd to give the gin to the firemen who had stood by us. Before arrival in Buenos Ayres I was agreeably surprised by the mate giving me 25 dollars Argentine, worth at that time 1s. 2d."

In this story there is a good deal to be learned of the character and humanity of Jim and the others concerned. But an episode was to come in which there was no relieving element, apart from his own endurance:

"On the way up to Mobile, I again got at loggerheads with the chief engineer, who was always wanting me to assist the greaser.

PARLIAMENTS AND SOVIETS

By N. BUCHARIN

Of the Russian Soviet Republic
The fundamental difference between the parliamentary system and the Soviet power is already known. It is known that the Soviets grant no political rights to the non-producing classes. The country is governed by the councils elected by the working population in the place where they work, in the workshops, the mines, and the villages. The capitalists, the landed proprietors, middle-class intellectuals, bankers, stockholders, and speculators, merchants and shopkeepers, priests and monks, in short, all who form the black army of Capitalism, are deprived of the right to vote and are without political power.

The Constituent Assembly (or Parliament, the members of which are elected to represent territorial constituencies) is the basis of the Parliamentary Republic. The highest sovereignty of the Communist Republic belongs to the Congress of Soviets.

In what does the one differ from the other?

In the fact that to the Constituent Assembly, not only are the representatives of the workers and peasants elected, but also the representatives of owners, bankers, and capitalists, the representatives of all the capitalist class and their hangers-on.

Experience shows that wherever the bourgeoisie enjoys political rights, it uses those rights to dupe the workers and peasants. Because it has the press, both the daily newspapers and the periodicals, in its hands; because it has great wealth at its disposal, the bourgeoisie is able to corrupt public officials, to employ for its benefit the services of hundreds of thousands of agents; is always able to menace, and to intimidate for its own advantage, its slaves; and, in fact, to organize things in such a way that not a scrap of the power shall escape from its clutches.

All the people apparently participate in the elections, but, under this pretence is hidden the domination of Capitalism, which flatters itself that it has granted the people the right to vote and all "democratic" privileges, but which takes good care to preserve its own privileges. Thus in bourgeois republics, under the cloak of universal suffrage, the power is found to be entirely in the hands of the great forces of Capitalism.

Under the parliamentary system each citizen casts his vote into the ballot box once in four or five years, and the field is then clear for the members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, and Presidents, to manage everything without any reference to the toiling masses. Guiled and exploited by its officials, the toilers have no part whatever in the administration of the capitalist state.

In the Soviet Republic, born of the dictatorship of the workers, the administration rests on an altogether new basis. It is not an organization of officials independent of the masses and dependent on the capitalists. The central government is established on the great class organizations of the workers and peasants; the industrial unions, the factory committees, local workers' and peasants' councils, and organizations of soldiers and sailors. From the centre stretch thousands and millions of conducting threads which lead to the provincial Soviets, the municipal Soviets, the local Soviets, and finally to the factory workshop Soviets.

Take, for example, the Supreme Council (or Soviet) of Public Economy. It is composed of representatives of industrial commissions,

One night about 2 bells after I had turned in, he sent the donkey-man forward to tell me I had to take one of the firemen's places. I refused; pointed out that I had been working hard all day at coals, and refused to do any more. The chief sent for me; and as I entered the alley-way, I was seized by the chief donkeyman, second engineer, and third mate, who with other assistance carried me into No. 3 hold, and ironed me to a stanchion, leaving me only a tin of water. What a night I passed! The rats came around me in hundreds. They ate all my finger-nails and toe-nails. It makes me shiver even now!"

Such were Larkin's childhood, youth, and early manhood. Such were the schools in which he learned to know, and think for, the under-men.

R. J. Blaine
Ed. Burns
H. C. Evans
James Nolan
Frank Travis
James Gossard

In Memoriam

GENERAL
DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Wm. D. Haywood,
Sec'y

Fellow Workers and Friends:—

This letter is in remembrance of R. J. Blaine, Ed. Burns, H. C. Evans, James Nolan and Frank Travis, all of whom died in prison at Sacramento, California, while waiting trial under the blanket indictment, the original of which was framed at Chicago, Illinois — and likewise in memory of James Gossard, who died in jail at Newton, Kansas, while waiting trial under a similar indictment.

This is also to remind you that there are hundreds of members of the Industrial Workers of the World languishing in penitentiaries and jails, some serving long sentences, some yet to be tried. In the State of Kansas are thirty three men who have been imprisoned for nearly two years in some of what are reported to be the worst jails in the United States. On two occasions these men have answered to indictments that would not stand. The third indictment has been returned; the trial has been set for next September.

It would seem that those men are being punished first and are to be tried afterward. Two or three of them are badly broken in health, are suffering seriously in body and mind. Why this continued persecutions? Does not the Constitution guarantee to every man a speedy, fair and impartial trial?

You can assist in providing these following named defendants with an adequate defense.

C. W. Anderson, W. Francik, Paul Maihak, E. M. Boyd, S. Shurin, Carl Schell, F. J. Gallagher, George Wenger, Fred Grau, S. Forbes, Robt. Poe, F. Patton, M. Hecht, Leo Stark, J. Walberg, H. McCarl, M. Sapper, J. Caffrey, Alb. Barr, Tom O'Day, Jim Davis, O. E. Gordon, Ray Lambert, Harry Drew, Mike Quinn, A. M. Blumberg, E. J. Huber, S. B. Hickok, Jos. Greshbach, Peter Higgins, Ernest Henning.

If each recipient of this memorial letter will but consider that you may save a man's life, or at least give them their freedom, one dollar or more sent to Thomas Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois will be carefully used for the relief and defense of class war prisoners.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD

Secretary

Chicago, Ill., August 1919

factory committees, and similar institutions. On the one hand, the industrial unions embrace all industrial activity, they have ramifications in the various towns and are maintained by the masses of the organized workers. On the other hand, there exists today in every factory a committee elected by the workers. The factory committees group themselves and send their representatives to the Supreme Economic Council, which elaborates plans for economic changes and the administration of production. In the same way the central organism of administration is composed of representative workers, and rests upon the mass organization of the working class.

Thus we have an institution quite different from the capitalist republic. Not only because the non-producer is deprived of the right to vote; not only because the country is administered by the workers and peasants, but above all because the Government if the Soviets is in constant relations with the organized masses, and in this way, at all times, the greater part of the population joins in the administration of the State. Every organized worker exercises and influence, not only because, once or twice a month he elects to represent him men in whom he places confidence, but because the industrial unions can themselves elaborate their own plans of organization. These plans are examined by the Soviets concerned, by the economic Soviets, and, if approved, they become law as soon as the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets has ratified them. An industrial union, or factory committee can in this way take part in the common work of building up new forms of life.

In the capitalist republic the position of the State improves as the activities of the masses are restricted, for the interests of the masses are in conflict with the capitalist State. The Soviet Republic, which embodies the dictatorship of the popular masses, could not subsist for a single instant without their support. On the contrary its strength grows as the masses become more conscious, and as they become more active in every direction: in the factory, the workshop, in every town and village.

Before the revolution of November 7, 1917 the organizations of workers and peasants were simply

the instruments of the class war against the ruling and possessing capitalists. The organizations fought capital for higher wages and shorter working days, and in the villages they fought for the expropriation of the land. Now that the power is in the hands of the workers and peasants, they have become the wheels of the governmental mechanism. The industrial unions are not merely fighting Capitalism. As an organic and integral part of the Workers' Soviet Government they join in the organization of production and economic activity. In the same way, the village and peasant Soviets, not only wage war upon the village users, the capitalists, and the proprietors of the soil, but, as organs of government, as wheels in the mechanism of this giant, the workers and peasants' State, they work to elaborate new agrarian laws.

Thus, little by little, through the organizations of the workers and peasants, the most extensive sections of the active population are summoned to take part in the affairs of State. No other country offers anything to compare with this because no other country has known the victory of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Republic of the Soviets.

Much had already been written of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but no one knew exactly in what form it would be realized. The Russian Revolution shows us the precise form of that dictatorship. It is the Republic of the Soviets. It is the Republic of the Soviets. are inscribed on the banners of the best ranks of the international proletariat.

SEAMEN'S UNION WINS

Milan—"Avanti" publishes the following telegram from the Minister of Transportation to the Commander of the Port of Genoa:

"I authorize you to inform the Seamen's Union as follows: Your representatives at Rome have negotiated with us, and have arrived at an agreement, to the effect that the ship 'Fedora' is to go to Gibraltar, and there discharge its present cargo, after which it is to enter the normal transportation service of the Allies, and no longer to be used for transporting troops or war materials to be used against Russia. We

must, therefore, immediately make the necessary arrangements with the representatives of the Allies to enable the ship to leave port."

The above note requires a little comment. It must be recalled that the "Fedora" had been anchored in the port of Genoa for several days, with six thousand tons of explosive material on board, which were destined for Russia. The ship's crew suddenly declared that they would not go to sea except under the condition that the ship should not be used for transporting these materials of war to Russia. In discussing this message, "Avanti" emphasizes its importance, and declares that a precedent has thus been created which will prevent any Italian merchant ship hereafter from being used to transport soldiers or materials of war for use against the Russian people.

BENEVOLENT BUNKSHOOTERS

Benevolence of employers is a theme that seems most pleasing to some newspaper publishers.

Lately much good ink has been used in telling of the perfectly delightful profit-sharing scheme of a Toledo automobile manufacturer.

While the story is still running and catching comments and reprints the benevolent manufacturer finds he has precipitated a lockout that is accompanied by the bitterest strife.

The workers of Toledo did not go on a strike because the employer was growing too altruistic. They opposed the idea of a chimerical profit-sharing plan followed by an arbitrary increase in the hours of labor.

Labor doesn't want to be coddled. It wants justice and will have it. Labor doesn't seek war. It prefers peace, but when a fight is thrust upon it—well, the other fellow will wake up conscious of the fact he has been in a battle.—The Bridgemen's Magazine.



THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA

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.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We want our good comrades in Rockford, Ill., to study the new Communist Party they have decided to support. We feel positively sure that there has been some mistake made. The Communist Party of Chicago with its present leadership is doomed to destruction and we strongly urge upon our Rockford comrades to re-consider their views and to further investigate the party they have joined. Comrade Gordon is a fine enthusiastic comrade, but he is not familiar with the propaganda and tactics of the main persons who dominate in the Communist Party. For the sake of gaining support members of the Communist Party support the idea of industrial unionism, when but a few weeks ago they bitterly repudiated the idea of the workers being industrially organized. Ask John Keracher and Dennis E. Batt the reasons why they NOW endorse that which they have for many years repudiated? Simply to hood-wink good comrades, like the comrades in Rockford. Rockford comrades, you kept the flag flying when others spurned it. In season and out of season you have stood true

to the principles of International Socialism. Mark well every step that you take and above all investigate the Communist and if you do not re-consider your position, we shall be very much surprised.

