

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

THE TRUTH

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14

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29

WHOLE No. 115. FIVE CENTS.

OUR LABOR DAY MESSAGE

**“The great are only great because we are on our knees.
Why remain in that position?”**

TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

The General Transport Workers of all Grades and Sections
in Particular

From the Secretary of the British Transport Workers

(By Cable to The Liberator)

WE in Great Britain, despite our conservative outlook, have fashioned an industrial organization which is probably the most potent ever created—the Triple Alliance. In this body we 300,000 Transport Workers have allied ourselves for defensive and aggressive purposes with 500,000 railroad workers, and 800,000 miners. We believe it is our duty to use every means in our power to challenge the institution of capitalism and its domination of the working people.

Hitherto we have devoted ourselves to matters of an exclusively economic and industrial nature, but compelling circumstances arising out of the world war and its aftermath require us more and more to envisage our work in its entirety, political as well as industrial. Every class-conscious act of the working people tends more and more to become a political act and only fools would draw a clear dividing line between industrial and political action.

To-day, we of the Triple Alliance are challenging the Government's policy in maintaining conscription, military intervention in Russia, and military intervention in Trade Union disputes.

We see in the fight against the workers of Russia an attempt to safeguard the interests of English bondholders, and we realize, perhaps more by instinct than by reason, that the fight of the Russian and Hungarian proletariat is in fact our own fight. We know, moreover, through experience that conscription means the possibility of breaking strikes by means of the intervention of armed soldiers and sailors.

Therefore we are taking the only means at our disposal to compel the Government to abandon conscription and get out of Russia.

We earnestly hope that America will not be the stronghold of capitalism during this world-proletarian crisis which is at hand. America with its international origin should be in the van of the world movement for working-class liberty. May we therefore urge upon American trade-unionists the duty of assisting struggling Europe in what it not a make-believe but a real fight for freedom?

(Signed) ROBERT WILLIAMS.

General Secretary of the National Transport Workers' Federation of Great Britain

TO OUR AMERICAN COMRADES OF THE RAILROADS

From the President of the British Railroad Workers

(By Cable to The Liberator)

I DESIRE to extend you hearty greetings across the Atlantic. I understand that you are well organized in strong but sectional trade unions, that you have power to enforce comparatively good conditions of labor, but do not officially use the power of your unions to safeguard your civil liberties. I do not know of the circumstances surrounding your movement, but would like to give you the point of view of the National Railwaymen's Union of the United Kingdom.

We believe in the Industrial form of organization.

We organize men on the engine, on the track, in workshops and in the factory departments of the rail service. We believe our industrial power should be used to advance and protect our interests wherever they may be threatened, whether in our industrial or civil life. Liberty really means more to us than bread.

At this moment we are taking the opinion of our members whether they intend to take industrial action in order to recover the liberties they have lost during the war. In conjunction with the Triple Alliance we are balloting our members to determine whether they will strike in order to compel the Government to cease making war on Russia, abolish conscription, and abandon the use of the military in labor disputes. We are not taking this step without grave thought. But in our dealings with the Government, it has again and again proved false to its promises and false to the people.

We believe that direct industrial action is our only recourse.

We hope that you will approve our position, and that further, you will find some way of acting through your unions according to your own usages, to uphold us. As the needs of labor become international, more and more we must pursue the same roads to freedom, peace and economic equality.

President of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain and Ireland
(Signed) C. T. CRAMP.

On this day of days, Labor Day, you will be told that same old story—**CAPITAL** and **LABOR** must work together. Labor leaders will tell you that you must not listen to those who are Bolsheviks, because they want to undermine the republic of America. They will tell you, as Secretary Wilson has told you, that you must not be to radical etc. We regret to say that you heed these men and believe what they tell you. The facts of today refute all the statements that Secretary Wilson, Gompers or any other labor leader may like to state regarding the identity of interests of you and your boss. Read the lists of dead, wounded etc. that have been the result of this war. Upon the fields of Flanders lie over seven million of the workers dead. On the other hand, according to the Wall Street Journal, one hundred and four American corporations have netted a total profit of \$2,000,000,000.00. Death, disease and desolation for the workers and profit, pelf and power for your masters. Then they tell YOU that you and your masters are the same. Why is it that your master makes huge profits and you strike just to obtain enough to live upon? You cannot answer these questions in a satisfactory manner, unless you are prepared to admit that there cannot be and never will be co-operation between those who work, that is YOU, and those who rob you of the fruits of your toil, **YOUR MASTERS**.

Upon this Labor Day you must not rejoice, because you have nothing to rejoice over. You must pause for a moment and examine your labor movement and ask yourself are you playing a part that you will look back upon in the coming years and feel satisfied with it? Can you honestly be happy and feel that Eugene V. Debs, Tom Mooney and the rest of the brave men and women who are in prison, ARE THERE BECAUSE YOU REFUSE TO LIFT A HAND TO HELP THEM. YOU BUILT THE PRISONS WHY DO YOU

NOT OPEN THEM? It is your duty to open those prison doors. You must say to the masterclass: "either open those doors or by the eternal gods we who built them will tear them down." Are you going to be so cowardly as to allow other men and women to bear the brunt of YOUR fight and then leave them to rot in prison? Make your demands known to your masters. Send forth the demand for the release of all class-war prisoners and play the part of a man!

You are also going to hear many speeches made against the Bolshevik Government of Russia. You will be told that the brave men and women of Russia are anarchists, crooks etc. They will lie about the Russian people, but they **DARE** not tell you the truth about them.

In America you strike for higher wages and shorter hours. In Russia they went a step further and took hold of the whole of the land and industries and they run things for themselves. Over there unless you work, you cannot eat, and they do not expect you to work eight or ten hours per day, all they ask of you is six hours labor for five days per week. The workers control the country and that is why the American millionaires, and their hangers-on, advise you to ignore the Bolsheviks. They fear the spread of Bolshevism. That is why they ousted a worker and allowed a degenerate king to be placed on the throne of Hungary. The war that is being fought against the Russian people is a war against you. Every bullet that is fired by an Allied worker into the heart of a Russian worker, is but a bullet fired into his own heart. Because if you strangle the Russian Republic, you are only helping your masters to firmly rivet the chains of slavery upon your wrists. The war against Russia is not merely for the sake of obtaining payment for the debts contracted by the Czar, because the Bolsheviks have promised to pay those debts. It is a war to preserve capitalism, the system under which you

are sweated, slaved and oppressed. All over the world, and that includes America, the workers are manifesting a deep disgust with the conditions of life imposed upon them by capitalist society. Men and women are striking in their thousands, because they are no longer content to slave long hours for small wages. Men and women are demanding something better than the mere right to work. They want to taste of the good things of life, not make them and allow others to filch them. Consequently if the workers are allowed to see a newer and grander civilization being built in Russia, they might want to do the same in this country. That is the reason why the capitalists of this country and all Allied countries are fighting Russia so bitterly and scattering so many lying and mischievous statements about them. Russia to the capitalists is a nightmare. The success of Bolshevism means the death of capitalism. Think my fellow-workers, in Russia men, women and children are beating on the anvil of life and sending forth sparks of joy. Men and women are laboring night and day, with song on their lips and a smile on the face, to make Russia the finest country in the world. They want you to work with them. Your masters want you to work against them. If you obey your masters, you will pave the streets of Russian cities with the bones of the Russian workingclass and wash them with their blood. For remember that these Russian people have lived for years under the oppressive rule of the Czar and they are not going back to Czarism. They will resist even unto death. So fellow-workers on this Labor Day make common cause with the people of Russia and as you help them so when your time comes will they help you.

We further appeal to you to organize yourselves into **ONE BIG UNION**. Never mind what your leaders may say, realize that in unity there is strength. Come together and fight together and all that you dream of and hope for is yours. The

coming months are going to be the most critical months of your existence. In these coming months you will have to fight every inch of the way. So prepare for that fight by joining hands with your fellows in the shop. Never mind what he does, if he is a worker, your place is fighting by his side and his place with you, all of you fighting together. The workingclass have come through the long years of strife and suffered much. But they have never squealed. They have gone back to work and prepared to strike the next blow for freedom. On all sides can be heard the joyous shouts of the workers, as they make each advancing step. Far and wide the workers are demanding more and organizing for the day when they will step out of capitalist bondage into the industrial commonwealth. So let us make our plans now and prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism and up with workers control. Unions must make their rules more elastic, their organization more flexible and their policy more militant. They must fight together as an army fights. Ready to defend or attack when ever the occasion demands them to do so. They must learn how to discipline themselves and above all things they must equip their spirits with courage and their minds with knowledge. The time has past, never to return, for vague aspirations, for moral maxims, for catch phrases and emotional satisfactions. We must learn, we must organize, we must act, we must conquer, and this we will do if we have knowledge and courage.

Let your voices be heard this coming Labor Day and demand:—

Release of All Class-War Prisoners

Hands off Russia-Hungary-Germany and all countries where the workers are struggling towards the goal of their freedom.

MINNESOTA STATE CONVENTION

An Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party of the State of Minnesota was held last Sunday, in Minneapolis. The present crisis within the party and the despicable tactics adopted by the State Executive Board, aided and abetted by Adolph Germer, made it necessary for the calling of the Convention, so that the position of the State party might be made known and also the actions of S. E. B. and Adolph Germer repudiated.

The Convention was called to order at 10 a. m. in the Commonwealth Hall, Minneapolis. I. G. Scott was elected temporary chairman. Credentials committee was appointed and during their being in session comrade Dirba enlightened the members as to the methods adopted by the S. E. B.

Comrades Scott, Dirba and Ungar were elected chairman, secretary and assistant secretary respectively. There were thirty-seven delegates in attendance, also comrade Krispen attended as a fraternal delegate from the State of Michigan. The following were elected to the various committees:

PARTY CRISIS-ORGANIZATION-PROPAGANDA. Comrades Thompson, Hussman, Wirta, Ungar and Carney.

CONSTITUTION. Comrades Broms, Holm, Carl Haglund, Carlson and Kneeppl.

RESOLUTIONS. Comrades Willis, Taylor, Maki, Kassun. **OFFICERS' REPORTS.** Nordin, Martin, Haglund, Dubch and Karraenen.

The conference adjourned at 12 o'clock to 1:30 p. m. in order to give the Committees time to do their work. Convention reassembled at 2 p. m.

The State Secretary gave his report. We cannot go into details regarding the report, but from all sides it was clearly seen how efficient and painstaking the State Secretary had been. Coming into the position of state secretary, at a time, when the party was all mixed up and the authorities were embarrassing us in our work, it speaks volumes for the present state secretary, when we know that he has been able to keep the party going and furthermore, repay many of the old debts. There is a membership of 3,000 in the State of Minnesota, some of these members are falling behind. It should be the bounden duty of ALL comrades to see that members keep their dues paid up and attend local meetings. The membership of the State party is decidedly encouraging. When we know that the Non-Partisan League were able to kill off the Socialist Party in North Dakota, it is very encouraging to find the Socialist Party in this State still going and making more progress every month. There is no State in the Union that has to contend with the opposition of the Socialist Party of Minnesota. First, we have that Star Chamber brought over from Spain and re-incarnated under the glorious name of the Public Safety Commission, with a renegade Irishman as the Grand Inquisitor. Then we have the Non-Partisan League and now the Labor Party. Few parties could have withstood such opposition and those that point to Detroit and talk of their study classes, might endeavor to understand the opposition to the party in this State. The Socialist Party in this State stands cleaned of all those elements that seek to compromise or drag down the principles of revolutionary socialism. Throughout the war the party has maintained a stand that it need not be ashamed of, but rather one to be proud of. So the report of the State Secretary is a report that does credit to the great work of comrade Dirba and reflects to the eternal credit of the party. The books were audited and the auditing committee, all of whom were members from outside of the Twin Cities stated that THEY FOUND THE BOOKS SATISFACTORY AND WELL LOOKED AFTER. By unanimous consent it was decided to place the committee's report in the official minutes of the Convention.

The Committee on Resolutions reported that they had drawn up two resolutions sending greetings to all class-war prisoners and to comrade L. K. C. Martens, official representative of the Soviet Government of Russia.

The Committee on Party Crisis-Organization and Propaganda made their report.

1. We re-affirm the validity of State Referenda "E" and "F", electing delegates to the National Convention, asserting the membership rights of the Federation Locals, and recalling the State Executive Board.

2. We approve and ratify the action of the State Secretary in repudiating the S. E. B., immediately upon their violation of these referenda, and in calling at once this convention.