Chicago Left Wing.

Will all Chicago Left Wingers leave their names with A. Proctor, 204 N. Clark Street, the CLARION BOOK STORE. We require to fully organize the Left Wing group in Chicago and so we trust that every Left Winger will send in his name and address to comrade Proctor.

Minnesota State Convention

The State Convention of the Socialist Party of Minnesota will be held on Sunday, September 14th. See that your local elects delegates to the Convention.

To Whom It May Concern.

The Left Wing group of the State of Minnesota is NOT connected with the Communist Party of Chicago. Any comrade can obtain information regarding the Left Wing group of Minnesota through its secretary. We would like to see all locals affiliated with the Left Wing group. What has your local done?

NEW NAT'L EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS

The newly elected National Executive Committee met at the Hotel Bradley, Chicago, July 26 and 27th. The sessions of the committee were marked by sincere attempts to bring back under the banner of true Socialism and the Communist International, all elements suspended or expelled by the former moderate National Executive Committee, whose term of office ended July 1st.

A statement was issued to the membership upon the present party situation and the coming emergency National Convention. National Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer, was requested to attend the sessions of the new committee to turn the national office over to it. This he refused to do, whereupon Alfred Wagenknecht was elected National Executive Secretary temporarily. The new National Executive Committee will, until the national convention takes place, consider the state office of the Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio, as national headquarters, from where such essential business as is important between now and the convention, will be transacted.

The first act of the new committee was to canvass the return of state tabulations sent in by state secretaries upon national referendum "C", 1919, which pertained to the election of a new National Executive Committee and International Delegates. This canvass showed Louis C. Fraina, Edward Lindgren, N. I. Hourwich, C. E. Ruthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Fred Harwood, Dennis E. Batt, John Keracher, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Dan Hogan, Mary R. Millis, Patrick Nagle, L. E. Katterfeld, Kate Greenhalgh and H. M. Wicks elected National Executive Committee and John Reed, Louis C. Fraina, C. E. Ruthenberg and Alfred Wagenknecht elected as International Delegates.

The minutes in full follow. Every party member is advised to read them carefully and to give the statement to the membership by the new National Executive Committee special study.

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The meeting was called to order at 11 A. M., July 26th.

It was unanimously agreed to elect a committee to visit the National Headquarters at 220 South Ashland Boulevard to request the attendance of National Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer at the meeting and to further request him to turn over the national headquar-

ters to the new National Executive committee.

(A motion was made by L. E. Katterfeld of the committee, several weeks before the date of this meeting, instructing Secretary Germer to call a meeting of the new National Executive Committee. Germer refused to place this motion before the committee. The first meeting of the newly elected committee was subsequently called by agreement of eight of the fifteen committeemen, a majority).

Fred Harwood, C. E. Ruthenberg, Louis Fraina, L. E. Katterfeld were elected the committee to visit the national headquarters.

The following letter was addressed to National Executive Secretary Germer:

Chicago, Ill., July 26th, 1919.
Adolph Germer, Executive Sec.
220 Ashland Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade:—
We the undersigned members of the National Executive Committee, representing a majority of the Committee consisting of

Louis C. Fraina
Edward Lindgren
N. I. Hourwich
Fred Harwood
Marguerite Prevey
Dan Hogan
Patrick S. Nagle
C. E. Ruthenberg
Mary Raoul Millis
Wm. Bross Lloyd
Dennis E. Batt
John Keracher
L. E. Katterfeld
H. M. Wicks
Kate Sadler Greenhalgh

shown to be elected in the recent referendum of the membership, hereby demand that the National Office of the Party be turned over to the Committee and that this committee be recognized as the controlling committee of the Party, as provided by the constitution, and that you meet in session with the committee at 2 P. M. on this date.

Fraternally yours,

(SIGNED)
L. E. KATTERFELD
C. E. RUTHENBERG
LOUIS C. FRAINA
FRED HARWOOD
For the National Executive Committee

To this letter Germer replied as follows:

Chicago, Ill., July 26th, 1919.
Louis C. Fraina,
L. E. Katterfeld,
Fred Harwood,
C. E. Ruthenberg,

Dear Comrades:—

Replying to your favor of the 26th inst., ordering me to turn over the National Office to what you term the National Executive Committee, allow me to say that I do not recognize you as controlling committee of the Socialist Party.

On account of the gross and admitted fraud committed in the recent party referendum, the National Executive Committee has ordered the election methods investigated and that the vote be not tabulated. The result of this investigation will be submitted to the National Emergency Convention to be held on Aug. 30th where the properly elected delegates will determine the further course to be pursued.

There is nothing in the constitution that empowers anyone to tabulate the referendum vote for the National Office except the National Office itself and any tabulations that have been made are unofficial and cannot be recognized.

Fraternally yours,
ADOLPH GERMER,
Executive Secretary.

A. G. E. L.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JULY 26.

Meeting called to order at 3 p. m. L. E. Katterfeld was elected chairman. Alfred Wagenknecht was elected secretary for the meeting.

Present L. E. Katterfeld, H. M. Wicks, Louis C. Fraina, C. E. Ruthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Edward Lindgren and Fred Harwood.

Motion by Ruthenberg that the vote reported by the state secretaries upon national referendum "C", 1919, pertaining to the election of a new National Executive Committee and International Delegates, be canvassed by a sub-committee of two.

Fred Harwood and L. E. Katterfeld named the committee.

Motion by Harwood that a committee on rules and order of business be elected, carried.

Ruthenberg and Fraina named the committee.

Report of committee to canvass the vote upon national referendum "C", 1919.

"We, your committee to canvass the vote sent us by the state secretaries upon national referendum "C", 1919, for the election of a new National Executive Committee and International Delegates report that according to returns the new National Executive Committee is composed of the following comrades: First District—Louis C. Fraina, Edward Lindgren, N. I. Hourwich. Second District—C. E. Ruthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Fred Harwood. Third District—Dennis E. Batt, John Keracher, Wm. Bross Lloyd. Fourth District—Patrick Nagle, Mary Raoul Millis, Dan Hogan. Fifth District—L. E. Katterfeld, H. M. Wicks, Kate Greenhalgh. The comrades elected International Delegates are, John Reed, L. C. Fraina, C. E. Ruthenberg and Alfred Wagenknecht. International Secretary, Kate Richards O'Hare."

By motion the report of the committee was accepted.

Committee on rules and order of business made the following report:

1. Reports of committees.
2. Action in regard to National Executive Secretary.
3. Organization:
 - a) Suspensions and expulsions.
 - b) Dues and convention assessment stamps.
 - c) Party national property.
 - d) General.
4. Emergency National Convention.
5. Relations with National Council of the Left Wing.
6. Election of a committee to draft a statement to the party membership.
7. Further meetings of the committee.
8. Instructions to International Delegates.
9. Roberts Rules of Order to govern proceedings.

Motion by Lindgren carried that order of business be adopted.

Motion by Ruthenberg that the office of the National Executive Secretary be declared vacant inasmuch as the present incumbent refuses to perform his duties as national secretary by refusing to tabulate the vote in referendum expressing the will of the membership and further refuses to recognize

the regularly elected National Executive Committee. Carried.

Motion by Wicks that we elect a National Executive Secretary to function until the national convention convenes, carried.

Nominations: Alfred Wagenknecht.

Motion by Prevey that Wagenknecht be elected by acclamation, carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg that the Michigan and Massachusetts state organizations be reinstated in the party and that the suspensions of the Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish, South Slavic and Lettish Socialist Federations be revoked, carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg that we look upon the expulsion of branches and locals by local and state organizations because of their affiliation with or endorsement of the Left Wing as contrary to the spirit of a revolutionary working class movement, it being entirely within the right of the membership to organize within the party to secure the adoption of certain principles, and we state as our opinion that these organizations have been wrongfully expelled and that they should be immediately reinstated. Carried.

Motion that the order of business be suspended and that a committee of three be elected to draft a statement and program in regard to calling and holding the Emergency National Convention on August 30th, Carried.

Fraina, Harwood and Ruthenberg elected the committee.

Motion to recess at 7:30, carried.

Motion to adjourn, carried.

EVENING SESSION JULY 26th
Committee on statement and program in regard to the emergency National Convention reported as follows:

(This report will be found in the "Proclamation to the Membership of the Socialist Party," printed in this Bulletin).

Motion carried that the report be adopted.

Motion by Harwood that we call upon the membership to make generous purchases of the special national convention assessment stamps and that local and branch secretaries send the money from the sale of these stamps to their respective state secretaries at once; that all state secretaries be requested to retain such money in their state treasuries, same to be brought to the national convention by the state delegation. Carried.

Motion by Fraina that the National Executive Committee guarantee the delegates to the national convention such balances of their expenses as is not covered by the sale of convention assessment stamps in their respective states and calls upon all states securing more funds from the sale of these stamps than is needed to cover the expenses of their delegations, to turn such surplus over to the temporary national secretary at the convention. Carried.

Motion by Wicks that locals be requested to hold meetings in order to raise money to help defray the expenses of the convention. Carried.

Motion by Fraina that we call upon the Young People's Socialist League branches to assist in financing this convention by donations from their treasuries and collections from their members. Carried.

Motion by Lindgren that the temporary national secretary arrange for loans to the amount of \$5,000 to assist in defraying the expenses of the convention. Carried.

Motion by Harwood that this committee suggest that the state secretaries refrain from purchasing any more dues stamps from the former national secretary, but that in case dues stamps are needed that such regular party dues stamps be bought from the temporary national secretary. Carried.

Motion by Lindgren that we rescind the action taken by the former national executive committee in deciding to incorporate a holding company which action included the election of a board of directors of nine, not subject to recall, these directors to hold the entire property of the national organization. Carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg that we instruct Adolph Germer, Robert H. Howe and Alfred Wagenknecht not

to execute a deed for the national headquarters building and property which they hold in trust unless so instructed by this committee. Carried.

Motion by Fraina that we recognize the National Council of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, organized at the National Left Wing Conference of June 21, 24, and its official organ, "The Revolutionary Age" as an organized expression of the revolutionary sentiments of the party and that we request the co-operation of this council. Carried.

Motion by Prevey that the next meeting of this committee be held August 28, 1919, at 10 a. m. Carried.

Motion that we proceed to elect a committee of three to draft a statement to the membership. Carried.

Nominations: Fraina, Ruthenberg, Katterfeld, Wicks, Lindgren, Harwood. Declinations—Ruthenberg, Lindgren, Harwood.

Fraina, Katterfeld and Wicks elected the committee.

Motion by Lindgren that the International Delegates be instructed to issue a statement on the party's affiliation with the Communist International which has already been endorsed overwhelmingly by the party membership. Carried.

Motion by Lindgren that a statement regarding political and class war prisoners be included in this statement to the membership. Carried.

Motion by Harwood that a committee of three be elected to visit the meeting of the executive committee of the Finnish Socialist Federation which is to meet at national headquarters tomorrow. Carried.

Prevey, Harwood and Wicks elected the committee.

Motion carried to adjourn until 10:30 a. m., July 27th.

MORNING SESSION JULY 27th.

Fred Harwood elected chairman.

Report of committee on statement to the membership.

Motion by Wicks that this report be adopted as amended. Carried.

Motion to adjourn until 3:30 p. m., carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION JULY 27th.

Motion by Prevey that the temporary national secretary be instructed to issue a party bulletin to the membership containing the minutes and declarations of this meeting and that such other official matter as must be communicated to the locals, branches, state secretaries and the membership, be issued thru the Ohio Socialist and the press service. Carried.

Motion by Katterfeld that we elect a committee of three on party institutions to outline a program for the development of efficient instruments of propaganda, education and organization, such as party owned press, publishing house, lecture bureau, and training school. Each member of this committee is to report to the national executive secretary by August 10th, the secretary to send a copy of the report to every member of the National Executive Committee so that the matter can receive thorough consideration at our next meeting. Also, that we invite all party members to send whatever suggestions they may consider helpful along these lines to the temporary national executive secretary at once. Carried.

Committee elected: Ruthenberg, Harwood and Katterfeld.

Motion by Fraina that the temporary national executive secretary be instructed to arrange for convention headquarters in Chicago, where delegates coming to the national convention may report. Carried.

Motion by Katterfeld that the temporary national executive secretary establish temporary national headquarters wherever most convenient. Carried.

Motion that in adjourning this, our first meeting, we express our confidence in the membership of the Socialist Party and our willingness to obey their mandates at all times. We urge the membership, in this time of crisis, not to permit anything to discourage them, but to continue their splendid efforts to place our party in harmony with the Communist International. Carried.

Motion to adjourn, carried.

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT,
National Executive Secretary,
Pro. Tem.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

CONVENES SATURDAY AUGUST 30
AT 10 A. M.

MACHINISTS' UNION HALL

CHICAGO, ILL.

Take Van Buren street car west to South Ashland Boulevard, or Madison street car west to Ogden.

This convention will positively take place upon the above date. Postponement is now impossible. The old national executive committee has ceased to function. The national constitution provides that the term of office of this committee SHALL END July 1, 1919. See Article 3, section 3. This former committee can not now longer delay this convention. The new National Executive Committee, which met in Chicago, July 26 and 27, has renewed the call for this convention and now takes full charge. The new National Executive Committee is pledged to obey the mandates of the membership. All delegates should confer with it when reaching Chicago.

BOLSHEVISM ADVANCES

From an article in the French Socialist Weekly, "La Vague," by Pierre Brizon "Kienthalian," deputy to the Chamber of Deputies.

All is lost, here is Bolshevism in Hungary now! Instead of retreating, it is advancing. It is driving in upon us...! It threatens Pichon.

Pichon is at the head of the European Reaction. He leads it to its Waterloo.

Bolshevism is at the head of the social world revolution. It leads it to its Austerlitz.

And of course Bolshevism is worse than the war. War only takes poor folks' lives. Bolshevism spares the life, but lays its hand on the money bags, on the land of the aristocrat and the money of the bourgeois! Terrible, is it not?

Bolshevism wishes to be done with parasites, miseries, and wars. No more wars, how frightful!

Think! No more dead on the battlefields, no more bombs on towns, no more hurricanes of artillery fire, no more poison gas, no more trenches. No longer any means of getting rich whilst others are dying. Lasting peace between the Socialist Republics of the world. Ah, barbarism!

To LIVE! Bolshevism actually claims that we are on the earth to LIVE! To live happily with the wealth produced by the work of all. The work of life. The politics of life. The morality of life—of health, abundance and joy. One has never seen the like of it. It is horrible! Behold the Barbarians! Bolshevism is advancing over Hungary. All is lost in our old society...

Read with me these passages of a letter, dated March 5th, and written by a French soldier, which I have received from Odessa:

"They are making us Republicans fight against a nation of Russians who have thrown of the yoke of the Tsars. They are making us fight side by side with some Russians and Poles who wish to re-establish the old regime, and bring back the Tsardom."

"Immediately after disembarking certain units were unknowingly led into the fight. Men refused to march. They were scattered amongst different units. Leaves and repatriations were stopped."

"Every day Russians are being shot here. In the first few days here I saw one shot for distributing propagandist pamphlets."

"What was on these pamphlets? The truth! The Russian people had risen up against their masters who were devouring them. They were counting on us French soldiers to understand that their cause was also ours. And the pamphlet ended with an appeal to the Workers' International for the avoidance of war between brothers."

"Ah! he was a brave fellow, the distributor of this moving appeal. He died boldly. He watched all the preparations without trembling. When they tied him to the post, he asked them to let him rest his knee on the ground, so that he would be firmer."

"The French officer growled his insults in the face of this man who was about to die without flinching for his ideals; whilst the soldiers of the firing party told off to shoot him were presenting their arms—"

"We live like pariahs in this Southern Russia. We are cut off from everything, almost without letters from France and entirely without newspapers. Anger is rising among us."

"Everyone looks askance at us, rich and poor alike. The poor say: 'What have you come here for? To take the bread out of our mouths? To put us in chains again?'"

"The rich say to us: 'Why do you stop there doing nothing? It is not in Odessa that you have got to fight anarchy. The Bolsheviks are bandits: no mercy for them!'"

"We are not active enough to suit the purposes of those who have the money bags!"

"In our skirmishes with the Bolshevik blood has been split on both sides. May it fall as a curse on the heads of the guilty—who are in France!"

CONVERSATIONS WITH LENIN

By Arthur Ransome
Reprinted from "Liberator"

(Moscow, March, 1919)
Whatever else they may think of him, not even his enemies deny that Vladimir Ilyitch Oulianov (Lenin) is one of the greatest personalities of his time. I therefore make no apology for writing down such scraps of his conversation as seem to me to illustrate his manner of mind.

He was talking of the lack of thinkers in the English labor movement and said he remembered hearing Shaw speak at some meeting. Shaw, he said, was "a good man fallen among Fabians" and a great deal further Left than his company. He had not heard of "The Perfect Wagerite," but was interested when I told him the general idea of the book, and turned fiercely on a interpreter who said that Shaw was a clown. "He may be a clown for the bourgeoisie in a bourgeois state, but they would not think him a clown in a revolution."

He asked whether Sydney Webb was consciously working in the interests of the capitalists, and when I said I was quite sure

that he was not, he said: "Then he has more industry than brains. He certainly has great knowledge."

He was entirely convinced that England was on the eye of revolution and pooh-poohed my objections. "Three months ago I thought it would end in all the world having to fight the center or reaction in England. I do not think so now. Things have gone further there than in France, if the news as to the extent of the strikes is true."

I pointed out some of the circumstances, geographical and economical, which would make the success of a violent revolution in England problematical in the extreme, and put to him the same suggestion that I put to Bucharin, namely, that a suppressed movement in England would be worse for Russia than our traditional method of compromise. He agreed at once, but said: "That is quite true, but you cannot stop a revolution... although Ramsay MacDonald will try to at the last minute. Strikes and Soviets. If these two habits once

get hold, nothing will keep the workmen from them. And Soviets, once started, must sooner or later come to supreme power." Then: "But certainly it would be much more difficult in England. Your big clerk and shopkeeping class would oppose it, until the workmen broke them. Russia was indeed the only country in which the revolution could start. And we are not yet through our troubles with the peasantry."

I suggested that one reason why it had been possible in Russia was that they had room to retreat. "Yes," he said. "The distances saved us. The Germans were frightened of them, at the time when they could have eaten us up, and won peace, which the Allies would have given them in gratitude for our destruction. A revolution in England would have nowhere whither to retire."

Of the Soviets he said: "In the beginning I thought they were and would remain a purely Russian form; but it is now quite clear that under various names they must be the instruments of revolutions everywhere."

He expressed the opinion that in England they would not allow me to tell the truth about Russia, and gave as an example the way in which Colonel Robins had been kept silent in America. He asked about Robins. "Had he really been as friendly to the Soviet government as he made out?" I said, "Yes, if only as a sportsman admiring its pluck and courage in difficulties." I quoted Robins' saying: "I can't go against a baby I have sat up with for six months. But if there

were a Bolshevik movement in America I'd be out with my rifle to fight it every time." "Now, that," said Lenin, "is an honest man and more far-seeing than most. I always liked that man." He shook with laughter at the image of the baby, and said, "That baby had several million other folk sitting up with it, too."

He said he had read in an English Socialist paper a comparison of his own theories with those of an American, Daniel De Leon. He had then borrowed some of De Leon's pamphlets from Reinstein (who belongs to the party which De Leon founded in America), read them for the first time, and was amazed to see how far and how early De Leon had pursued the same train of thought as the Russians. His theory that representation should be by industries, not by areas, was already the germ of the Soviet system. He remembered seeing De Leon at an International Conference. De Leon made no impression at all, a grey old man, quite unable to speak to such an audience, but evidently a much bigger man than he looked, since his pamphlets were written before the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905. Some days afterwards I noticed that Lenin had introduced a few phrases of De Leon, as if to do honor to his memory, into the draft of the new programme of the Communist Party.

Talking of the lies that are told about Russia, he said it was interesting to notice that they were mostly perversions of truth and not pure inventions, and gave as an example the recent story that he had recanted. "Do you know the origin of that?" he said. "I was wishing a happy New Year to a friend over the telephone, and said, 'And may we commit fewer stupidities this year than last!' Someone overheard it and told someone else. A newspaper announced 'Lenin says we are committing stupidities,' and so the story started."