3. We elect a new temporary State Executive Board (7 members) to act until the regular S. E. B. is elected after the readjustments in the party are made after September 1st.

4. We give the new S. E. B. authority to engage a new State Secretary in case the present secretary is prevented (by outside causes) from attending to the office.

ORGANIZATION AND PROPAGANDA

We want, not a mere dues-paying membership—or even merely in name, but we want an active membership, comrades who will study Socialism and the principles of industrial unionism and do everything in their power to spread this propaganda among the masses of the workers. And we want propaganda that will prepare the masses of the workers for the revolution.

Arrange a lecture course in the larger cities.

A State Convention to be held on October 5th, to hear the report of the delegates from the National Convention and to take any further action that may be deemed necessary.

This part of the Committee's report was unanimously accepted by the Convention.

The next part of the Committee's report created quite a furious discussion. The State Secretary handed into the committee the following proposals:

1. We affiliate with the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, when it is organized in the Chicago Convention, September 1st.

2. We instruct the State Secretary to recognize the National Office of the Socialist Party as being directly opposed, not representative, of the majority of the Party membership; further, to pay dues, and moneys collected for the National Socialist Convention over to the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

3. Instruct our delegates to the National Convention to go to the Convention of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, September 1st, and take part in it as delegates of the State Organization of Minnesota.

The Committee, with the exception of comrade Ungar, felt that we could not recommend such steps to the convention and accordingly brought in the following resolution:

"THAT WE RECOGNIZE THE NEW N. E. C. AND WORK FOR THE UNITY OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS."

The convention accepted the report of the committee by a vote of 26 to 12.

In opposing the recommendations of comrade Dirba, the members of the Committee, with the exception of com-

rade Ungar who was in favor of the recommendations, felt that we had no right to take it upon ourselves to place our state organization into the Communist Party, without the consent of the membership. The delegates were not called to that convention with any mandate regarding the Communist Party. Apart from that viewpoint, we took the stand that the Communist Party of America cannot function as a revolutionary organization. It is one thing to call yourself a Communist and it is a vastly different thing to justify the title. Some of the members of the Communist Party are in a similar position to some Socialists who think that Wilson's "New Freedom" is a Socialist classic. Just a matter of words that convey nothing but sound nice.

If the Socialist Party of Minnesota is going to throw in its lot with a new party, there must be two things agreed upon. First, that the rank and file discuss the going over and secondly, we must know what kind of a new party we are going into. In the first place the rank and file have stood with the Left Wing, they have, in convention, declared themselves to be in favor of the National Left Wing Council, but they have NEVER discussed or even given the matter of the Communist Party one, single moment's notice. Yet comrades want us to rush the membership into such an organization. This idea of rushing the membership into something they have not even discussed, is an insult to the membership.

Furthermore why go over to the Communist Party? Is the Communist Party a revolutionary organization? Can it function as a revolutionary organization, even if it sends out on a call based on the call of the Third International? Comrade Dirba and comrade Krispen, fraternal delegate from the State of Michigan, agreed that the Communist Party was a revolutionary organization, we differed. We will now prove to the members that the COMMUNIST PARTY is teeming with revolutionary phraseology and manifestoes, but on account of the irreconcilable elements, contained within its ranks it cannot effectively function as a revolutionary organization. On the one hand we have the Michigan State Socialist Party members who deny the value of industrial unionism. In fact Batt and Keracher deny the necessity for industrial organization. Keracher admitted to us that there was no need to organize the workers, Henry Ford was doing that. So does a shepherd organize his sheep! On the other hand we have Fraina, Ballam, Ferguson and a few more "leaders" who do believe in industrial unionism. Read what Fraina has to say on industrial unionism, taken from the Revolutionary Age, Vol. 2, No. 2, reprinted from his work on Revolutionary Socialism:

The new conditions of proletarian struggle develop new conceptions of organization, or ideas of organization. The facts of industrial concentration, the decreasing importance of skill labor, the massing of industrial control in a centralized capitalist autocracy, render more and more futile the economic struggles of the craft unions, which now engage largely in industrial and political bargaining. But a new and militant force arises in the unions, composed of the unskilled and those whose skill has been expropriated by the machine process; revolutionary currents develop, and the problem of industrial unionism becomes an issue. Industrial unionism, however, is incompatible with the dominant forces in the craft unions; the unskilled are a minority, and industrial unionism is turned into a compromise, a grotesque compromise in the form of "amalgamations." The concept of industrial unity and solidarity of action cannot break through the pride and prestige of craft and property; industrial unionism founders on the rocks of craft disputes and jurisdictional squabbles, which absorb so much of craft union activity. The craft unions are completely destroyed, as in the steel industry, or they become, largely, mere "job trusts" and instruments of peaceful bargaining and compromise with the employers, supplemented by betrayals of the unskilled.

Industrial unionism becomes an expression of, and develops real strength and influence among, the unskilled workers, in whom common conditions of labor, absence of craft distinctions and the discipline of machine industry develop the necessity and potentiality of the industrial form of organization. The power of this proletarian lies in its mass and numbers, in its lack of artificial distinctions of skill and craft. Being a product of the massing of workers in a particular industry, the unskilled strike en masse, act through mass action; being united and disciplined by concentrated industry and its machine process, the unskilled proletariat organizes its unions industrially, in accord with the facts of industry, in accord with the conditions of its work and existence. Industrial unionism in form is an expression of the integration of industry and the proletariat by the mechanism of capitalist production itself, and it becomes peculiarly the unionism of the revolutionary proletariat. All groups of workers in an industry are organized and unified into one union, cast in the mold of the industry in which they work, artificial differences of occupational divisions being swept aside. Strikes become general and acquire political significance, action becomes the action of the mass, the integrated action of an integrated proletariat. Where the craft unions initiated the strike of a single group of workers in an industry, the industrial union initiates a strike of all the workers. The ideology of solidarity becomes the practice of solidarity.

Industrial unionism, as the expression of unskilled workers impelled by objective conditions to subjectively accept class action, acquires a revolutionary concept, consciousness and activity. Instead of the craft union motto of "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," industrial unionism inscribes upon its banners the revolutionary motto, "Abolition of the wages system." The ultimate purpose of industrial unionism is the organization of all the workers in accord with the facts of production, constructing in this way the structure of the new society within the old, as a necessary phase in the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a new society which shall function through the industrially organized producers. Not the state, but the industrial union is the instrument of revolution—equally the might for the revolutionary act and the form of the new society. Industrial unionism is not simply a means, a more effective means than any previously used, to carry on the every-day struggle against the employing class: IT IS SOCIALISM IN ACTION AND SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

Now let us read what the Communists think about Fraina's view. This is taken from the last issue of the Proletarian, the organ of the dominating element in the councils of the Communist Party:

"Do these Mass Actionists ever think of the tragic fate of Finland; or of the Liebknecht week in Berlin? Far rather the Menshevik Right of the party than these wind-crazed radicals. With the suppressive forces of King Capital on the alert in all cities, instruments of destruction ready at a moment's notice to mow mass actionists down en masse, will Fraina and his hobbyists call on the people to demonstrate in the streets? And such people are ac-

claimed intellectuals! May Heaven save us from more Bohms and Russels, erstwhile Reds too."

Now read what Ferguson has to say about the Michigan group. This is taken from the Revolutionary Age, Vol. 2, No. 4:

"You want a plaything all of your own—a Michigan Socialist Party of America. You want to make it and you want to control it. You pile criticism upon criticism against the work of the National Left Wing Council and then brazenly turn around and scrap your special Michigan 'principles' in favor of our program in its entirety. No wonder you want a nice little party with the Left Wing out as well as the Right Wing, because only as the sole-speaking English-speaking group in the New Communist Party would you have the least chance to foist upon it the Michigan idiosyncracies. You cannot be heard to condemn us by a phrase of contempt and at the same time appropriate our program. A national movement will quickly put you in your place."

The Communist could only reply that the Left Wing was Ferguson. In other words Ferguson did all the thinking for the Left Wing. How ridiculous and childish that statement is, we have no need to tell you.

Now all these elements, who but a few weeks ago were bitterly opposed to each other, are ALL together in a new party—the COMMUNIST PARTY. Let us be frank about this matter and ask ourselves it is possible to have unity of purpose and action with a party so hopelessly divided on the question of tactics? You may flourish the call of the Communist Party, but it will be our deeds that we will succeed, not by our manifestoes. If manifestoes could save us, the Socialist Party of Great Britain have published thousands of manifestoes and still they are only 300 strong and there is no revolution in sight. Quit fooling yourselves, comrades of Minneapolis and St. Paul! Take a trip to Duluth and we will show you how to function as a revolutionary organization. We will show you how to reach the masses. We must know what we are going to do, how we propose to do it and above all things, more than anything else we must be UNITED.

The following extract from a letter we have received from John Reed and Benjamin Gitlow, will give our members some idea of the methods pursued to bring about the Communist party:

"To give you an idea of that kind of a Communist Party is to be formed at Chicago on September 1st, let me tell you the basis of representation at the Communist Party Convention laid down by the Federations and published by them July 30th in Novy Mir—a basis of representation upon which we understand, the Federation still insist.

One delegate for each 500 members; if a State organization has already joined THEIR Communist Party—which is now in existence—the State shall have 1 delegate; if not, then every Local which has joined will have a delegate; if the Local has not joined, its place shall be taken by the local Conference of Russian Language Federations. The call proceeds, "But in most cities the only Bolshevik Branch is the Russian Branch. Such a Branch, if it has only 25 members, is entitled to a delegate." A fund created by the Organization Committee—Dennis E. Batt, Secretary—will make up the deficit in expenses for small or poor Branches.

"Comrades!" it ends. "Vote carefully. Never mind if your delegate doesn't know English. It is better that he knows only Russian and vote as a Bolshevik, than that he knows English and votes as a Menshevik or Centrist."

We contend that a Communist Party organized on such a basis, in which are represented groups opposed to each other in principle—like Michigan and the Federations,—and moreover, dominated by a foreign-language ideology, not only cannot make any appeal to the great mass of the workers in this country, but also is inevitably bound to split in pieces—or at any rate, to consume all its energy in internal squabbles over control.

We believe that we have much more important work to do—to reach the working class with revolutionary propaganda of the kind contained in the Voice of Labor.

The enthusiastic reception accorded our first number, of which Massachusetts alone took more than ten thousand (the edition was twenty-five thousand); the eagerness with which the rank and file, sick of technical phraseology and party squabbles, takes to the paper; and the way all sorts of non-Socialist workers buy it and read it—all these things make us believe that we have hit upon something really big.

We believe that if anything comes out of Chicago, it will be a Party or organization formed at the National Emergency Convention, or from the delegates to that Convention; and not to the Communist Party crazy-quilt gathering."

JOHN REED,
BENJAMIN GITLOW.

Louis Fraina was engaged to speak in Chicago on Aug. 15th, under the auspices of the Left Wing of Cook County. In order to cover up his compromising tactics with the Communist Party, he refused to fulfill the date and made the following excuse:

August 15th, 1919.

Dear Comrade Engelken:

Since the National Council of the Left Wing has united with the Federations on the Communist Party, I was under the impression that you had united the meeting with the local Communist organizations. I learn that this is not so; and that, moreover, there is on the committee organizing the meeting at least one comrade (Stolar) who has been expelled from the Russian Federation because of Menshevik activity.

Under these conditions I must decline to speak at the meeting, in spite of travelling a whole day in order to do so, and I sincerely regret disappointing the comrades who may have come to hear me.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) LOUIS C. FRAINA.

P.S.—The Communist Party will arrange a meeting for me on Wednesday, August 27.

Chicago, August 16, 1919.

THE REPLY TO FRAINA.

Dear Comrade Fraina:

That you should have seized upon so trivial a pretext for your nonappearance last night is, to me, extremely mortifying. It reveals a trait of moral cowardice which I did not think you possessed. It is easy enough to find justification when one quails before the task of "facing the music." The sending of Wicks and an inquisitorial committee was a bit of horse-play which was utterly ineffectual inasmuch as it did not cause the consternation which you, undoubtedly, calculated it would. I am sorry that you did not have the courage to come to the meeting so that we could have had the pleasure of telling you exactly why we could not permit you to speak under our auspices. Your declination was just a day late, as we had decided the day (Continued on Page Seven)

PICNIC

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PROGRAM STARTS AT 1 O'CLOCK P. M.

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65c Mens Caps— special	19c	75c Infants silk and wool Hose, special .	48c
\$1.50 Boys Union- suits all sizes, special	89c	1.25 Boys Black sateen shirts all sizes, special	48c
35c Childrens Black stockings, special . .	17c	85c Ladies union suits, all styles special	48c
1.50 Mens and Boys Bathing Suits special	79c	75c Ladies silk Hose in all colors, seconds special	39c
15c Mens Red Ban- dama handkerchiefs special	9c	1.50 childrens school dress, sizes to 8, special	79c
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One lot of Boys Blue serge and grey wool mixture suits sizes to 17—values to \$11.00 special ..

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

By Covington Ami.
Today's papers (8-9-19) quote you as saying in your address to Congress on the everlasting inflation of prices, this:

"In such circumstances, face to face with such tests, passion must be discarded. We need light, not heat, in these solemn times of self-examination and saving action. There must be no threats. Let there be only intelligent counsel, and let the best reasons win, not the strongest brute force. The world has just destroyed the arbitrary force of a military junta. It will live under no other. All that is arbitrary and coercive is in the discard. Those who seek to employ it only prepare their own destruction."

If then, Sir, you still base your appeal to the people of this Nation on the ground of a passionless regard for social justice; if "there must be no threats" and no appeal to "brute force," then do YOU yourself lead the way to JUSTICE.

For verily I say unto you that as long as men and women who work for their living witness Eugene V. Debs, the very greatest humanitarian in the English speaking world, being held in a vile southern prison, treated as a common criminal, that YOU have no right to call on US to discard our passions, since YOUR refusal to declare a GENERAL AMNESTY of a necessity convicts you of either a LACK OF COURAGE or guilty of that you so greatly deprecate in others—the use of BRUTE FORCE instead of REASON.

Again, I call your attention to the nameless and horrible imprisonment that has been meted out to the I. W. W. prisoners at Wichita, Kansas, most of them nothing but boys in years; their only "crime" being their attempt to organize an Oil Field Workers Union, which was and IS the only method by which they and their kind can possibly escape that most degrading and dehumanizing of all forms of slavery, PEONAGE, and I ask YOU, if you do not believe in BRUTE FORCE why do not YOU order their shameless persecution to cease?—WHY do you not order their instant release? It is for YOU to set the example if you really believe that "All that is arbitrary and coercive is in the discard," AND IT IS, and to set the example, not by WORDS, but by DEEDS; for YOU, as well as all other men, it was written: "Not by your WORDS but by your WORKS shall you be JUDGED."

Again, I call your attention to the cases of hundreds of other vic-

tims of your Administration's outrageously un-American so-called Espionage Law, among them that great little Southern woman, Kate Richards O'Hare, and to Emma Goldman, and to J. O. Bentall, and to Esmond, dying, like Perry, from gross mistreatment inflicted on him in prison, uselessly, by men who were and are subject to YOUR COMMAND, and I ask you, "face to face with such tests," if you really mean us to take you at your word, to act like a MAN and not like a STATESMAN for once and to issue IMMEDIATELY A GENERAL AMNESTY, for it is only by ACTS OF JUSTICE that "The more extreme leaders of organized labor will presently yield to sober second thought, and like the great mass of their associates, think and act like true Americans." It is just as much YOUR DUTY to so act as it is THEIRS, or mine. YOU cannot justly demand that of other men which you are incapable of giving. Just because some of us happen to disagree with you or Mr. Gompers, is no justification for either of us aspersing our Americanism. Since you are the leaders of the Nation, it is up to YOU to set the example of forgiveness and forbearance.

Again, I call your attention to the pitiless deportations being conducted by YOUR alleged Secretary of Labor, Mr. William B. Wilson, himself a FOREIGNER, and I ask you to stop this outrage on American traditions if you do not believe in BRUTE FORCE; as I ask you to cease YOUR war on the Russian Republic if you really believe that "Those who seek to employ it (arbitrary and coercive power) only prepare their own destruction," for, being an AMERICAN I have no desire to see the United States follow Prussia's road to ruin. Again, I call your attention to the fact that Charles Cline, J. M. Rangel and their companions are still rotting their lives away in the unspeakable brutal prisons of Texas, and I ask you to ask Colonel House to at once see to it that they be immediately released, and tell him I ask it in the name of the all-healing Divine Mind, which, I understand, he worships.

Taking you at your word, Mr. President, I challenge YOU to make good your advice to us all down here in the common walks of life by issuing IMMEDIATELY A GENERAL AMNESTY.

Make good! Then you need have no fear that these people, native and foreign born, will be against you. But it is up to YOU. The "acid test" for YOU will be the—GENERAL AMNESTY.

BERNARD SHAW INTER- VIEWS THE KAISER

Extraordinary Statement
by
Correspondent of Irish News-
paper
Alleged Interview With the
Kaiser
Challenges Trial
Demands Death Penalty if Found
Guilty
Copy of Terms Probably a
Hoax.

KAISER WANTS TRIAL IN J. BULL'S OWN ISLE

The following account of an interview with the ex-Kaiser is not without interest.

For this reason we print it, but the "Daily Herald" takes no responsibility for its authenticity.

The story reached us in manuscript. The handwriting of the said manuscript bears a marked—nay, touching—resemblance to the handwriting of Mr. George Bernard Shaw!

We refuse, before Heaven, to be held responsible for Mr. George Bernard Shaw, any old how.

Here goes.
The Amsterdam correspondent of "The Kilmackilloge Sentinel" has visited Amerongen and been admitted to an audience with the ex-Kaiser, whom he found engaged on a History of the War for an American publishing firm.

The ex-Kaiser talked freely of the proposed trial in London, and declared that the conditions on which he will voluntarily leave his asylum in Holland and surrender himself to the Allies are as follows:

1. No unusual punishments are to be within the powers of the tribunal. This is an established condition of criminal law in all civilized countries, and excludes such sentences as marooning on St. Helena or Ascension.

2. In spite of the stipulation made by the United States, the death penalty is not to be excluded, and is to be de rigueur on conviction for violation of neutrality in the first instance.

3. The death penalty is to be de rigueur also on conviction of international conspiracy against the peace of nations.

4. An Omnibus Dock.

5. The tribunal is to try all indictments lodged by parties to the war, or neutrals damaged by it, and suitable accommodation is to be provided in the dock for at least four sovereigns and two presidents. Provision for their execution on the same day and the same scaffold, in the event of their conviction on a capital charge, is to be provided, and the executions are to take place in public.

6. Responsible ministers are to be subject to indictment and to the extreme penalty.

7. After the indicted have pleaded, they shall not be admitted to bail until the sentence of the tribunal is delivered; but their accommodation under detention shall be suitable to the rank held by them before August, 1914.

8. The proceedings shall be public, and shall be fully reported at the joint expense of the several

Labor Day Greeting

"LOVE and Labor will give us the Socialist Republic—the industrial Democracy—the equal rights of all men and women, and the emancipation of all from the vicious and debasing thraldoms of past centuries."

Eugene V. Debs.

A. Y. Litman

Labor's Universal Provider.

1831 West Superior Street

Opp St. Louis State Bank.

States concerned in the leading newspapers of their capitals.

8. H.I.M. the German Kaiser, who will conduct his own defence, shall have an unlimited right to summon and cross-examine witnesses, including his co-defendants, and shall have the ear of the court to the same extent as counsel prosecuting.

9. In consideration of the foregoing conditions H.I.M. waives all questions as to the impartiality and jurisdiction of the tribunal, and undertakes to surrender for trial in London (and not elsewhere) at the appointed date on receiving a valid assurance of the acceptance of his terms, and a safe conduct guaranteeing the inviolability of his person in the meantime.

Looking Forward to London
The Kaiser, who seemed in the best of spirits, declared that he had nothing to add to these articles, and that he anticipated an extremely interesting time in London. He was anxious that it should be known that he was placing no obstacle in the way of the trial, and was only too grateful to Mr. Lloyd George for having provided an opportunity of bringing the real authors of the war to justice. "I shall not," he said, jocosely, "put your London police to the trouble of advertising that I am 'wanted' there. I shall not end my days in St. Helena, but where I really am wanted, and badly wanted—and that is in Berlin."—London Daily Herald.

There were many discharged soldiers waiting to take part in the Labour demonstration, and Tommy Phillips, the light-weight champion of Wales, who was four years on active service, declared that those who broke up the demonstration did it in complete ignorance of the real issue.

"They fought," he said, "to win the war, and prevent future war; but in the fight to remove Conscription they were retreating in the full view of victory."

At a meeting in the evening, Mr. Tom Merrick, Pontypridd, presided, and, speaking as a discharged soldier, said he was disgusted and ashamed of the soldiers, who had, by their conduct, insulted one of their greatest friends—Tom Mann. (Cheers).

More Trouble at Night.
Mr. Tom Mann, who was given a rousing reception, said he was not going to refer to the incident, and immediately went on to explain economic questions, and proved how it was possible to wipe away poverty for ever.

He had been speaking for over half an hour when someone in the crowd shouted, "Down with Bolshevism!"

The interrupter was immediately seized and ejected, but a number of free fights took place, and stones were hurled at the platform.

Mr. Tom Mann called for cheers for "Social Revolution," which were heartily given, and left the crowd fighting furiously in groups.

Several persons were injured in the melee.

Congress entered a unanimous protest against the British and American Government's action, which denied Larkin facilities to return to his duties as general secretary of the Transport Union, and demanded that the working class organisations in Great Britain and America should take action to secure Larkin's return.

Congress also called on the workers of England, Scotland and Ireland to use all the force at their command to end the military occupation of Ireland.

SOLDIERS BACK TOM MANN

"Acted in Ignorance and Insulted their Best Friend."

Neath, England, July 27.—Calling themselves "Patriotic Bit Badgers," a number of discharged soldiers set out to break up a Labour demonstration held under the auspices of the Neath and District Trades and Labour Council yesterday afternoon.

Although successful in their efforts, it was not with the official sanction of the local Federation, and in the wider circle the interference is much resented.

Soldier-Boxer Scores Points.

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WM. D. HAYWOOD

BILL HAYWOOD

By TOM FLYNN.

(Suggested by reading Henry Frank's letter on Haywood's gift of speech).

He wonders where you got it, Bill,
Your clear and ready speech,
Was it down in the depths of the dripping mines,
Where the straining timbers screech?

Or was it the roar of the fire-hung blast,
As it tore men's lives away,
That taught you to think what a man should think,
And say what a man should say?

Or may be the yawn of the open shaft,
Pit black as the mouth of Hell,
That helped to give you the ready speech
They say you can use so well.

For you are only a miner, Bill,
Did you not dig out the ore?
So what should you know of the grace of speech
High-sounding and rhythmic lore?

Mayhap it came in the hammer's clank,
Or the crunch of the cutting drill,
Or the crushing crash of the falling rocks
That ever lurk there to kill.

Or may be the rush of the water, Bill
That flows in the flooding mine,
Where men are drowned like cornered rats,
That taught you of words refine.

Perhaps 'twas the damp of the Western jail,
Or the walls of their prison strong,
That taught you to notice the children's wall
And rage at the workers' wrong.

Revolution—That means what it means, my friend,
Strong, steady and undismayed,
That the workers shall take with the hand of the strong,
Making no masquerade.

That means we shall pull the old system down,
And trample it in its fall,
That means just this—and nothing but this—
Or else—means nothing at all.

We shall not look for a purchased law,
Sold out by a servile Court
But will play the game till the one to lose
Shall pay for the winner's sport.

We want the men who are used to toil,
Not dreamers of idle dreams,
Nor the politicians who compromise,
Nor the "intellectuals" schemes.

We want the men who can look at Death
When the hirelings shoot to kill,
And that's why we want such men as you,
Our lion-hearted Bill.

INTERESTS OF SOCIETY

By Lewis H. Morgan.

Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the delations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy is government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, forshadowing the next higher plane of society, to

TWENTY NATIONS AGAINST ONE

1, †French; 2, †Senegalese; 3, †Japanese; 4, †Americans; 5, †Italians; 6, †Serbians; 7, †Greeks; 8, †Roumanians; 9, †Czecho-Slovaks; 10, †Canadians; 11, British; 12, †Germans; 13, †Chinese; 14, †Swedes; 15, †Finns; 16, †Poles; 17, †Estonians; 18, †Ukrainians; 19, †Lithuanians; 20, †Georgians.

All these have sent soldiers against the Workers' Government of Russia.

† Those marked thus have, as soldiers, protested against the war against Russians workers; some have mutinied; French raised the Red Flag.