More than ever, Lenin struck me as a happy man, walking home from the Kremlin, I tried to think of any other man of his caliber who had a similar jovous temperament. I could think of none. This little, baldheaded, wrinkled man, who tilts his chair this way and that, laughing over one thing or another, ready any minute to give serious advice to anyone who interrupts him to ask for it, advice so well reasoned that it is to his followers far more compelling than any command—every one of his wrinkles is a wrinkle of laughter, not of worry. I think the reason must be that he is the first great leader who utterly discounts the value of his own personality. He is quite without personal ambition. More than that, he believes, as a Marxist, in the movement of the masses which, with or without him, would still move. His whole faith is in the elemental forces that move people; his faith in himself is merely his belief that he justly estimates the direction of these forces. He does not believe that any man could make or stop the revolution which he thinks inevitable. If the Russian revolution fails, according to him, it fails only temporarily, and because of forces beyond any man's control. He is consequently free with a freedom no other great man has ever had. It is not so much what he says that inspires confidence in him. It is this sensible freedom, this obvious detachment. With his philosophy he cannot for a moment believe that one man's mistake might ruin all. He is, for himself at any rate, the exponent, not the cause, of the events that will be forever linked with this name.

Economic Policy

In the afternoon of February 26th I got to the Executive Committee in time to hear the end of a report by Rykov on the economic position. He said there was hope for a satisfactory conclusion to the negotiations for the building of the Obi-Kotlas railway, and hoped that this would soon be followed by similar negotiations and by other concessions. He explained that they did not want capitalism in Russia, but that they did want the things that capital could give them in exchange for what they could give capital. This was, of course, referring to the opposition criticism that the Soviet was prepared to sell Russia into the hands of the "Anglo-

American imperialistic bandits." Rykov said that the main condition of all concessions would be that they should not affect the international structure of the Soviet Republic and should not lead to the exploitation of the workmen. They wanted railways, locomotives and machines, and their country was rich enough to pay for these things out of its natural resources without sensible loss to the state or the yielding of an inch in their programme of internal reconstruction.

He was followed by Krestinsky, who pointed out that whereas the commissariats were, in a sense altered forms of the old ministers, links with the past, the Council of Public Economy, organizing the whole production and distribution of the country, building the new Socialist state, was an entirely new organ, and a link, not with the past, but with the future.

The two next speeches illustrated one of the main difficulties of the revolution. Krasin criticised the council for insufficient confidence in the security of the revolution. He said they were still hampered by fears lest here or there capitalism should creep in again. They were unnecessarily afraid to make the fullest possible use of specialists of all kinds who had taken a leading part in industry under the old regime and who, now that the old regime, the old system, had been definitely broken, could be made to serve the new. He believed that unless the utmost use was made of the resources of the country in technical knowledge, etc., they could not hope to organize the maximum productivity which alone could save them from catastrophe.

The speaker who followed him, Glebov, defended precisely the opposite point of view and represented the same attitude with regard to the reorganization of industry as is held by many who object to Trotsky's use of officers of the old army in the reorganization of the new, believing that all who worked in high places under the old regime must be and remain enemies of the revolution, so their employment is a definite source of danger. Glebov is a trade union representative, and his speech was a clear indication of the non-political undercurrent towards the left which may shake the Bolshevik position and will most certainly come into violent conflict with any definitely bourgeois government that may be brought in by counter-revolution.

The Third International.

The meeting March 3d was in a small room in the Kremlin, with a dias at one end, in the old Courts of Justice built in the time of Catherine the Second, who would certainly have turned in her grave if she had known the use to which it was being put. Two very smart soldiers of the Red Army were guarding the doors. The whole room, including the floor, was decorated in red. There were banners with "Long Live the Third International" inscribed upon them in many languages. The Praesidium was on the raised dais at the end of the room, Lenin sitting in the middle behind a long red covered table, with Albrecht, a young German Spartacist, on the right, and Platten, the Swiss, on the left. The auditorium sloped down to the foot of the dais. Chairs were arranged on each side of an alleyway down the middle, and the four or five front rows had little tables for convenience in writing. Everybody of importance was there—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Chicherin, Bucharin, Karakhan, Litvinov, Vorovsky, Steklov, Rakovsky, representing here the Balkan Socialist Party; Skripnik, representing the Ukraine. Then there were Stang (Norwegian Left Socialists), Grimlund ((Swedish Left), Sadoul (France), Finberg (British Socialist Party), Reinstein (American Socialist Labor Party), a Turk, a German-Austrian, a Chinese, and so on. Business was conducted and speeches were made in all languages, though where possible German was used, because more of the foreigners knew German than knew French. This was unlucky for me.

Trotsky, in a leather coat, military breeches and gaiters, with a fur hat with the sign of the Red Army in front, was looking very well, but a strange figure for those who had known him as one of the greatest anti-militarists in Europe. Lenin sat quietly listening, speaking when necessary in almost every European language with astonishing ease. Balabanova talked about Italy and seemed happy at last, even in Soviet Russia, to be once more in a "secret meeting." It was really an extraordinary affair, and, in spite of some childishness, I could not help realizing that I was present at something that will go down in the histories of socialism, much like that other strange meeting convened in London in 1848.

March 6th.—The conference in the Kremlin ended with the usual singing and a photograph. Some time before the end, when Trotsky had just finished speaking and had left the tribune, there was a squeal of protest from the photographer who had just trained his apparatus. Someone remarked, "The dictatorship of the photographer," and amid general laughter, Trotsky had to return to the tribune and stand silent while the unabashed photographer took two pictures. The founding of the Third International had been proclaimed in the morning papers, and an extraordinary meeting in the Great Theater announced for the evening. I got to the theater at about five, and had difficulty in getting in, though I had a special ticket as a correspondent. There were queues outside all the doors. The Moscow Soviet was there, the Executive Committee, representatives of the trade unions and the factory committees, etc. The huge theater and the platform were crammed, people standing in the aisles, and even packed close together in the wings of the stage. Kamenev opened the meeting by a solemn announcement of the founding of the Third International in the Kremlin. There was a roar of applause from the audience, which rose and the "International" in a way that I have never heard it sung since the All-Russian Assembly when the news came of the strikes in Germany during the Brest negotiations. Kamenev then spoke of those who had died on the way, mentioning Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and the whole theater stood again while the orchestra played "You Fell as Victims." Then Lenin spoke. If I had ever thought that Lenin was losing his personal popularity, I got my answer now. It was a long time before he could speak at all, everybody standing and drowning his attempts to speak with roar after roar of applause. It was an extraordinary, overwhelming scene, tier after tier crammed with workmen, the parterre filled, the whole platform and the wings. A knot of workmen were close to me, and they almost fought to see him, and shouted as if each one were determined that he should hear him in particular. He spoke as usual, in the simplest way, emphasizing the fact that the revolutionary struggle everywhere was forced to use the Soviet forms. "We declare our solidarity with the aims of the Soviets," he read from an Italian paper, and added, "and that was when they did not know what our aims were, and before we had an established programme ourselves." Albrecht made a very long reasoned speech for the Spartacans, which was translated by Trotsky. Guilbeau, seemingly a mere child, spoke of the Socialist movement in France. Etoklov was translating him when I left. You must remember that I had nearly two years of such meetings and am not a Russian. When I got outside the theater I found at each door a disappointed crowd that had been unable to get in.

The proceedings finished up next day with a review in the Red Square and a general holiday.

If the Berne delegates had come, as they were expected, they would have been told by the Communists that they were welcome visitors, but that they were not regarded as representing the International. There would then have issued a lively battle over each one of the Left delegates, the Mensheviks urging him to stick to Berne and the Communists urging him to express allegiance to the Kremlin. There would have been demonstrations, and altogether I am very sorry that it did not happen, and that I was not there to see.

Last Talk With Lenin.

I went to see Lenin the day after the Review in the Red Square and the general holiday in honor of the Third International. The first thing he said was: "I am afraid that the jingoes in England and France will make use of yesterday's doings as an excuse for further action against us. They will say, 'How can we leave them in peace when they set about setting the world on fire?' For that I would

answer: 'We are at war, messieurs! And just as during your war you tried to make revolution in Germany, and Germany did her best to make trouble in Ireland and India, so we, while we are at war with you, adopt the measures that are open to us. We have told you we are willing to make peace.'

Se spoke of Chicherin's last note, and said they based all their hopes on it. Balfour had said somewhere, "Let the fire burn itself out." That would not do. But the quickest way of restoring good conditions in Russia was, of course, peace and agreement with the Allies. "I am sure we could come to terms, if they want to come to terms at all. England and America would be willing, perhaps, if their hands were not tied by France. But intervention in the large sense can now hardly be. They must have learned that Russia could never be governed an India is governed, and that sending troops here is the same thing as sending them to a Communist university."

I said something about the general hostility to their propaganda noticeable in foreign countries.

LENIN.—"Let them build a Chinese wall round each of their countries. They have their customs officers, their frontiers, their coast guards. They can expel any Bolsheviks they wish. Revolution does not depend on propaganda. If the conditions of revolution are not there no sort of propaganda will either hasten or impede it. The war has brought about those conditions in all countries, and I am convinced that if Russia were to be swallowed up by the sea, were to cease to exist altogether, the revolution in the rest of Europe would go on. Put Russia under water for twenty years, and you would not affect by a shilling or an hour a week the demands of the shopstewards in England."

I told him, what I have told most of them many times, that I did not believe there would be a revolution in England.

LENIN.—"We have a saying a man may have typhoid while still on his legs. Twenty, maybe thirty, years ago I had abortive typhoid, and was going about with it, had had it some days before it knocked me over. Well, England and France and Italy have caught the disease already. England may seem to you to be untouched, but the microbe is already there."

I said that just as his typhoid was abortive typhoid, so the disturbances in England to which he alluded might well be abortive revolution and come to nothing. I told him the vague, disconnected character of the strikes and the generally liberal as opposed to socialist character of the movement, so far as it was political at all, reminded me of what I had heard of 1905 in Russia and not at all of 1917, and that I was sure it would settle down.

LENIN.—"Yes, that is possible. It is, perhaps, an educative period, in which the English workmen will come to realize their political needs and turn from liberalism to socialism. Socialism is certainly weak in England. Your Socialist movements, your Socialist parties... when I was in England I zealously attended everything I could, and for a country with so large an industrial population they were pitiable, pitiable... a handful at a street corner... a meeting in a drawing room... a school class... pitiable. But you must remember one great difference between Russia of 1905 and England to-day. Our first Soviet in Russia was made during the revolution. Your shop-stewards' committees have been in existence long before. They are without programme, without direction, but the opposition they will meet will force a programme upon them."