† Germans allowed, compelled, by Armistice and peace terms to fight for the Allies against the Soviets.

§ Those marked thus are not under own officers, but recruited as "volunteers," though really under their governments.

|| The six marked thus were originally subjects of the Russian Czar; Soviets allowed them independence; now under reactionary dictators or Allied pressure they are fighting (unwillingly) against the Russian Revolution which set them free.

Russian Workers are putting up a plucky fight in spite of the "20 TO 1 AGAINST."

which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.

ARE PRESIDENTS WISE MEN?

Many workers are under the impression that because a man occupies a high government office or sits in the presidential chair, that he is a wise man. The latest utterance of president Wilson conclusively proves that when it comes to dealing with social and economic questions, he is at sea. Do not be fooled with the idea that men outside of the workingclass know all and you must look up to them. You have the power and the intelligence to do your own thinking. Listen to a member of your own class tell you truth about the problems of today.

CALEB HARRISON

International Machinists Union Chicago.

Who once had the audacity to run for the position of Vice-President of these United States, will speak at the

WOODMAN HALL, Sunday Eve., August 31st

If you are a striker, just bring your card along. Show it to the doorkeeper and walk in. All other men must pay 35 cents and women 15 cents.

HARRISON WAS INVITED HERE.

Owing to the numerous requests of these that had heard Harrison before, we decided to bring him here again. You will have to come early, otherwise you will be disappointed. Music and refreshments also.

INDUSTRY IN RUSSIA

By Isaac Don Levine.
(Special Correspondence of The Daily News.)

Stockholm, Sweden, July 11.—There are 3,442,000 workers in soviet Russia belonging to labor unions. The unions are organized in Russia by industry. All the employees of the metal industry, for instance, regardless of the various trades into which it is divided, belong to one national union. The same is true of the other industries. The man who manufactures cheese, the girl who cans fruit, the butcher and the milk deliverer all belong to the food producing union.

The leading industry in Russia is the textile industry. More than 700,000 of the organized workers of soviet Russia are members of the textile union. There are 450,000 railroad men organized in a single union. The metal industry numbers 400,000 workers, the leather industry 250,000, water transport engages 200,000 men and the needle trades 150,000.

There are 100,000 unionized workers in the post and telegraph offices of soviet Russia. A similar number belongs to the sugar industry. There are 60,000 printers, 93,000 chauffeurs and drivers, 50,000 domestic servants and 70,000 bank employees in soviet Russia. Organized cabinet workers total 70,000, while the building industry engages 120,000 men. One of the largest industries is the chemical, which gives employment to 30,000 persons.

Moscow is one of the largest textile manufacturing centers in Russia. In normal times the conditions of the Moscow textile industry gave one a fair idea of labor conditions in Russia. To some extent this is true even now. When I was in Moscow there were 250 textile factories and shops, employing 28,000 men, working. However, because of the lack of fuel only 17,000 of these were actually attending to their work. In addition there were ninety-three textile factories and shops entirely idle. These ninety-three enterprises formerly employed 27,212 men. Seventy-five per cent of the workers in these places were made idle in the spring of 1917, soon after the overthrow of the czar, and many months before the coming of the bolsheviks into power.

The truth of the matter is that many of the factories idle in soviet Russia have closed not during the rule of the soviets, but in the good old days of Miluyukov and Kerensky. Any observer in Russia cannot fail seeing the supreme efforts that the soviet government, unaided and besieged, is making toward the restoration of the country's industries. And these efforts have not been entirely unsuccessful.

Factories at Petrograd Produce
The textile factories of the Petrograd district, for instance, in spite of all obstacles, do produce. In the month of February, which was not a very favorable time regarding fuel, the Petrograd textile establishments manufactured more than 3,750,000 arshins of goods, including cloth, linen and woollens. An arshin is about three-fourths of a yard.

One of the most potent reasons for the idleness of many textile factories is the shortage of cotton. Russia's cotton source is Turkestan, but this province, although in soviet hands, has been cut off from the central part of the country by Dutov's Cossacks. Another reason for the condition of the textile industry is the shortage of dyes. Soviet Russia's chemical industry can produce only 2,900 tons of dyes, whereas the country's textile factories require 4,000 tons.

"You Americans can give us cotton and dyes, and many other things," said to me a soviet chemical engineer. "But give us peace, and we will show you how our industries can produce."

In spite of the half-paralyzed condition of the Russian industries

there is no acute unemployment crisis in soviet Russia. The reason for it is that the majority of the Russian workmen are peasants who had migrated to the cities and who upon the shutting down of many factories returned to their villages. Of the 27,000 textile workers formerly employed at the now idle Moscow factories, 21,000 have gradually returned to the country and in most cases engaged in agricultural work, although their names continue to figure in the factory and union lists.

From February, 1918, to January, 1919, there were registered with the Moscow employment bureau 263,000 unemployed persons. During the same period the bureau received requests for 191,000 workmen, or sufficient to satisfy the needs of nearly three-fourths of the unemployed. Of the total number of unemployed only 23,000 were returned soldiers of the old army. Fifty-nine of every hundred registered idle persons were men and forty-one women.

The red army has gradually absorbed most of the men, so that the overwhelming majority of the unemployed in soviet Russia to-day are women. On Jan. 1, 1919, there were 21,000 unemployed persons in Moscow, of whom only 4,700 were men. In March of this year the number of unemployed in Moscow decreased even further. Only 17,481 were registered with the employment bureau during the same month.

Beginning with March the demand for workers began to exceed the supply. One of the reasons for this is the revival of many industries and trades in recent months. During March the Moscow bureau received demands for 28,713 men, exceeding the number of unemployed by more than 11,000.

On April 1 there were only 7,323 unemployed registered with the Moscow employment bureau, of whom but 2,122 were men. It is interesting to note that more than half of these unemployed were formerly employed in mercantile houses.

The demand for skilled workers continued to grow in soviet Russia in proportion to the organization of the industries essential to the war. When I arrived in Moscow the essential industries reached a high state of efficiency and productivity, considering general conditions and the shortage of fuel and raw material. As in the United States in the second year of the war, skilled workers were very much in demand.

Skilled Workers Needed.
On May 19 the Moscow employment bureau issued an appeal to all skilled workers, especially mechanics, to leave the nonessential industries if any of them were engaged in such, and enter a branch of industry where their skill was urgently needed for the prosecution of the war. Positions were guaranteed to every skilled applicant and a long list of places to be filled was published. This list contained requests for over 3,000 mechanics of all kinds, for 1,600 trained railroad men, and for 150 higher technical experts.

In soviet Russia a person out of work and in need is pensioned by the state or city government. The Moscow municipal department for aid to the unemployed gave financial help to 37,663 persons during the year between April 1, 1918, and April 1, 1919. Two-thirds of those helped were women. Thirty thousand of the total were members of labor unions and 5,518 were demobilized soldiers of the old army.

Workmen reaching the age of 60 and losing, according to a medical examination, 60 per cent of their producing ability, are pensioned by the soviet government. A bill to this effect, introduced by the commissariat of labor, has been adopted early this summer.



"Give ear, you can hear it coming,
The tide that is steady and deep—"

RUSSIAN SOVIETS AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

By MAXIME GORKI.

The international meeting of December 19 has been a Russian proletarian fete, and one would wish that this great day of the Russian Revolution may last long, for ever, in the memory of the workers.

It is not so much that the discourses were of great importance, fresh and deep words spoken to the Russian people by the representatives of different States, different nations of Europe and Asia, but what was of so much significance and importance was the feeling of burning confidence towards the Russian worker, and the complete understanding the recognition of his historic role expressed by the 23 orators.

Hindooes and Coreans, English, Persian, French Chinese, Turks, and others spoke, in fact, on the same theme—Imperialism. Imperialism which has through its greediness lost itself in the madness and shame of massacres, drunk with blood, digging its own tomb, revealing to the whole workers of the world with terrible evidence its inhumanity and cynicism.

But, I say, it is not this criticism of the old social order already well known and familiar to the ears of the masses of the workers; it is not the verdict of international equity pronounced on this band of evil doers. This was not the essential significance of the meeting.

But it was in the unanimous sentiment with which the prayers of the dead were spoken over the past, with which the joyous welcome was addressed to the regenerated Russian Revolution, calling to its help all people, and calling them to the help of the workers of all countries. In the whole of the speeches one felt the assurance that Russia, having by the will of history taken the vanguard part of Socialism, would fill with success and honour this role, difficult but great, and would lead all peoples to follow towards the erection of a new life.

These discourses in different languages, penetrated with one feeling,

had a marvellous resonance, and suggested the conviction that only the wish of the people, rationally directed, is capable of accomplishing these miracles.

And is it not in truth a miracle? Since the finish of the 18th century the monarchist people of Russia accomplished immutably the shameful and bloody task of strangling all revolutionary or emancipating movements in East and West, our soldiers have blindly fought against the revolutionary armies of France in the great French Revolution, have crushed many times without mercy the national revolutionary movement in Poland, have aided in 1848 the Austrian monarchists to stifle the revolution in Hungary, have killed constitutional Turkey in 1878-79, have laid violence on Persia, have drowned in blood the national movements in China, in a word, have played the part of executioner of liberty everywhere where they have been sent by an autocracy greedy and afraid.

And today towards these people the hearts and eyes of all peoples, of all the workers of the earth are turning; all are looking on Russia with hope, with the great hope, with the certainty that she will be able to worthily and powerfully carry out the part she has taken up of being the force which shall liberate the world from the rusted chains of the past.

This certainty, this hope, has been best expressed in his speech by Comrade Youssoupt, representing Turkestan and Bukaria. He in the most convincing and lively fashion gave expression to the world-wide consciousness of the Russian liberation:

"Do not complain," said he, "that your existence is hard; you have taken up a work which demands the greatest sacrifices, which demands abnegation, unshakable courage, disinterestedness, and incessant work." Such was the tone of his discourse, and one may say it was exactly what was wanted.

As a fact, the Russian Socialist

worker is attracting the attention of the world: as though before humanity he was passing the examination of his political maturity; he stands before all men the creator of new forms of life. This is the first time that a decisive attempt to realize the Socialist idea has ever been made on so large a scale, the attempt to put a body to this theoretical life, which one may call the religion of the workers.

One can well understand that the attention of the whole of working humanity should be directed towards Russia, for we are working for the world, for the whole planet. And the interest of the working world concentrated upon the Russian Socialist obliges him to, high and firm, keep the flag flying; for he appears historically as the master and example for hundreds of thousands and millions of men.

Despite actual circumstances of extreme difficulty, he ought to be valiant, stoical, reasonable, generous, disinterested and stubborn in the work.

He ought to know that he himself is poisoned with the poison with which the possessing classes have contaminated the universe. He should know that the cruelty and bestiality towards the next, and all that on which reposes the old world, has entered also into his blood.

He who now is free behaves always towards work like a slave; yet it is only concentrated work, obstinate, disinterested, that can tear up by the roots all the horrors of the ancient world.

I do not think these disquieting reflections should be out of place here before the speeches of praise addressed to the Russian workers on the occasion of their first international fete.

Comrades! all the workers of the earth are turning their eyes upon you with a bright hope. They want to see in you new men, upright, incorruptible, indefatigable in their work of constructing a new world.

LENIN or WILSON

By Maxim Gorky.

The victors, who a short time ago, proclaimed to the whole world that they were destroying millions of men for the victory of justice and the happiness of all peoples, have now forced the German people to accept the terms of an armistice which is ten times harder than the Brest-Litovsk peace and which threatens the Germans with insupportable hunger. From day to day the cynicism of the inhuman policy of the imperialists becomes clearer and threatens more and more openly the peoples of Europe with new wars and fresh bloodshed.

President Wilson, who yesterday was the eloquent champion of the freedom of peoples and the rights of democracy, is equipping a powerful army for the "Restoration of Order," in Revolutionary Russia, where the people have already realized their lawful right to take the power into their own hands and are striving with all their might to lay the foundation for a new political order. I will not deny that this constructive work has been preceded by an often unnecessary destruction. But I, more than anyone else, am justified in a position to explain, that the cultural metamorphosis which is going on under particularly difficult circumstances, and which calls for heroic exertions of strength, is now gradually taking on a form and a compass which has up to the present, been unknown in human history.

This is not an exaggeration. But a short time ago an opponent of the Soviet Government and still in many respects not in agreement with it, I can yet say, that in the future the historian, when judging the work which the Russian workers have accomplished in one year, will be able to feel nothing but admiration for the immensity of the present cultural activity.