Speaking of the expected visit of the Berne delegation, he asked me if I knew Macdonald whose name had been substituted for that of Henderson in later tele-

grams announcing their coming. He said: "I am very glad Macdonald is coming instead of Henderson. Of course, Macdonald is not Marxist in any sense of the word, but he is at least interested in theory, and can therefore be trusted to do his best to understand what is happening here. More than that we do not ask."

He then talked a little on a subject that interests me very much, namely, the way in which insensibly, quite apart from war, the Communist theories are being modified in the difficult process of their translation into practice. We talked of the changes in now a very different thing from the wild committee business that at first made work almost impossible. We talked then of the antipathy of the peasants to compulsory communism, and how that idea also had been considerably whittled away. I asked him what were going to be the relations between the Communists of the towns and the property-loving peasants, and whether there was not great danger of antipathy between them, and said I regretted leaving too soon to see the elasticity of the Communist theories tested by the inevitable pressure of the peasantry.

Lenin said that in Russia there was a pretty sharp distinction between the rich peasants and the poor. "The only opposition we have here in Russia is directly or indirectly due to the rich peasants. The poor, as soon as they are liberated from the political domination of the rich, are on our side and are in an enormous majority."

I said that would not be so in the Ukraine, where property among the peasants is much more equally distributed.

LENIN.—"No. And there, in the Ukraine, you will certainly see our policy modified. Civil war, whatever happens, is likely to be more bitter in the Ukraine than elsewhere, because there the instinct of property has been further developed in the peasantry, and the minority and majority will be more equal."

He asked me if I meant to return, saying that I could go down to Kiev to watch the revolution there as I had watched it in Moscow. I said I should be very sorry to think that this was my last visit to the country which I love only second to my own. He laughed, and paid me the compliment of saying that "although English," I had more or less succeeded in understanding what they were at, and that he should be pleased to see me again.

March 15th.—There is nothing to record about the last few days of my visit, fully occupied as they were with preparations for departure. I left with the two Americans, Messers. Bullitt and Steffens, who had come to Moscow some days previously, and traveled up in the train with Bill Shatov, the Commandant of Petrograd, who is not a Bolshevik but a fervent admirer of Prince Kropotkin, for the distribution of whose works in Russia he has probably done as much as any man. Shatov was an emigre in New York, returned to Russia, brought law and order into the chaos of the Petrograd-Moscow railway, never lost a chance of doing a good turn to an American, and with his level-headedness and practical sense became one of the hardest worked servants of the Soviet, although, as he said, the moment people stopped attacking them he would be the first to pull down the Bolsheviks. He went into the occupied provinces during the German evacuation of them to buy arms and ammunition from the German soldiers. Prices, he said, ran low. You could buy rifles for a mark each, field guns for 150 marks, and a field wireless station for 500. He had then been made Commandant of Petrograd, although there had been some talk of setting him to reorganize the transport. Asked how long he thought the Soviet government could hold out, he replied, "We can afford to starve another year for the sake of the Revolution."

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WILSON URGED TO USE JAPANESE TO CRUSH RUSSIA

FINNISH BUTCHER GOVERNMENT IS DEFEATED

Workers Were Murdered by Thousands in Civil War. White Guard Officers Had Great Hatred for Women (C. C. Federationist.)

Louisa, July 30.—The defeat of General Mannerheim, the strong man of Finland, in the presidential election, strikes a blow at the Russian cause and is regarded as a victory for Bolshevism. Karl Stahlberg has been elected the first president of the Finnish Republic. The election was devoid of excitement, since the arrangement made among the Social democrats, agrarians and progressive parties rendered the result a foregone conclusion. The voting by the deputies of the diet was: Stahlberg, 143; Mannerman, 50; Tanner, Social Democrat, 1; Relander, 1.

The following letter received by the Federationist from a man in Tammerfors, Finland, practically gives the reason for the change in government, and speaks wonders for the solidarity of the Finnish workers when one considers the thousands that were done to death by the White Guards and the Huns.

A Human Slaughter House. "I was captured by the White Guards after being wounded at the battle of Mesukyla and was held a prisoner for eight months. We would never have been beaten had it not been for the 12,000 German butchers that the White Guards got to help them. At the end of the war 80,000 workers were arrested and of these about 40,000 were either killed or starved to death. At the jail at Tammerfors where I was, the death rate from starvation reached as high as seventy-five per day. The bodies were taken out to the graves in manure carts, dumped into the holes and covered up. In some cases men and women who had been beaten into unconsciousness by the guards were thrown into these wagons with the dead and sometimes on the way to the graves or after they had been dumped into the holes, the victims would show signs of consciousness and this would be the signal for

the officers to end their existence with revolver shots. It seems impossible to believe these horrors, but I have seen them time and time again.

Gloats Over Deeds. "The commander of the detention camp at Viborg is credited with having killed the most prisoners, and is said to have boasted that if one out of every ten he had killed were guilty he was satisfied.

Women Fight Heroically. "There was no such thing as a trial for these men and women. The women were included in these murders because they fought more heroically, in many cases, than did the men, hence the butchers were determined to have their revenge out of the women. In one case the men and women were lined up outside of a church (church of the parish of Hollola) and every other one of those lined up were shot and the remainder marched back to jail with the possibility of going through the same performance the next day and receiving the lead.

"By some good luck I had a trial and was sentenced to four years' imprisonment with all my civil rights taken away for eight years. Pressure from foreign countries compelled the authorities to modify these sentences, and soon afterwards I was let out on parole and if I fail to report to the sheriff I will be thrown into jail again.

More Allied Diplomacy. "It is rumored that the White Guards are going to invade Russia and that this is being done at the request of the Allied governments in return for provinces for Finland's military butchers. Anyhow the army has plenty of food whilst the populace are crying for food."

ON RUSSIA

Pays (Paris, Rad.), June 18. alleges certain "lies" and "contradictions" in M. Pichon's speech on his Russian policy.

"This is the spirit of the Foreign Minister's argument: 'We are sending no expedition to Russia! We never have sent any; we never shall. It is proved by the fact that we are limiting ourselves to sending relief troops and not reinforcements. The constitution has not been violated as the Socialists say. The war in Russia is only, as a fact, a continuation of the war against Germany which was waged in 1914. Neither are we interfering politically. It is, however, impossible to abandon our great ally and let her be thrown into Germany's arms. Bolshevism is re-treating everywhere. We are with the democracy. We shall therefore support Koltchak, who has had the

courage to imprison members of the provisional government. Here are the principal lies:

'We are not sending a military expedition to Russia and never have.' What about Odessa? 'Bolshevism is retreating.' On the contrary, it is at the present moment victorious on the Ural frontier.

'We are with the democracy.' Neither Denikin nor Koltchak are democrats."

The contradictions are to be found in the statement that there is no expedition to Russia, although relief troops are being sent; in the assertion that we are not interfering politically although we are supporting Koltchak in his fight against Bolshevism; in the assertion that we are only at war with Germany, whilst we are supporting Koltchak against his compatriots.

YELLOW TERROR LET LOOSE IN SIBERIA

"Overrun by Japanese with Consent of Allies."

WORSE THAN UNDER TSAR We have received a letter written by an Englishman in Harbin (Manchuria) to a relative in London, from which we publish the following striking passages:

"Here in Siberia and in all places connected with the Siberian Government it is worse than in the time of the Tsar. People here are hung and shot simply for saying one word, and the worst of it is that we know that they would not have the power to do such things if it were not for the help that the Allies give them.

"Ninety per cent. of the bloodshed in this present civil war in Russia is due to the interference of the Allies, and the hatred against them is terrible. The Allied Governments told their nations that they came to Russia to make order in the land. Oh, my God, what an order they have made!

Japanese Villa-Burners. "They have put into power and are helping a Government that is worse than the old Tsar's. With the consent of the Allies, the Japanese have overrun Siberia, and are burning the villages and killing the people all over the place. The Yellow Terror has been let loose against the white races in Siberia.

"Meanwhile the Russian workers here are not sleeping. The old Nihilist terror is being revived. Bombs are already being thrown right and left, some successful, others not. Large bands of men have been formed; some of them are even led by women. They are infesting the steppes and forests of Siberia and are causing lots of damage by tearing up the railway lines and bridges.

BUDAPEST

"RUFFIANS" Real Obstacle to Allied Plan of Restoring Old Governing Class in Vienna.

Paris.—In a previous message I described how the Allied diplomats hope to solve the Austrian problem—namely, by restoring Vienna to something like its old directing place in what is left of the old Austrian Empire, under the control of the discredited governing class which ruled before the war.

A British member of the Delegation has, in the course of conversation, thrown an interesting light on the real attitude of himself and his colleagues. Soviet Hungary, he admitted, was the stumbling-block to the re-creation of the old regime in Austria.

"Even if the Soviets prove with in a reasonable time their power to resist invasion and to govern the country according to the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants?" I asked.

"Not until the present crowd of ruffians is overthrown," he replied with a look of supreme disgust.

1,355,000 LIVES

War's Fearful Toll on the Dying Population of France.

Paris.—The Deputy M. Louis Marin yesterday made a report regarding the losses of the French Army during the war.

The total losses in killed and missing amount to 1,355,000.

This represents 16.2 per cent. of the total effectives mobilized.—Exchange.

MACHINISTS ENDORSE

O. B. U.

New York.—The smouldering fire of indignation that has long burned in the breasts of machinists of New York and vicinity found expression at the last meeting of Micrometer Lodge 460, International Association of Machinists, called to discuss conditions in the machine industry and to get the sentiment of the rank and file.

As a result of the meeting, which was attended by over 700 good-standing union men and women, the New York machinists reaffirmed their indorsement of the One Big Union principle and urged its application to their industry, for the purpose of effecting the amalgamation of all the crafts in the metal industry into a powerful industrial organization.

The lodge further proposed a referendum vote on the proposition "that the I. A. M. shall immediately sever its affiliation with the A. F. of L."

TO PREVENT WAR

Signing Treaty Has Not Stopped Wars.

Paris, July 27.—World tranquility has not resulted from signing of the peace treaties between the Allies and the countries with which they went to war in Europe. Nearly two-score wars continue to rage in different parts of the world. Most of these conflicts are raging against Soviet Russia. The line-up, in part, follows:

Germans against Poles. Ukrainians against Poles. Afghans against British in North India.

Bin Saub, Arab Chief, against King of Hedjaz. Germans against Estonians. Rumanians against Hungarian Soviet.

Koltchak against Bolsheviks in Russia.

Denikine against Bolsheviks in Russia.

Poles against Bolsheviks.

Estonians against Russian Bolsheviks.

Allies in Murmansk against Russian Bolsheviks.

Letts against Bolsheviks near Dvinsk.

Ural Cossacks against Bolsheviks.

There are numerous minor struggles in progress in many parts of the world. Italians continually clash with Jugo Slavs at Fiume, guerilla warfare is going on in Mexico, Ireland, Egypt and India.

SWEDEN

Socialists Appeal for Russia. Stockholm.—A joint appeal on behalf of Soviet Russia has been addressed to the workers of the world by the left wing of the Swedish Socialist party and by the Swedish League of Young Socialists. Says the appeal:

"Workers of the world, imperialism is fighting its most dangerous enemy—the revolution of the workers.

"The Russian Soviet republic is attacked on the north by the Finns and Estonians, whilst French and English troops advance from the Arctic. Their aim is the cradle of the revolution—Petrograd.

"From all other directions come the black vultures of reaction. Behind this hostile horde of pillagers one feels the capitalist imperialists' fangs. The anti-revolutionary troops are equipped by French and English money. France, hitherto the cradle of revolution in Europe, is now head of the reactionaries. England, the home of the modern socialist movement, is fighting the precursors of the new socialism. Labor makes only feeble protests.

"The imperialists do not openly fight the revolution; they do it hypercritically, by the blockade, by the use of cannon, of munitions, of gold, of foodstuffs, to the counter-revolutionaries.

"The workers must reply in the same way. They must protest immediately against the throttling of the revolution, declaring a blockade upon the countries which attack the revolution and stopping the transport of food and munitions of war. We address ourselves to all workers, and appeal to all socialist organizations, with a view to collective action."

THEY REMEMBER 1789

Generals in Hungary Alarmed by French Troops' Sympathy with Reds.

Budapest, June 29 (delayed).—A Hungarian Socialist, who was condemned to death by the French and Hungarian bourgeois war tribunal in Szeged, and has escaped, tells amazing stories of White cruelty against workers in that seat of the counter-revolutionary Government.

The commander of the Whites gave strict orders never to shoot into the air, but to fire and use the bayonet, if the proletarians dared assemble in the street. French soldiers often take the side of the Socialists, many of them being imprisoned for gallantly defending women and children. The Socialist Directorate governed the workers even from prison, thanks to the French guards' aid. Imprisoned workmen were treated barbarously, 40 of them being crowded in one small cellar.

TCHITCHERINE'S LATEST NOTE

Tchitcherine's latest note says:

Our work of achievement is well under way, although we are still subject to military attacks. We are facing (1) An army led by officers of the late Czar; (2) By Denikin's army supported by the Entente; (3) Estonians and Finns, urged on by France and England, with Polish and Rumanian protection as a pretext; (4) Interior counter-plotters, paid agents of foreign powers, strive to spread dissension. We have resisted all these because we are supported by a revolutionary proletariat. Such a basis is the only one that can free the masses.

Our power is increasing. The Entente States are beginning to decline; their armies are spoiling whilst the Revolutionary Army increases, and the oppressed are beginning to understand that the path we tread is the one to follow. The forces of the proletarian revolution are invincible.

THE FRENCH IN RUSSIA

(Communicated by the British People's Russian Information Bureau.) Russian Information Bureau.)

The following report of the Debate in the French Chamber on the French defeat in the Ukraine appeared in L'Humanite, June 12th: M. de Kerguezec (Recorder of Budget of the Fleet), who had been sent by the Commission, together with M. Charles Meunier (a Conservative member of the French Chamber), to the Black Sea to investigate, gave an account of the terrible conditions prevailing amongst the French Black Sea Squadron, and at the bases of Tarente, Irea, Corfu, and Salonica. The sailors were in rags and half starved. From there he went to Sebastopol and to Odessa, where he found with our troops the "more than famous" volunteers of the Russian army who are fighting with us. Out of about one thousand men there are hundreds of colonels and dozens of generals, indeed out of two thousand men there are 1,900 officers.

Lafont said that in Odessa during the French occupation, France was represented by the "famous" consular agent Henaut, who issued orders in the name of the Allies, and who is now in Paris and has not been arrested, although he has compromised and degraded the policy of his country. According to Lafont the people in Odessa were starving. Pillaging, thieving, and shooting took place under the paternal eye of French generals who must not intervene against the reactionary groups who indulged in these terrible excesses. M. Henaut took part in these excesses. ("I shall investigate," M. Pichon murmured.) Lafont in describing the evacuation of Odessa said: "The troops were there, but you had no army that had any of the fighting spirit required for battle asking: 'What are we doing here? What right have we to be here at all? If you were obliged to leave Kher-son let me remind you of the reason: it was because the 21st colonial and the 56th infantry regiments at Tiraspol had refused to advance. Engineer corps had gone over arms and baggage to the Bolsheviks. This happened, not because French soldiers have ceased

Washington.—Shall Japan be appointed by the League of Nations as a receiver for the white race and democracy? Has the world war brought the Caucasian peoples and the capitalist system of production to such a pass that both must kneel for salvation at the feet of the Mikado?

More illuminating than any comment could be is the succinct memorandum itself, which follows in full: Dear Mr. President:

In response to your request for the facts and reasonable probabilities, as distinct from the fragmentary and necessarily misleading summaries which are circulated through the press, and by other means, to control the public's conception of foreign affairs, we beg leave to submit herewith a report based not only on the truth as rendered by our confidential sources, but it appears from the several regrettable and now public miscarriages of our projects.

Russia the Acid Test.

As you long ago warned the world to expect, Russia provides the acid test of all diplomacy. The but reminds the world that he had foreign policy of each of the governments lately associated with us in war is now governed to an absolutely fatal extent by the psychological vibrations which emanate from Moscow. Peoples whose docility was formerly the chief and final reliance of rulers have become so moved by the Russian spectacle, so infected by appeals for understanding, which neither blockades nor censorships have proved potent to suppress, that they are today engaged in ruinous strikes and other public demonstrations aimed at undoing the prolonged and costly warfare which we and our associates have directed against the Soviet regime.

Under these circumstances it has become impossible for France, Great Britain or Italy to dispatch additional troops in support of those former associates of the Czar whom we had expected to see placed in authority over Russia.

You are doubtless aware of the mutiny which occurred among the land and naval forces dispatched by France to the Black Sea area, events which led to the complete debacle and withdrawal of those forces. Perhaps it has been drawn to your attention that serious disaffection occurred among American units in North Russia, prior to their timely withdrawal in advance of the fatal military events which have since occurred in that region. In due season you will doubtless be apprised that the current week's newspapers print, with unaccustomed frankness, the fact that the Soviet government of Moscow is now in complete control of European Russia, their forces having routed its native and imported foes with equal severity.

Britain May Be About to Flop. In this connection we direct your particular attention to a passage in the press dispatch from London, which reads:

"The Reds now have it in their power to make or break their future; to set up, if they can, a stable government in place of the imperial Russian dynasty."

We are prone to regard the above sentence as a persuasive indication that the British government is preparing to inaugurate a state of commercial and political amity with the Soviet government.

The facts with respect to Hungary are equally at variance with what we had planned. Simultaneously with the current triumph of his armies over the Rumanians, the impetuous Bela Kun expresses his regret at having to punish the Entente governments (which would include ourselves in this instance),

to be brave; they are ready to suffer and to die for an ideal, for a just cause; but not for your incoherent politics, and not to protect the disgusting excesses of your officers and consular agents." In conclusion Lafont denounced the attempts of Entente to restore the monarchy in Russia.

L'Humanite, June 15th.—A telegram from Budapest says that Tchitcherine (Russian Commissary for Foreign Affairs) has sent the following wireless to Bela Kun: "Please notify Radek that the Ukrainian Soviet Government has appointed him as plenipotentiary to Berlin and that, as retaliation for his illegal arrest by the German Government, the German Consul in Odessa and several other nationals of Germany have been arrested."

warned M. Clemenceau that Hungary would be forced to confine Rumania to the boundaries given her by the peace conference, since the peace conference confessed its own inability to do so. We need not add that this spectacle of Lenin's lieutenant in Central Europe, acting as police power for the enfeebled peace conference of Paris, is eminently calculated to bring yourself and others into extreme ridicule among the barbarous peoples of that region.

Make Good Allies' Pledges.

Nor is that the most serious consequence of the peace terms as they apply to Rumania. You will recall that the lamented former Czar's government made a specific promise of Bessarabia to Rumania, at the time when it was deemed necessary to admit the latter country into the military alliance against the former Central Empires. Owing to the insistence of Mm. Lyvoff and Sasonoff, who acted for the Kolchak government at Paris, it became, as you know, necessary to deprive Rumania of the promised province.

As an unhappy and wholly unforeseen outcome of that deprivation, we now witness the astute and daring Lenin concluding an armistice with Rumania, on condition that the Soviet government give the province which Mm. Lyvoff and Sasonoff denied, provided Rumania will forbid the passage of anti-Soviet forces through her territory. Such an arrangement bids fair not only to placate Rumania for the advance of Hungary into Transylvania, but supplies the astonished world with another instance of agreements abandoned by the Entente being carried out by Soviet statesmen, and to the advantage of small nationalities.

By exercising an energetic control over all means of communication, we have during many months kept an emotional world ignorant of the facts which now, by force of unavoidable accumulation, are bursting upon the view of mankind. We are, however, forced to the regrettable conclusion that the policy of concealment must now be reorganized throughout, or totally abandoned. We must confess and accept the triumph of Soviet principles in Eastern Europe, or turn for salvation to the only remaining government whose energetic leadership and submissive population enable it to cope with the spreading peril of working-class domination.

Japan Ready and Willing

We refer, of course, to the Imperial government of Japan. Within the territory of that government it has never been permitted to circulate, or advocate those doctrines which, with our innocent consent, have undermined the obedience of the white race to the command of their rulers. With commendable foresight, for example, the Japanese government has lately imprisoned more than a score of disaffected subjects who had among their effects that quotation from a book called "The New Freedom," which reads:

"We have forgotten the very principle of our rights if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices."