Is it because of the slight transgressions of the Russian Revolution against humanity, is it because of the lack of high-mindedness on the part of the Russian workmen towards their conquered class enemies, that the Imperialists of Europe and America are taking the field against Revolutionary Russia? No, the case is not so beautiful or as idealistic as the papers of Europe, France, America and Japan represent it. The matter is much simpler. The Imperialists of the three continents fear the operation of the new influences which may hinder the fortifying of political conditions and institutions that can strengthen their power over the wills of the people; conditions, in consequence of which a small minority disposes of the wills and lives of the majority, that minority which evoked the senseless, bloody battles.

One would think that all sensible and honorable men must see clearly the hypocrisy and the stupidity of the foundations of the capitalist system. It seems as if this were the time to convince all honorable and thoughtful men that Capitalism has lost its constructive force and is a relic of the past, is a hindrance

Show, then, to the whole world that you are new men. Show to the world what there is in you that is better, what there is in you that is more human—your love, your generosity, your open honesty, and how well you know how to work!—From La Vie.

to the development of world culture, that it calls forth enmity between individuals, families, classes and nations and that the beautiful dream of the great brotherhood of nations cannot be accomplished as long as the irreconcilable struggle between labour and capital still survives. I do not deny the services of capital to the working portion of humanity, out of the flesh and blood of which it created the bases for a transition into a new, perfect and just order of society by means of Socialism. But now that the damnable war has disclosed the complete shabbiness, inhumanity and cynicism of the old system, now, its death sentence has been pronounced. We, Russians, a people without traditions and on that account bolder, more rebellious and less bound by the prejudices of the past, we have been the first to tread the path which leads to the destruction of the old world conditions of capitalist society, and we are convinced that we have a claim on the help and sympathy of the proletariat of the entire world, and also of those who, even before the war, criticized sharply the present conditions of society.

If this criticism was honest, then all honorable men in Europe and America must recognize our right to shape our destiny in the manner we think necessary. If any of the intellectual workers take a true interest in the solving of the great social problem, they must protest against those who strive for the re-establishment of the old regime, who wish to destroy the Russian Revolution by the shedding of Russian blood, to subject Russia to their rule in order later to exploit it as they exploited Turkey and other countries, and as they are now preparing to exploit Germany. This is the true wish of the Imperialists. This is their sacred task.

The leader of the campaign against Russia is Woodrow Wilson. The torch of the Russian Revolution which throw its light over the entire world, is held firmly by the hand of Lenin. The proletariat and the intellectuals will choose which one represents their interests most nearly, the representative of the outworn, who is the embodiment of the beautiful ideals of the workers—of freedom of labor among all peoples.

Existing under the menace of conquest by the robbers, they proclaim to the workers and to honorable men in all the world: Follow us to a new life, for the creation of which we are working without sparing ourselves or anything or anyone else. For this we are working, erring and suffering with the eager hopes of success, leaving to the just decision of history all our acts. Follow us in our struggle against the old order, in the work for a new form of life, for the freedom and beauty of life.

WEST END SHOE WORKS

Fred Johnson, Prop.

First Class Shoe repairing
218 28th Avenue West.

Lincoln 35-D.

DULUTH, MINN.

The Cry of the People

Tremble before your chattels,
Lords of the scheme of things!
Fighters of all earth's battles,
Ours is the might of kings!
Guided by seers and sages,
The world's heart-beat for a drum,
Snapping the chains of ages,
Out of the night we come!

Lend us no ear that pities!
Offer no almoner's hand!
Alms for the builders of cities!
When will you understand?
Down with your pride of birth
And your golden gods of trade!
A man is worth to his mother, Earth,
All that a man was made.

We are the workers and makers!
We are no longer dumb!
Tremble, O Shirkers and Takers!
Sweeping the earth—we come!
Ranked in the world-wide dawn,
Marching into the day!
The night is gone and the sword is drawn,
And the scabbard is thrown away.

John G. Neihardt.

Workers of Duluth!

My service is for workingmen.

Workingmen's Clothing and a big line of underwear.

Workingmen's Sunday Shoes.

Workingmen's Working Shoes of all kinds.

It will pay you to pay me a visit.

A. KYYHKYNNEN,

(Park Hotel Building 6th Avenue W.)
10—6th Avenue West.

DULUTH, MINN.

AN OPEN LETTER TO LENIN GOODBYE FELLOWS!

From the inaugural meeting of the Finnish Communist Party held in Moscow on September 3rd, 1918.

Comrade,—

With deep consternation and anger we have heard that the bullet of an assassin hired by the bourgeois has wounded you, the greatest soldier of the Soviet Republic, and leader of the International Revolutionary Labour movement.

We meet here, in the capital of the Socialist Soviet Republic, to organize a Finnish Communist Party, in place of the Social Democratic Party, that fell in the revolutionary storms last spring. We hoped to see you amongst us, honoured comrade, and best adviser; we had already adopted a resolution asking you to come to our Conference. As our wish to see you here with us cannot be realized owing to the infamous attack on your life, we desire by this open letter to convey to you the thoughts in our hearts that we had hoped to express to you verbally.

A year ago you were an exile in our country; now we are visiting yours. You were exiled by the terrorism of the Russian Bourgeoisie, and afterwards by the Temporary Administration, which coerced and exiled Russia's struggling proletariat. Now it is we who have been chased to Russia by the violent terrorism of the united Finnish and German bourgeoisies, which by a bloody military dictatorship is now crushing the workers of Germany and Finland.

A year ago we could not believe that during the war Russia could achieve a real proletarian revolution. We thought: "First peace, then revolution." But you, comrade Lenin, declared with deep confidence, "First revolution, then peace."

You acted with decision and in harmony with that belief. You hurried from Helsinki to Viborg, from Viborg to Petrograd. We sent you a special warning: "Take care, Kerensky is seeking your life." But you disregarded our warning because you thought that the time had come to lead the workers to revolution.

In October the Russian proletariat rose; it crushed both the bourgeois administrators and their Socialist hirelings and took all power into its own hands.

We Finnish Social Democrats did not then realize the true meaning of this tremendous stroke; we could not believe that still in September, 1918, the power wrested by the workers from the bourgeois state which they have destroyed would remain in the workers' hands, and that they would be building a Socialist society.

Last Autumn, on the very eve of the Russian Revolution, you, comrade Lenin, advised us Finlanders: "Rise; rise without delay; take all power into the hands of the organized workers." By failing to follow your wise advice in November, 1917, we made, as we know now, an historic error.

In November, 1917, there were good prospects for our Finnish Revolution. Unscrupulous profiteering had angered the Finnish workers and driven them to the very verge of the class war; but one pace removed from forcible conflict. When from Russia the trumpets of proletarian revolution sounded, the Finnish workers were ready to rise. But our Social Democratic Party, the only workers' party in our country, was not prepared.

Our party was paralyzed by the Bourgeois Class Administration; it dropped to the level of peaceful class rivalry, at which, for instance, the German Social Democratic Movement has always remained. It was one of those Labor Parties which try by trade union methods to better the conditions of the workers within the Capitalist state, in the programmes of which Socialism is a mere ornament, and which strive to avoid the workers' revolution, instead of making ready to fulfill the great historic mission of the working class. Therefore, after a period of hesitation and uncertainty, our party guided the revolutionary flood tide of the workers into mere general strike demonstrations, and staved off forcible conflict between the workers and the bourgeoisie. We did not believe in revolution; we did not wish to endanger our organization and the "democratic" institutions of the country. We preferred to continue developing those institutions.

Now, looking back, it is plain to us that those tactics could, at best, have led only to a temporary and relative victory; not a genuine victory of the working classes, but to a so-called democratic compromise between the capitalist parties and the majority of our Social Democratic Party. The minority would then, doubtless, have left our party to call the workers to revolutionary Socialism. A Finnish revolution last November could not have placed the working class immediately in power, but it might have taken us an historical evolutionary step in that direction. It was the duty of our party, as a class war organization of the workers, to dash forward to that goal; not merely to lay in wait, as it did, for attack by the bourgeoisie. If we had chosen revolution then, our country's class struggle would have been less costly than it has been. The process of evolution will in any case take its toll in human life, but the cost, if we had acted boldly, would have been smaller.

By failing to do its duty in November, our party could not long prevent armed conflict. The democratic administration of the State, the eight-hour day, and other Parliamentary reforms which seemed so near, we could not secure by Parliamentary tactics. On the contrary, all these democratic prizes were, week by week, more evidently endangered because the capitalists were preparing to frustrate our efforts to obtain reform by forming armed organizations for civil war. Under this menace our Party also began to prepare the workers, for self-defence. But this work was not done with the great energy and enthusiasm we could have shown had we been mustering for a campaign that our hearts desired instead of for one we wished to avoid.

At the end of January, 1918, Finnish capitalism set its troops to attack the workers.

Our Social Democratic Party replied with revolution; but the situation, both in home and foreign possibilities, was now less favorable to the workers than in November. On the eve of the revolution it was difficult to foresee this clearly; nevertheless we ought to have known that the time was coming in which the workers and their Party would have no other choice. In any case a proportion of the workers would certainly have taken up arms to protect their rights; thousands of them must in any case have been butchered. It is questionable whether our organizations would have been spared, even had our Party withdrawn from the struggle, and certainly had it done so it would have split the workers' front and so helped the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeois. We could not thus degrade our Party. In every district where it was possible, the whole Labor movement, political and trade unionist, rose as one man to campaign under our leadership.

But still we had no clear understanding of the nature and mission, even of this our proletarian revolution. The armed conflict was only, in our view, a necessary evil, and we who were in charge of the revolutionary movement gave less attention to the organization of the campaign than to law making and the re-arrangement of administration. When the fierce revolution was already raging and within a few

weeks we got into fighting order a Red Army of 80,000 men. That this was possible in a dominion which had but half its population of three million still left to it, and where for the last fifteen years there had been no native military so that the workers had no source from which to draw trained officers and war technicians, must be attributed rather to the general organizing capacity of the workers than to the military talents of the revolutionary administration.

In its political aims our revolutionary administration long tried, rather to restrain, than to encourage the revolutionary tendency of the workers towards Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The goal of the revolution seemed to us to be, not the Socialism, but social reforms, not the annihilation of the bourgeois State and the creation of a workers' dictatorship, but reformation by the idle way of general democracy, not the establishment of "revolution as a lasting state," to which Marx pointed, but the getting rid of revolution as soon as possible, as though it were some horrid nightmare.

This was the logical outcome of our concealed Social Democratic teaching and of the long tramping by the ways of Parliamentarianism and trade unionism, which has paralysed the revolutionary Socialist impulse of our workers. When we had actually to face the effective historical process, the proletarian revolution, which, even in our Social Democratic programme was ever the most shining ornament, and the preparation for which should have been the highest object of the earlier Labor movement, and from which, at last, the Labor movement should hurry to gather the long awaited fruits—then it became apparent that Social Democracy's vaunted "high stage of development" was half-blind, half-lame. To revolutionary workers it was rather an obstacle than a banner of victory. The Social Democratic Party had not made use of the blossoming time of democracy within the capitalist State to prepare for that which is the highest stage of the class struggle, the armed revolution, at the outbreak of which democracy, having finished its task, is doomed to perish.

When our workers' democracy tardily and unwillingly came, at last, to revolution, the inner logic of the struggle led us on to the workers' dictatorship and the socialization of industry. When we stepped in the revolutionary path, in reality to avoid revolution, our mental conflict and unreadiness lent a mischievous uncertainty to our movements from which grew up a general discontent with the leaders of the revolutionary army. It is tragic that, perhaps, these mistakes of ours were responsible for the defeat of the workers' cause when the scales of victory or defeat were hanging in the balance. But if the working class had been victorious in the conflict we might have sailed on on the waves of uncertainty, face to face with the greatest tragedy possible to the Labor movement; the tragedy in which the Russian Mensheviks have been engulfed, that of struggling weapon in hand, against the workers' revolution. The disastrous defeat of our Finnish workers' revolution was not the outcome of the leaders' mistakes.

The revolution was crushed by the beast of German Imperialism, which hastened to the aid of Finnish capitalism with weapons of highly trained forces. Whether German Social Democracy did all that it ought to prevent this we leave it to the German workers to decide. To us the interference of the German Government was destructive—and instructive. The independence of our mother country, a gift which came to us from you, honored Russian comrades, we Finnish Social Democrats enthusiastically protected; but the bourgeoisie of Finland sold it to German Imperialism for the price of the Finnish workers' blood. By this deed the bourgeoisie has stripped us of social patriotism.