Supported on the one hand by such a population as this rigorous discipline, untaught fanaticism and high training in arms have produced, and on the other by those numerous supplies which European governments and ourselves would, despite internal objection and financial difficulties, be able to give, Japan is in a position to proceed without sentimental embarrassments with the destruction of communistic experiments throughout the Eastern Hemisphere.

In exchange for the timely aid and friendship of this wise Oriental Empire you have already consented to vast sacrifices by the inert and unworthy Chinese Republic. Should America and the governments lately associated with her in war supplement every restriction to Japanese ambition in the East, it must be clear that Japan would undertake the military conquest of Russia, which alone can save and perpetuate that system of politics and economics to which we are committed.

The possibility that even Japan might in an effort to end the nightmare of working class rule which radiates from Moscow be one that we have not overlooked. Yet we turn to Japan as to the last hope of civilization and (in the diplomatic sense) of Christianity.

(Signed) DANCING JOLKE.

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DEATH OF EARNEST HAECKEL

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of the famous German scientist, Earnest Haeckel. Haeckel received a world-wide reputation through his famous work, "The Riddle of the Universe," and many other works.

Haeckel was born in Potsdam, Germany, in the year 1843. His father and many of his relations were lawyers, but the legal profession had no attractions for him. But in order to please his father he took up a study of medicine and also practised as a doctor for one year. He was more concerned with the sciences than with the task of obtaining money. His practising medicine for one year was only to further satisfy his parents. During the whole year he had but three patients, due to the fact that his hours of business were from five to six in the early morning.

When Haeckel first announced to the world that he was a firm believer in the theories set forth by Darwin, there were demands made upon the Grand Duke of Wiemar to have Haeckel dismissed from his position as instructor at Jena university. Karl Alexander (the Duke) turned around to the theologian, who was demanding the dismissal of Haeckel, and said: "Do you suppose he really believes the things he publishes?" "Most certainly he does," came the prompt reply. "Very well," said the Grand Duke, "then the man simply does the same as you." At the present time when the theory of evolution is being universally accepted, it is very hard to realize the scorn and incredulity that greeted the theory upon its formulation. We who see about us the laboratories for experimental evolution where new species of plants and animals are produced at will, according to specifications drawn up in advance, can hardly put ourselves in the position of those who fifty years ago believed that to question the immutability of species was to produce intellectual confusion and invite moral chaos. So we can scarcely appreciate the courage and perspicacity of the then young Haeckel in openly championing Darwinism at a time when that theory was regarded as an absurdity, not alone by theologians, as one would infer from Andrew D.D. White's "Warfare of Science and Theology," but by most of the leading authorities in all fields of science. When he first introduced the theories of Darwin to the German scientists, he drew from it conclusions that even Darwin hesitated to suggest, which makes the espousing of Darwinism by Haeckel, all the more courageous. In his first speech on Darwinism, delivered at the Scientific Congress at Stettin, in 1863, he stated:

"As regards man himself, if we are consistent we must recognize his immediate ancestors in the ape-like mammals; still in the kangaroo-like marsupials; beyond these, in the secondary period, in the lizard-like reptiles; and finally, at an earlier stage, the primary period, in lowly organized fishes."

And this, it must be remembered, was eight years before Darwin published his "Descent of Man."

At the 1877 Munich Congress of Naturalists, Haeckel sought to prove that Darwinism would upset the theories of Socialism. Unfortunately Haeckel forgot that society is not biologic, but economic. Society has passed through three stages, namely, Inorganic, Biologic and Economic. The first and by far the longest, Inorganic, has to do with the transformation of matter from its nebulous condition to the forms of vegetable and animal life, whence it is clearly perceivable that the form which life (a mode of matter) takes, is determined by the material environment which creates it. This gives rise to the first biologic fact we need notice, viz., that the form of organic life is shaped (by adaptation) by material surroundings. This takes place through contact. Life is differentiated or modified matter, but has no independent existence apart from matter. The degree of differentiation or modification is the true measure of what we call progress.

The second period has to do with the process of this modification. From the simple cell to the evolved human being represents a series of steps of increased differentiation from inorganic matter. Thus the stomach of the amoeba is in direct contact with the outside world, while in the higher animals the stomach is a differentiated organism which never has direct contact. The physiological difference between the species of animals are accounted for by the modes in which they come into contact with nature in the struggle for existence. This is the pre-eminent feature which stamps the Biologic period with an unmistakable impress.

In the third period the indirection of contact with nature receives a line of demarcation at once clear, distinct and striking. This is the introduction of tools. The best definition of man ever yet given is that he is a tool-using animal (tool-making and tool-owning). The tool prevents direct contact with nature, and as a result subordinates the biologic law of physiological alteration. Alterations in the physiology of man now practically cease, and the mind becomes the most prominent responding medium. The changes in the indirect contact with nature now are determined by the changes in the tools of production: we have arrived at the economic and social period.

The failure of Haeckel to recognize that society is economic and not biologic, led him into the error of assuming that Darwinism meant the death of all Socialistic ideas, instead of greatly assisting in proving their correctness. In concluding this somewhat hastily written appreciation of this great German scientist, we wish to state that the world is poorer by his death.

Allen E. Broms will speak at the Woodman Hall Sunday evening. Broms has been released from his second term in prison.

PEACE

By Covington Aml.

Ended is the goalless quest.
The Victors and the Vanquished rest.
The Victims sleep: their crosses stud
The Russian snow and Flanders mud.

Sound by sound, the noises die.
Low hang the clouds o'er earth and sky.
A shudder passes thru the pines.
A screech owl from the ivy whines.

Debts to ashes. Dreams to dust.
The curtain falls. The cannon rust.
O'er Eden and o'er Babylon,
The soft white sands creep on and on.

CHICAGO HOTELS

You know Chicago, do you not? You have seen the fat-paunched beings that loiter over the tables of the Chicago terrace-gardens, holding the hand of some young girl that finds the sale of her sex more remunerative than the selling of her labor-power. Watch these greasy and fat-bellied rich! What do they care about the girl that they have paid the first deposit on, the kid that sells papers in his ragged garments or the married slave that bows and scrapes before them in the anticipation of a tip? What do they care about the poor wretch that watches the river and makes his choice, either suicide or another attempt to beat the struggle for existence? Winking his eye at the manager, as the manager perceives his new choice, one greasy shirker leers and says, "I sure do get them!" Sure he gets them, he has got the money and he never worked for it, remember that. He has bought many daughters in his time and he is going to buy more. Beneath the glare of the table lamps, he buys the souls and bodies of the girls of the working class, like your wife buys pork-chops, big and juicy.

"Ah, dammit all how delightful to be able to enjoy beastly hot, dammit all one's self and when the weath'w is there is the Adirondacks. Call me a taxi wait'w and let us go angel-face." Go to our place and there my girl of the working class pay your debts, for you have sold something and the big greasy bellied parasite is awaiting with a sensual look upon his face, for the value he has paid for.

Bring out your preachers and your editors and denounce the nationalization of women in Russia, but keep the terrace-gardens of Chicago from the glare of the searchlight of public opinion. YOU, my parasite friend, there will come a day when you will wait upon those that wait upon you and in that day you will be compelled to work and reduce your fat and then you will sell your labor-power, but you will never buy any!

THE ARMY OF THE NIGHT

In the black night, along the mud-deep roads
Amid the threatening boughs and ghastly streams,
Hark! Sounds that gird the darkness like goads,
Murmurs and rumours and reverberant dreams,
Trampling, breaths, movements and a little light—
The marching of the army of the night!

The stricken men, the mad brute beasts are keeping
No more their places in the ditches or holes,
But rise and join us, and the women weeping
Beside the roadways, rise like demon souls
Fill up the ranks; what shimmers there so bright?
The bayonets of the army of the night.

Fill up the ranks! We march in steadfast column,
In wavering lines yet forming more and more,
Men, women, children, sombre, silent, solemn,
Rank follows rank like billows to a shore
Downwards we tramp, towards the hills and light
On, on and up, the army of the night.

FRANCIS ADAMS.

CARNEGIE IS DEAD!

The plant is full of life. The mills glowing through their windows like buildings eaten with fire, the tongues of flames through the roof, the vast swirls of blaze and red-shuddering smoke clouds, and the thousand chimney pipes looking through the changing lights. Through all this, among the buildings, over the rails, in the thick of the roar of machinery, a thunder and thir and crash of tools, a confusion of yard-engines, shrieking up and down with little flat-cars, a hurry of lanterns through it all, beings, that once were men, move silently, dully, lit on every side, their black greasy overalls glistening as they move.

Here men risk their lives, in order that the doctor, the chemist, the shipbuilder and the engine builder and all of the world might have steel. See the flames shooting up, they fascinate men, we seem to hear the command coming out from the molten metal, "Dance to my tune and pile up the tonnage record." Men on these jobs must have steady nerves. One slip and their bodies are consumed by the terrible heat of the metal. In these places, men forget wives and babies. No sentiment must enter into their minds. They must keep their eyes upon their work.

From a huge crane hangs a suspended steel hand. It dips down into a "soaking pit." Well might it be called a well of fire. Hell hath no terrors for the men who stand near this well of fire. Down goes the huge steel hand and slowly draws out a dazzling, sizzling, white-hot ten-ton ingot of steel. So the operation is performed over and over again. Many ingots are made in a day and many a man has been made a millionaire by the manufacture of those ingots. Some day men go to work with their nerves, all shot to hell. They perhaps have left a wife at home and they MUST work in order that they might live. So as they stand near that well of fire, they are thinking of a sick wife. How is she doing? Lost in the thoughts of home, he fails to hear the shouts of his mates. "My God, he is burnt alive!" Carry him home and tomorrow the procession will start for the cemetery. Another poor hunk will take his place. For they can be had for 45 cents per hour. No word in the press. None tell of what this dead worker had done to help society. When you gaze at the steel bridges, steel buildings, the mighty ships that span the oceans and the delicate steel instruments in the laboratory, they are the monuments to the deeds of the worker who died on the job. Society pays no tribute to him. Neither does it deck his coffin with flowers. Only a poor worker. Unhonored and unsung. What of his wife? Plenty of houses in the East End need washerwomen. We should worry, says the world.