By international slaughter, power and the capitalist technique of mob murder, the opposition of our revolutionary workers was strangled last April (1918); men whose bravest efforts could not withstand the pressure of our enemies, and no help came to us from abroad. The German comrades did not hear our call. Our Russian Comrade heard, but had not power enough to save us. He was himself in danger, but yet helped as much as he could. Our debt of thankfulness became larger day by day and week by week. This we felt deeply, and also were ashamed, because there was once a time when, under the influence of bourgeois local-patriotism, we hesitated to accept aid from the soldier comrade of Russia, and to enter into noble alliance with him. The sacred blood that was shed on the snowfields of Finland has bound us now in a fraternal alliance that will last for ever.

Comrade Lenin, the real meaning of revolutionary Socialism, which on the eve of our workers' revolution we failed to understand, now begins to be made clear by the example of the victorious Russian proletariat and by your teaching. Here in Russia we have been able to study the working of the greatest revolution in the history of the world, the first grand revolution. We were told in Finland that we should see here destruction, only destruction. It is true we have seen much destruction, but destruction which has resulted from the proletarian revolution has shattered only the capitalist class state; it has only meant the conscious and thorough annihilation of the old, rotten and oppressive State organization of the exploiting classes; from under this destruction we have seen germination and sprouting upward a nobler crop than we have even imagined. We have seen the grand and suffering Russia bring forth to the world in life and actual reality the beautiful ideal of which the workers of the world have been dreaming for many thousands of years.

SOCIALISM.

We now understand that only thus can Socialism be realized, that it will never grow to life from the jungle of democracy, as we in Finland believed, but from the reality of destruction, danger, suffering and warfare. The class government of Russia's victorious workers, of which you, honored Comrade, are leader, is founded to help into being the long-awaited new society. This gigantic task will daily call for the boundless straining of nerves and power. The administrative difficulties of your task would demand from the proletariat very great exertions, even if Russia had been out of the terrible war, which has raged now for several years, and in which Russia is losing still important lives. Greater efforts are needed, because you must struggle under the attack both of internal and external enemies. Sword in hand must the Russian workers build, sword in hand must the revolutionary ploughman plough. They are building, ploughing, and struggling with inexhaustible energy and enthusiasm. "The work will be bad, the work will be worthless!" croak the expelled hawks from outside. It is true that all that is done cannot be good, cannot be good, because there is no time for polishing, but every day some work is finished. We have seen growing from your combined efforts unexpectedly rich results, and that is good testimony. If in Russia, held for so long under the tyranny of the Czarism, and lately in the grasp of Germany's ironhand, if in Russia, where the cultural and economic process was in chaos, the Socialist Soviet Republic stands firm after eleven months, how ripe, indeed is capitalist world for socialist revolution! The capitalist world is ripe for communism, as

we now say, comrade Lenin, in accordance with your teaching, the value of which the workers' revolution in your country has proved to the world.

To us Finnish Social Democrats the communist revolution has brought altogether new ideas of the world and of life. We have awakened now to the sunshine of Socialism, of which before we only dreamed.

For the knowledge of communism we are in debt, which we must pay by sincere and enthusiastic work for the international socialist revolution, above all in Finland and here in Russia. Communism has given us the bright and hopeful belief that the great sacrifices the workers of our country have endured in their campaigns this year, and still more in the beastly orgies of revenge held by the Finnish bourgeois after the workers' defeat, are not wasted but given for the international victory of the proletariat. This noble end the Finnish working class tried to help in their campaigns of last spring; small in number, knowledge and strength, it yet made great sacrifice and once more it will rise up from the dust. Communism will bring the light of new hope to the darkest night; it will break the chains of despair, and pour into the sorrowful soul of the defeated soldier a new and iron-strong belief in victory.

On the day when the commanding song, "This is our last struggle," shall sound throughout the world; when the International Red Army starts forth on its onward march, the world shall see the proletariat of Finland also storm out to the war-front and to victory.

In Germany, Austria, England, France, the United States and Japan the working class will repudiate all the Labor Parties that in those countries, which speak to postpone the workers' revolution when the moment is ripe for it, and in spite of all our warnings still give the false advice: "First peace, then revolution." The workers will repudiate those Labor Parties that directly or indirectly are supporting the attempts of the imperialist governments of their countries to strangle the Socialist Soviet Republic and to crush the workers' international revolution.

We send a brotherly handshake to all those Labor organizations, which, already in war time, are preparing for the revolution to rescue the workers of their own countries, to help the Russian Soviet Republic and to build up the international socialist republic.

We believe and hope that the present world war will be the grave in which international capitalism will be buried.

Honor to you, Russian Communists, who so heroically have carried out the heaviest pioneer work for the workers' international revolution! From you and the workers you represent great exertions and many heavy sacrifices will yet be demanded, but the victorious march of international Socialism which you have started will go on unchecked to its destination.

In this creative struggle Comrade Lenin, you are needed. Your firm hand, and bright, far-seeing eye, and the strength of your mental power are important. You will patiently bear the pain and annoyance of the wounded soldier. And soon again you will take into your strong hands the rudder of the Socialist Soviet Republic and the workers' international revolutionary movement.

Tell the Russian comrades, in our name, that their Finnish comrades will go happily under fire; they desire to be in the attack when the forts of capitalism shall be taken and destroyed. The Finnish comrades will not be out of the fighting line when the workers of all countries win the world.

Moscow. September 3rd, 1918.

ARE YOU GAME!

In Rosyth, a small seaside place in Scotland, 1,400 tenants have refused to pay their rent, unless the landlords reduce same by 50 per cent.

A CONTRAST.

Over one hundred years ago there arose, due to the French Revolution, a man who was known as one of the biggest men that France had produced—Marat. At that time he was bitterly denounced as a murderer, crook, etc. For a long period there was no crime too low or no charge too foul that was not attributed to this man of the people—Marat. He was a moral pervert, with an insane lust for blood, a thief, a forger, a charlatan, etc. His murderess became a saint and a heroine. For a considerable number the conventional opinion of Marat was believed to be true, until Belfort Bax had the courage to publish the true facts about the life and work of Marat. We witnessed Marat as a tireless and self-sacrificing doctor, whose body was torn and racked by disease. He was in fact a man of similar nature and character like unto Debs.

They have an old saying that history repeats itself. We feel inclined to accept the truth of that saying. For today there is another man, somewhat like Marat, self-sacrificing and tireless, like Marat, and like Marat he is universally condemned. We refer to Nikolai Lenin. Time proved the necessity for the French Revolution and with it came the vindication of Marat. Time alone will prove the necessity of the Russian Revolution and with it will come the vindication of Lenin.

The Advance of the Irish Working Class

Some idea of the rapid advance that the Irish working class is making may be found in the fact that the subject of debate at the All-Ireland Festival, better known as the Oireachtas, held at Cork from August 2nd to the 9th, was INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. This debate is the most interesting part of the whole proceedings and provokes much thought. It is here where national cultural issues are fought and the mere fact that such a subject as INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM has been chosen, proves how advanced the Irish working class is. When may we expect an All-Ireland gathering to be held at Washington, under the shadow of the White House, with the subject of debate THE I. W. W. OR THE A. F. OF L.? We ask, when?

HENRY FORD SAID THIS!

"I do not blame anybody for trying to avoid military service!"

"War glorifies murder."

"Two classes benefit by war—the military class and the money-lenders."

"I think that war is largely a matter of greed on the part of those who profit by it."

The government did not prosecute Ford. Was it because they feared him or because he was an ignorant idealist who only talked? Ford is just another Woodrow Wilson minus a university training.

A Letter to American-Born Working Men.

(According to statistics of the Bureau of Immigration and the Department of Customs, more than two million alien workmen have left America for Europe since the armistice was signed—for a long period more than a thousand a day sailed from the Port of New York alone. Why are they going? This letter, from a foreign worker who has been here for many years, and is now going home, may help to explain the reason.—Ed.)

Reprinted from the Voice of Labor.

Well, good bye, fellows! Yes, I am leaving, going home, going back to the first workingman's country in the world—Soviet Russia.

For seventeen long years you and I have been toiling side by side.

Together we cursed and swore about the lousy bunks and punk grub in the rain-soaked logging camps of Washington and Oregon; together we "humped" lumber and railroad ties in California seaports; together we "mucked" in the tunnels and grading camps of Nevada and Utah; together we hayed in Colorado and harvested in Kansas and the Dakotas; together we smelled the stink of Chicago stock-yards, hustled in the machine-shops of Cleveland and the steel mills of Pittsburgh, sailed on the Lakes; together we worked in half a dozen ship-yards, all along the Eastern Coast.

We know each other, you and I. And now let me tell you why I want to go back.

Somehow you fellows have got it into your heads that this is the best country in the world for a workingman to live in, and that it will remain the best. More than that. You say that this country, as it is now, is good enough for ever and ever. Anybody who disagrees with you is unpatriotic, or an ungrateful knocker.

"If You Don't Like Your Uncle Sammy"—

It is a hundred to one bet that an American-born worker's answer to a dissatisfied foreigner will always be: "If you don't like this country, get to hell out of it. Nobody invited you to come here; who's keeping you now?"

Many American-born workmen think that this is a very smart answer—a regular knock-out; in reality, it is the silliest sentence in the world to be spoken BY A WORKING MAN.

Let me show you why.

Who owns this country—the great shops, the railroads, the big banks; the forests, rich mines and fertile soil? Do the workmen own them, or a handful of millionaires with their comfortable and well-paid managers, foremen, superintendents, guards and private detectives?

Who make the laws, who enforce them, who appoint the judges, police and jail-keepers? The workers or the bosses?

True enough, every little while the politicians—paid and controlled by these same bosses and millionaires—come around asking for your votes. And you swallow all their bunk, vote for them, and think you're ruling the country. Then you go on strike. A Judge (the one you voted for) issues an injunction forbidding you from picketing. A Sheriff (you voted for him) gives deputy badges to scabs and private detectives. A Governor (you helped to elect him) calls in the militia to break the strike.

A band of thugs hired by John D. Rockefeller shoot down striking coal-miners in Colorado, and burn their women and children to death—nobody's punished. A band of thugs hired by the Phelps-Dodge Company at Bisbee deport five hundred striking copper miners into the desert at the point of a gun—nobody's punished. A servant of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, a District Attorney named Fickert (you helped elect him, too), sends Tom Mooney to jail for life on a frame-up—nobody's punished except Mooney.

Yes, you rule the country—like Hell!

Democracy!

Millions of you don't know yet that it doesn't make a particle of difference whether Republicans, Democrats, Progressives or "Independents" win the election. It's nothing to you whether this or that "friend of labor," "greater this "good" man or that "great" man gets a soft political job.

How many more times must you be fooled before you begin to see it?

The great industrial and financial barons of this country hold every politician in the hollow of their hands. If the politicians do as they

are told to, they get promoted; if they do what they promised you to do, they are down and out.

As for us working men—you American-born and we foreign-born—we get work if they can make money out of us; if they can't, we can go hang ourselves. When we have jobs, we get barely enough to feed, clothe and shelter ourselves and our families. When we are out of work we face starvation. And when starvation comes, they tell us: "Don't make trouble, or you'll get your head cracked by a cop's club. Stand in line. Patronize the soup-houses. Charity will take care of your family—if there's enough to go around. Shut up, and be thankful for the slops!"

America, at this moment, is the biggest gold-mine for the capitalists that ever existed in all history. The capitalists of America have made so many millions of dollars (yes, they skinned it out of you and me), that they are searching all over the world for places to invest it; for countries in which to build new shops, mills and railroads, to dig new mines, and skin more millions out of the workmen of other countries—Mexico, China, Siberia.

Taxing Ice-Cream Cones.

But when it comes to pay the war-debts, these hundreds of millions of profits are scarcely touched. Instead, the wise men in Washington, D. C. (your Government), have the nerve to tax the workingman, to take it out of the children of the poor.

One cent tax on each ice-cream cone! One cent on each nickel ticket to a moving-picture show! Twenty cents on the poor man's dollar! A blind man ought to see by whom and for whose benefit the laws are made!

Of course the capitalists are satisfied with this country AS IT IS NOW. Of course they want to "kick to hell out of this country" every foreign workingman who sees and doesn't like the great skin-game that is going on.

And the American-born worker who slings the same words against his fellow-worker born in another country, is simply echoing the sentiments of the boss who robs him, beats him and breaks him.

For seventeen long years—the best years of my life—I have slaved for the American money-bags. All I got for it was a bare living, like a farmer's mule or a contractor's team-horse.

So did you, my American friends and fellow-workers—Yankee of New England and Native Son of the Golden West. The only difference between you and me is, that I understood it and felt it every day and every hour, while most of you don't understand it and don't feel it even now.

Wages and Pork Chops.

When wages were \$15 a week, we bought pork chops for 10 or 12 cents a pound. Now we get \$30 a week, and the same kind of pork chops cost us 45 cents a pound. Wages have doubled; pork chops cost almost four times or much. Where do we gain, when in the face of the unheard-of cost of living, our wages don't increase in proportion, but fall more and more behind the price of necessities?

When the starving textile workers of Lawrence, Mass. (who get \$14 to \$20 a week), went on strike two months ago against a wage-reduction, the city authorities (elected by workmen) paraded mounted machine-guns up and down the streets. This was pictured in all the capitalist daily papers as the only effective means of suppressing "Bolshevism." When you ask for more bread, they call you "Bolshevik," and threaten to shoot you.

Our jobs are getting more uncertain every day—you know that as well as I do. If we are too old, if we can't work fast enough, if we can get cheaper men, if we give back-talk to a cranky straw-bots, if we open our mouths in Union meetings, if we kick for better conditions—then we get fired. Isn't that right?

But the most pitiful figures are those workmen who think they are well-off; who, by scraping, saving, working themselves to the bone, have managed to get a two-by-four house and lot on a ten-year installment plan. Being afraid to lose their jobs in that vicinity, they cease to be men, and turn into worms. They are afraid to kick, afraid to protest, afraid to strike; they do not dare to open their mouths.

On top of all this, when, on account of the speeding up of production, or unsettled industrial or financial conditions, the millionaires bosses have on hand too many un-

THE STATE

By William Paul.

The slave states of Greece and Rome existed to exploit and intimidate the propertyless slaves. The feudal state buttressed the interests of the landed class at the expense of the serf on the land and the craftsmen in the towns. The modern capitalist state, the last in the series, will pass away with the inauguration of industrial democracy. Socialism will require no political state because there will be neither a privileged property class nor a downtrodden propertyless class; there will be no social disorder as a result, because there will be no need to create a power to make "order." Thus, as Engels shows, the state will die out. With it will end the government of men and make way for the administration of industry. Likewise Bebel declares: "Along with the state die out its representatives—cabinet ministers, parliaments, standing armies, police and constables, courts, district attorneys, prison officials, tariff and tax collectors; in short, the whole political apparatus. Barracks and such other military structures, palaces of law and of administration, prisons—all will now await better use." Ten thousand laws, decrees and regulations become so much rubbish; they have only historic value. The great and yet the petty parliamentary struggles with which the men of tongue imagine they rule and guide the world are no more; they will have made room for administrative colleges and delegations, whose attention will be engaged in the best means of production and distribution, in ascertaining the volume of supplies needed, in introducing and applying effective improvements in art, in architecture, in intercourse, in the process of production, etc. These are all practical matters, visible and tangible, towards which everyone stands objectively, there being no personal interests hostile to society to affect their judgment." We see, therefore, that the function of the future administration of society will be industrial. The constructive element in the social revolution will be the action of the industrial union seizing the means of production in order to administer the wants of the community.

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Doree has recently been released on bail from the Leavenworth Penitentiary. He was undergoing a sentence of ten years imprisonment. You will regret it, if you fail to hear Doree. Doree comes with a message that concerns us all. It is vitally important that you attend his meetings. Never mind what you believe in, if you are a worker. YOU ARE DUTY BOUND to hear Doree. WORKERS OF DULUTH-SUPERIOR and VIRGINIA attend these meetings and show by your presence that you are for solidarity. Stand as one. Let us live solidarity and we will emancipate ourselves.

ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE

ties holds subordinate place, which increases in importance as the primitive communities approach nearer and nearer to their dissolution. Trading nations, properly so-called, exist in the ancient world only in its interstices, like the gods of Epicurus in the Intermundia, or like the Jews in the pores of Polish society. Those ancient social organisms of production are, as compared with bourgeois society, extremely simple and transparent. But they are founded either on the immature development of man individually, who has not yet severed the umbilical cord that unites him with his fellow-men in a primitive tribal community, or upon direct relations of subjection. They can arise and exist only when the development of productive power of labor has not risen beyond a low stage, and when, therefore, the social relations within the sphere of material life, between man and man, and between man and nature, are correspondingly narrow. This narrowness is reflected in the ancient worship of nature, and in the other elements of the popular religions.

The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only finally vanish, when the practical relations of every-day life offer to man none by perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow-men and to nature.

The life-process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan. This, however, demands for society a certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development.

Proletarian Revolt World Wide, Says Trotsky.

The Soviet government can look the future in the face with perfect confidence. Only a careful inventory of all the country's resources; only a rational organization of industries—an organization born of one general plan; only wise and careful distribution of all the products, can save the country. And this is Socialism. Either a complete descent to colonial status or a Socialist resurrection—these are

he carried the platform on his bent shoulders when the platform committee failed to be on hand. Then he hustled around to another branch and got their platform out. Then he got a glass of water for "the speaker." That same evening or the day before he had distributed handbills advertising the meeting.

Previously he had informed his branch as to "the best corner" in the district for drawing a crowd. Then he had distributed leaflets at the meeting, and helped to take the platform down and carry it back to headquarters, and got subscribers for Socialist papers.

Next day the same, and so on all through the campaign, and one campaign after another. When he had a job, which was none too often, for Jimmie was not an extra good workman and was always one of the first to be laid off, he would distribute Socialist papers among his fellows during the noon hour, or take a run down to the gate of some factory and give out Socialist leaflets to the employees who came out to lunch.

What did he do? Jimmie Higgins did everything, anything. Whatever was to be done, that was Jimmie's job.

First to do his work; then the work of those who had become weary or negligent, Jimmie Higgins couldn't sing, nor dance, nor tell a story—but he could do the thing to be done.

Be you reader, ever so great, you nor any other shall ever do more than that. Jimmie Higgins had no riches, but out of his poverty he always gave something, his all; be you, reader, ever so wealthy, and likewise generous, you shall never give more than that.

Jimmie Higgins never had a front seat on the platform; he never knew the tonic of applause nor the inspiration of opposition; he never was seen in the foreground of the picture.

But he had erected the platform and painted the picture; through his hard, disagreeable and thankless toil it had come to pass that liberty was brewing and things were doing. Jimmie Higgins. How shall we repay, how reward this man? What gold, what laurels shall be his? There's just one way, reader, that you and I can "make good" with Jimmie Higgins and the likes of him. That way is to be like him. Take a fresh start and never let go.

Think how great his work, and he has so little to do with. How little ours in proportion to our strength. I know some grand men and women in the Socialist movement. But in high self-sacrifice, in matchless fidelity to truth, I shall never meet a greater man than Jimmie Higgins. And many a branch has one of him. And may they have more of him.

Myriads of machines have been invented—everyone of them to save labor. If these machines helped the laborer, what a blessing they would be. But the laborer does not own the machine; the machine owns him. That is the trouble.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

Labor Speaks.—We make everything; build everything; run everything; do everything; repair everything. What do we get? Nothing. The others make nothing; build nothing; do nothing; run nothing; repair nothing. What have they got? Everything. We make everything. They get it. They make nothing. Yet get it.—Exchange.

Do not get discouraged. If you save 30 cents a week, you will be rich in a couple of thousand years.—G. M. Fitzgibbon.

Do not get discouraged. If you save 30 cents a week, you will be rich in a couple of thousand years.—G. M. Fitzgibbon.

Historical Materialism

By KARL MARX
The religious world is but the reflex of the real world. And for a society based upon the production of commodities, in which the producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values, whereby they reduce their individual private labor to the standard of homogeneous human labor—for such a society, Christianity with its cultus of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, etc., is the most fitting form of religion. In the ancient Asiatic and other ancient modes of production, we find that the conversion of products into commodities

sold products, or they can't sell them at a big enough profit—then they shut down mills and whole industries, and millions of workers are turned out on the street.

This is "Hard Times." The capitalist, of course, takes it easy on his accumulated millions, while hundreds of thousands of US—free-born Americans and "damn foreigners" alike—get a long and hungry vacation, with the popular outdoor sport of walking from one shop to another and meeting everywhere the same sign outside: "No Admittance! No Help Wanted!"

By all the signs it looks as if the workers of America will get one of those vacations in the near future—not only a good long one, but a lean one.

What to Do?
Is there any help for it? Is there any way out?

Yes, there is! And not a theory, either, but a practical scheme that is now working.

Every one of you has been reading for the past two years the fake newspaper stories about Russia, and the hair-raising tales of the "terrible Bolsheviks." The bigger the lie, the better it is paid for by the capitalist papers, who are owned and controlled by the same millionaire bosses who own the industries.

Why?
Because the working men and soldiers of Russia, hand in hand with the farm-hands and the poorest farmers, overthrew, not only the bloody Tsar and his slave-drivers, but also the shyster Kerensky, behind whose coat-tails the millionaire bosses of Russia expected to keep on skinning the workers.

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Because these same workers organized their own Workers' Government.

Because the Bolshevik Soviet Government took away the factories, mills, mines, banks and land from their millionaire owners—did not pay a cent for them—and turned them over to the workers, farm-hands and poor farmers.

Because, in spite of all difficulties, the workers of Russia are learning how to manage and run the industries for the benefit of all who work.

Because the workers of Russia are succeeding, and are defending their own Soviet Government against all attacks from the capitalist Governments of Japan, England, France, Italy AND AMERICA, who are assisting the old millionaires and the Tsarist generals in their attempt to restore the Russian workers to slavery.

Because the American millionaire bosses are shaking in their stolen shoes for fear you American-born workers learn something about the real conditions in Soviet Russia. They are afraid that you might think that the way of the Russian workers is a good way out of the present capitalist swamp toward industrial freedom.

They're Afraid of You.

They fondly hope that you American-born workers will believe all the lies they tell you, that you will forget your own conditions and join in the hunt for Bolsheviks in America.

They are trying to split the workers into an American-born and a foreign-born section, set them fighting each other, and thus skin both of them.

They are not afraid of the foreign-born workers. They know that the few foreign-born rebels cannot harm their looted money-bags. But they fear worse than fire that you American-born workers will become revolutionists. And they are right. The future of America, the future of the working class of America, rests in the hands of the American-born workers. If you turn revolutionists, the American millionaires and their flunkies are doomed.

As for me, I am getting weary

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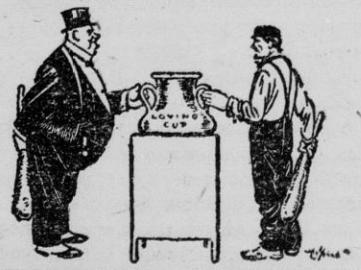
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—this is our mission. History is working in our favor. The proletarian revolution will flare up, sooner or later, both in Europe and America, and will bring emancipation not only to the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Finland but also to all suffering humanity.—Leon Trotsky.



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before that, in view of your betrayal of the Left Wing, we could not let you speak under Left Wing auspices.

In all this I feel a sense of deep personal loss; as if something I treasured had been taken from me. I had counted on you to hold steadfastly to your principles. I had gloried in the staunchness of your revolutionary spirit. And now it is all over. . . . I had set up a man of straw and the first strong wind blew him to pieces. Well. . . .

You do not know a thing about the Stolar case. And when you learn the facts you will hang your head in shame; and if you are a man you will humbly beg his pardon. If you want the truth, ask comrade Maartons. You made the mistake of taking the word of Stocklitzky, the pygmy dictator of the Russian Federation. I know Stolar. I also know the details of the controversy which resulted in Stocklitzky's and a few of his henchmen's demand for his expulsion from the Federation. Their turpitude is incontestable. It stinks to high heaven. I am proud to claim comradeship with Stolar.