Andrew Carnegie is dead. Society pays its tribute to this "great" man that lived on the labors of the men who died at his work. Carnegie the "hero" of Homestead is dead. When the rattlesnakes are nesting in his skull and the

worms are picking at the last piece of flesh that still sticks to his rotting carcass, Homestead will still be there as a monument to his callousness, hypocrisy and degenerate nature. Go Carnegie! Go to climes that best suit you! You have died too early. Those that you have left behind will some day wish that they had died with you. With your death the memories of Homestead are awakened and they urge us on to fight for the industrial freedom of the working class. Soon comrades and fellow-workers, the victory will be won and the steel workers will come into their own and the steel shirkers of the Carnegie title will either have to work or starve.

MODERN SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST TACTICS

SAMUEL F. HANKIN.

"Modern Socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms, existing in the society of today, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But in its theoretical form, modern Socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by—philosophers of the eighteenth century. Like every new theory, modern Socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hands, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts." These are the words of Frederick Engels, as he opens his book, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." We may conclude from this that modern Socialism, as a science, has as its basis the Materialist Conception of History, the class struggle, and Marxian economics. The Materialist Conception of History causes history to become an interesting narrative, outlining the class-struggle since slavery first appeared upon the earth up to this day, instead of being a dry book in which no student finds interest; a class-struggle that will be abolished only with the abolition of private property, and with the establishment of Industrial Democracy. Marxian economics is a thorough analysis and critique of the capitalist production and exchange, pointing out the causes for unemployment, panics, wars, and many other industrial manifestations. These are the bases of Socialism, and a clear understanding of these principles is necessary.

Many Socialists give very little attention to the tactics to be employed by the workers in their struggle to establish Industrial Democracy. They forget that without the use of proper tactics, the worker cannot be victorious; therefore, they are as essential in the Socialist movement as Socialism itself.

Capitalism has its foundation upon private ownership in the means of production and exchange, and Marxian economics teaches us that Capitalism will only perish when private ownership in the means of production and distribution will be abolished; in other words, only upon the introduction and firm establishment of social ownership, will capitalism be abolished. This goes to prove that since the workers demand "the socialization of industry and all agencies of production, and as this is antagonistic to the capitalist class, Labor and Capital have nothing in common, and the two are constantly engaging in a struggle for power.

It is a question among Socialists, as to which is the most effective tool in the hands of the working class, its economic or political power. This dispute within the ranks of Socialists is present either because of the lack of understanding of Socialist economics or because of the lack of class-consciousness. The subject in discussion is whether economic power is dependent upon political control or vice versa; in other words, does the power of the capitalist class lie in its political control of government, or in its economic rule over society? There is no excuse for any one who is to be a class-conscious Socialist, as do many of the most prominent leaders and officials of the Party, today, and to thoroughly understand Marxian economics and the Materialist Conception of History, to wrongly assume that the secret of capitalists' strength lies in their political domination. We could believe them if we were blind and could not read, but it is rather fortunate that we possess the sense of sight, and we will not allow ourselves to be led astray by blind leaders. In the examination of history, we find numerous illustrations of the class-struggle to prove that their conclusion as to the origin of the power of a ruling class is wrong and absurd. In that chronological book we learn that Rome gained her power only by the economic rule, and as soon as she lost her economic foundation, as soon as the Roman slaves obtained their freedom, and slavery fell, THE POLITICAL POWER OF ROME ALSO FELL. The same could be said of Feudalism; its economic power rested in land ownership. Did the feudal lords come into power because they had the political control? No. Feudalism came into power soon after the downfall of the Slave System. With the overthrow of the old system, there was much disturbance and violence. People looked for protection, so they traded their lands to military people for their guard. It was because of this economic factor, land ownership, that the feudal lords became the ruling class.

Today, Capitalism holds its power not because of its political control of government, but because of its economic rule over society, as was the case in the previous centuries with the then ruling orders of society. The economic power of the Capitalist class lies in the private ownership in the means of production and exchange, and it is because of this power that a very small minority of people exercises control and influence over a very large majority. So we discovered the secret of the source of capitalist power—the private ownership in the means of production and distribution—and the ultimate purpose of Socialism is the abolition of this generator of capitalist power; the collapse of the economic power of the capitalist class carries with it the destruction of its political domination. Thus we have revealed the secret of Capitalist domination—their ECONOMIC CONTROL OF SOCIAL NECESSITIES; we also learned that the economic power is the generator of all political influence, and if the workers aim to capture and destroy the Capitalist State, and they do, they must have the economic power to back them. The economic power of the workers does not rest in private ownership or property prerogatives, as is the case with the capitalists, but in the power of production. Since it is at this point, the point of production, that the workers are being exploited; since it furnishes the basis of capitalists' power, the workers must concentrate their forces at this point.

Revolutionary Socialists are uncompromising in character. Only they are considered class-conscious who see the inability of the proletariat to ameliorate his conditions while Capitalism reigns, and who recognize the necessity of mobilizing their forces on the economic field as well as on an uncompromising, non-reformistic, non-palliative political platform. By the term proletariat, we mean "the modern; working class, a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work so long as their labor increases capital." He is not class-conscious who depends upon the PETITE BOURGEOISIE to help bring Socialism. We admit the importance of the proletariat utilizing both the political and industrial action in the class-struggle; but

political action is not only confined to the ballot; any action, having the objective the overthrow of the bourgeois state, is political action. The political struggle, as it is carried on by a class-conscious proletariat, must be utilized for one purpose—to conquer and destroy the capitalist state; thus political action is utilized by the workers to carry on revolutionary Socialist propaganda. During political campaigns, campaigns in which the bourgeois parties participate, it is the task of every class-conscious Socialist to expose the class character of the parliamentary state, and to mobilize the workers for the overthrow of the capitalist state.

Engels in his book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," says: "... at a certain stage of economic development, which was of necessity accompanied by a division of society into classes the State became the inevitable result of this division. We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter of production. Hence these classes MUST FALL AS INEVITABLY AS THEY ONCE ROSE. The state MUST IRREVOCABLY FALL WITH THEM. The society that is to reorganize the production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of the State where it will than belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze ax."

The simplicity of this passage, stated by a master of Socialist economics, teaches us that the state must be abolished. How comes it, then, that so many of the Socialist (?) leaders of this country, as well as of the European countries, attempt to introduce Socialism—to "legislate Capitalism out of power"—in the bourgeois State? The answer is simple: within the domains of the Socialist Party are found many bourgeois reformists and sympathizers of the working class in view of the fact that the declaration upon which the Socialist unity is founded states that "the Socialist Party, while pursuing the realization of the immediate reforms demanded by the working class, is not a party of reforms, but a party of the class-struggle and revolution." Reforms, such as the "socialization of monopolies, etc., are only a part of the program outlined by Marx and Engels. Those whose conception of Socialism is as stated above, are reformists, not Socialists. They do not strive to abolish the bourgeois State, but on the contrary, to prolong its existence, with new functions added to it, so as to make sure its control of monopolies. It is useless and a waste of energy for real Socialists,—by real Socialist we mean Marxian Socialists—to advocate and employ such tactics. The worker never will be successful in his struggle against Capitalism so long as the bourgeois State prevails, since because of its economic domination, it controls the power of coercion, capitalist institutions, such as the army, navy, and police. Capitalism cannot function as controller of industry and government machinery, unless the workers render them services to do so. The workers can conquer the power of the bourgeois State by resorting to their most effective weapon, the POLITICAL MASS STRIKE. Then the objection will be advanced that they will send the army and police against us, as did the Socialist (?) minister of France, Aristide Briand, in 1912; but the police and army will not and cannot act without the binding of an authority, and there will be no authority when the workers stop rendering the capitalists their services.

Moderate Socialists do not realize the effectiveness of the political mass strike as a tool in the hands of the proletarians in attaining their goal, while the revolutionary Socialists do, and construct their program accordingly. Revolutionary Socialists realize the important part to be played by the industrial worker in the struggle against Capitalism. The development of machinery, replacing a majority of the skilled proletariat, renders him class-conscious. He at once breaks away from the craft unions, functioning as a workers' trust to protect his skill, and accepts industrial unionism, thus becoming the "militant proletariat." In the industrial union, the proletariat becomes conscious of the fact that he will gain nothing through the bourgeois parliamentary State, and he recognizes the necessity of the creation of a new state. This militant proletariat, or revolutionary Socialist, uses mass action in the conquest of the power of the bourgeois, political State. Mass action is the unity of the proletarian forces to overthrow Capitalism. The development of the capitalist world makes conditions ripe for a Socialist Commonwealth, and the unity of the proletarian forces to bring about our revolution is "mass action." Mass action is used to expropriate the bourgeoisie, and to place the power in the hands of the working class: it is employed to destroy completely the capitalist State—a new state being organized, under the sole supervision of the working class—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The State "is neither more nor less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and that quite as much in a democratic republic as in a monarchy; and the least to be said is that it is a scourge which the proletariat inherits in his struggle for class domination; but of which it must, as the Commune (Paris) did, and in the greatest measure possible, attenuate the most grievous effects, until the day when a new generation, reared in a new society of free and equal men, may rid itself of all governmental rubbish. German Philistines are always plunged into holy terror at the words "dictatorship of the proletariat." Would you know what that dictatorship means?" Look at Soviet Russia. There is the dictatorship of the proletariat. The State is an organ of suppression. The bourgeois State is used by the bourgeoisie to suppress the worker, therefore it must be destroyed, and a new state erected in its stead, one in which the worker is the dictator. The machinery of the old state must be destroyed, and a new state, based upon the industrial producers, must be organized into Workmen's Councils (Soviets). This state must coerce and suppress the bourgeoisie: not until the proletariat will feel himself firm—not until then, can the Socialist Commonwealth be established. Thus, the proletariat dictatorship is used as a transition period between Capitalism and Socialism. This State is to "expropriate the expropriators" economically, which is followed by the bourgeoisie losing its political power, (since political control is dependent upon economic rule). As soon as the proletarian state suppresses the old bourgeois State completely, so that there is no fear of a counter-revolution, and as soon as the industry and all means of distribution is socialized, it ceases to function, and a new state develops—a state unlike the bourgeois State, which is founded on military force; a state that ceases to function as an organ of authority, but assumes a new power, to act as an organ of management; one in which industry, not people are governed; a state in which production is carried on for use only, and not for profit; a government in which industry is governed by the producers, organized communistically; one, where there will be no class distinction—this government is COMMUNIST SOCIALISM.

Workers of America, ORGANIZE! On with the great struggle by means of revolutionary mass action, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to be utilized as the transition period between Capitalism and Communist Socialism.