Did you really believe that we had united with the so-called Communists? Ferguson should have told you. But perhaps he thought you could win us over! And you didn't even try. . . . No, Fraina, we have not yet so completely lost our equilibrium. We have the honorable gentlemen of the National Organization Committee right in our midst and we have not found them so lovable as to entrust ourselves to their fond embraces. 'Tis said that distance lends enchantment, and perhaps that is the reason why some of you in the East have responded to the cuckoo-call of Michigan-Federations. Frankly, we see nothing hopeful in the alignment presented by the Michigan-Federation combine. We are fearful of the consequences of such leadership. The so-called Communist Party, as it is now constituted and especially with the accession of a part of the National Council, presents the prettiest bunch of "eligibles" that man ever laid eyes upon. And as I gaze upon this august array of talent, I wonder where the working class is going to get off at. We of the Left Wing of Cook County are reluctant to join with an organization under the guidance of a few doctrinaires from Detroit and the would-be Lenin of the United States. We do not consider that the welfare of the revolutionary movement would be zealously guarded in their hands. We prefer to stand by our guns, reaffirming our principles of revolutionary Socialism, even if we have to stand alone. We are confident, however, that the great mass of the rank and file of the movement cannot again be led up blind allies but will rally to an organization of real Socialism, which organization, from present indications, will not be your Communist Party of America. We in Chicago consider the capitulation of the National Council of the Left Wing to the wiles of Michigan and the siren song of the Russian Federation the rankest kind of opportunism; pregnant with the fear that the show will come off and that you will not be in the band wagon. I know some of the members of the National Council too well to readily suspect them of place hunting, yet I must confess that the whole business smacks of just that very thing. As matters now stand, you may count upon it that the Left Wing of Cook County is not with you and will fight tooth-and-nail any attempt to prostitute the revolutionary movement to the service of anyone but the working class of the world.

As Comrade Ferguson recently wrote me, "Out of all this meanness and pettiness will come the revolution in America." But it will come out of the agony of innumerable wrongs and betrayals. If you persist in the tactics you have chosen, you will yet reckon with the host for the wind you have sown.

Yours was the trust. Yours was the rarest of opportunities. And how have you measured up. . . .

Yours in bereavement,

G. A. ENGLEKEN.

AN OPEN LETTER TO LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Dear Comrade:

In your letter to a member of the organization committee of the Chicago Left Wing Conference, refusing to speak at a meeting that was arranged for you, among other things as a reason for your refusal you say: "There is on the committee organizing the meeting at least one comrade (Stolar), who has been expelled from the Russian Federation because of his Menshevik activities."

From this I see that you have some knowledge about what is going on in the Russian Federation, but I fear that you do not know the real situation. You will therefore excuse me for enlightening you on this subject, especially how, after you have joined hands with them.

First I will ask you a few questions:

Do you know how the Russian Federation is being ruled? Do you know that a "firing squad" is constantly on the job expelling members and branches from the Federation who dare to disagree on anything with the would-be "bosses" of the Russian Federation, as one of your and their worthy partners, comrade Ferguson nicknamed them in No. 3 of Revolutionary Age?

Do you know that a regular secret service system is being employed by these "bosses" to hunt down the "undesirables"?

Do you know that a worse than military censorship is being maintained in the domain of Stocklitzky (the North-Western States), where it is prohibited to the branches to communicate with each other or to send out or receive any correspondence otherwise than through the hands of the censors (the Executive Committee) and that this censorship committee like the imperialists in the world's war are holding up the mail of these branches and do not deliver at all the "undesirable" mail?

Do you know that the great majority of the leaders of the Federation, including the Executive Committee, are less than two years in the movement, and some of them less than a year? Would you not suspect some of them as being job seekers, especially those who for years have been bitter enemies of the Socialist movement and have been fighting against the Russian Federation and its organ the "Novy Mir"?

Do you know that both editors of the "Novy Mir" including myself who have been elected less than a year ago by the convention of the Federation held in New York stand now expelled from the Federation by orders of the "bosses"? Don't you think that it looks suspicious and that you should hesitate before throwing mud into their faces and calling them (or one of them) "mensheviks" at the time when you yourself have been the subject of attacks and the same epithet has been applied to you only a few days ago by the same gang? (See the "Communist" No. 1 to 5.)

Do you know that this gang of unscrupulous politicians who infested the Executive Committee of the Russian Federation have and are still doing all in their power to hamper the work of the Representative of the Russian Soviet Government in the United States, and are branding everybody as a Menshevik and counter-revolutionist who dares to counter-act them and is trying to help the representative to do his duty before the Russian Revolution.

So far as I know I have been expelled without any trial notwithstanding the fact that myself and seven branches of the Russian Federation have and are still demanding a trial. I have been expelled "administratively," the way the Russian Czar's governors used to exile to Siberia workers and

citizens against whom no evidence of any kind could be produced.

In conclusion I will say, that if you have any self respect and revolutionary conscience, you will start a little investigation of your own, and you will learn a good deal. You may get some information in the office of the Russian Soviet Government in New York, which started at my request an investigation a few months ago when I was informed by the Department of Justice of the U. S. Government that I am going to be deported for my Bolsheviki (not Menshevik) activity in the United States.

Yours for the Social Revolution,

M. A. STOLAR.

Chicago, Ill.

We most certainly detest using our columns for the purpose of advertising the dissension that exists in the ranks of the so-called Communists, but the attempt of the Twin Cities' locals to swing the State organization into the Communist Party has made it necessary for us to place before the members of the party all the facts in our possession. By warning members of the pitfalls that beset their path we render a service to them. When they know the facts they are better qualified to act. Therefore we trust our readers will bear with us and appreciate the reasons that prompt us to take up so much space with matter that has to deal with dissensions within the movement.

Comrades, we are prepared to go with a revolutionary organization that will be revolutionary in deeds not merely words. The working class are aching for an organization that will offer to them some hope of finding a way out of the dark wilderness of capitalism. It would be folly, aye more than folly on our part if we led the rank and file of Minnesota into a party that sooner or later must split on the question of tactics. When leaders of the Communist party state that the ONLY socialists to be found in America were in Detroit, it only goes to further prove that the position we laid down at the State Convention was a correct and proper one. We, here in Duluth, do not claim to be the ONLY Socialists in these United States, but we do claim that we have carried Socialist propaganda, that has not been confined to educating a FEW, but to educating the mass of the workers. When every form of persecution was levied against us, we stuck to our guns and kept right on. Even when the "Knights of Liberty" had taken out a sympathizer and severed his sexual organs into two parts, gouged out his eyes and then hung him to a tree, we still kept right on. Even though a few of us went about in fear of our lives, we sold more literature and engaged in more Socialist activity than any other local in the State. We have played our part here in Duluth, even the State secretary states we are a consistently red local. Through the dark months of the war we never lowered our colors, but still kept going and then to ask us to rush the brave men and women of this city into a party that is so woefully disunited, is to ask us to sacrifice one of the largest and best locals in the country. We may be called Centrists, but we shall not mind. While the Communist Party is sorting out its various elements and relegating them to their proper places, we will still be fighting. We shall not be fighting amongst ourselves, we will be fighting CAPITALISM. You ask us to join with the Michigan comrades, when we know that they decay industrial organization, of the industrial union type, and claim that it cannot function as a revolutionary body, you are asking us to deliberately go against the facts and realities of life. Living as we do in the very heart of the Steel Trust we know that the industrial union of the working class, the One Big Union, is absolutely essential. There is but one law in the world and that law is POWER. It is power against power and the might of the workers lies in industry. It will be argued that we claim that we can peacefully take over industry, we know our enemy too well for that, we have seen it in action. But we DO claim that the industrial union will function as a centre for action by the unorganized workers. The workers in the industrial union by their continual strikes and their being together will develop that revolutionary spirit and discipline that is absolutely necessary in times when the revolutionary movement must resort to mass action.

There are many Socialists, more gifted with the pen than we are, of the truth of that we will not deny, but we do claim that our length of time in the Socialist and labor movement has taught us many things that textbooks cannot teach. It has taught us, that no matter how slow and tedious the work may be, that we must get down on the job and through the workers experiences on the job we must educate him. We regret that we have not the time to deal more fully with this matter. In future issues we will go into more detail and convince our readers that it is one thing to issue a call and another to carry it out. The Communist party has issued a joint call but wait and see.

J. C.

THE LEFT WING AND THE "COMMUNIST" PARTY

A CLOSE EXAMINATION OF THEIR PROGRAMS.

By Samuel F. Hankin.

After a close examination of the Left Wing program, adopted by the National Left Wing Conference, and the program of the "Communists," issued by the group which bolted the Conference, because their attempt to control the National Left Wing Council failed, in conjunction with some members of the National Council who sabotaged the Left Wing, one will at once come to the conclusion that the program of the so-called Communists is only a modification of the original Left Wing program, with the exception that it ignores industrial unionism and industrial union organizations, to MAJOR factors in the class struggle.

The "Communist" program hurriedly passes over industrial unionism, only mentioning the terms. The only conclusion we draw from this is that they wish to blind the eyes, and to stop the revolutionaries' mind from questioning the revolutionary intentions, and class-consciousness of the self-styled "Communists." A part of it reads as follows:

"The Party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism as against the craft union form of organization, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character. (Communist Program of the Call, sec. 4.)

This is vague; it proposes nothing concrete. The industrial form of organization is an expression of the class-struggle, and we revolutionary Socialists must give better attention to it than is stated above. It is not enough to say "and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character." Is this the welcome revolutionary industrial unionism should be given by revolutionary Socialists who recognize that the craft union form of organization which functions as a workers' trust to protect their skill, has outlived its usefulness? The development of machinery, replacing a majority of the skilled worker, renders him class-conscious, and he at once accepts industrial unionism.

The Left Wing program, which the "Communists" have modified, states:

4. We favor organized party activities in co-operation

with class-conscious industrial unionism, in order to UNIFY industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

a) The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary intentions.

b) The Party shall make the great industrial battles its MAJOR CAMPAIGNS, to develop the understanding of the strike in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

What is more concrete and constructive than the above? It is an open endorsement of industrial unionism. If the "Communists" are opposed to industrial unionism, and the present secretary of the so-called Communists stated that he is opposed to industrial unionism, and we know that every Federation connected with the "Communist" party is opposed to the only class-conscious working men's organization, why do they not come out openly and say so, instead of hurriedly running over the term "industrial unionism"?

Since it is at the point of production that the worker is being exploited; and since the point of production furnishes the basis of capitalist domination, the workers and every revolutionary working class organization must concentrate their forces at this point. It must also recognize the usefulness of industrial unionism, and endorse revolutionary industrial unionism.

We do not blame those members of the Socialist Party, who have already joined the "Communist" party, or intend to join, for their ignorance. It is the self-styled place hunters in the office of the "Communists" who are to blame. When asked for their position on industrial unionism, they remain silent, and evade the question.

We appeal to the class-conscious, revolutionary Socialists to study closely the program of the "Communist" Party, before joining their organization, which is Communist in name only.

THE REPLY OF THE RUSSIAN DEPORTEES

"We demand the immediate opening of the frontiers, so that we may return to our homes, to our country, where the glorious sun of freedom shines brightly, where the working class is the master of its own destiny, and where the songs of the working class freedom reverberate in the air. We are not afraid to be deported, but rather welcome the opportunity to leave immediately."

POLITICAL ACTION

It is said by some that we are opposed to political action. Let us not be misunderstood, we are in hearty agreement with those that believe that the workers must resort to political action. Political action we must have, but it must be solely SOCIALIST action. Our candidates must not advocate reforms, as that has had the tendency to mislead the workers into believing that they can by means of legislative acts obtain their freedom. In all our literature we must sound the note of internationalism and above all things we must firmly impress upon the mind of the worker that the most effective action is action on the job. It must however be borne in mind that political action is not necessarily voting. The one great lesson that the Russian Revolution has taught us is that any action that tends to abolish the State is political action. If tomorrow the I. W. W. resort to a mass strike in order to secure the release of the men in goal, then, at that moment, the I. W. W. becomes a political organization. It has been said by many moderate socialists, that all we require to do is to elect the majority of the members of Congress and then open session! Step inside comrades and friends and allow us to show you your new home, this is the Socialist Republic. Foolish comrades who think in such terms! Yet it is upon this baseless assumption that the Socialist Party was carried on in the past and even today the old N. E. C. really believe that. The workers must be able to use their power outside of Congress, for the purpose of enforcing the votes of their representatives inside, and this involves the One Big Union of the workers on the industrial field.

Consequently the supreme work before the Socialists of the Left Wing is the education of the masses and their organization into INDUSTRIAL UNIONS on a revolutionary basis, so that they will be able to use their industrial power in politics. The political strike is the new weapon of the revolutionary proletariat, now being forged on the anvil of experience in all countries where modern conditions exist. It will therefore be our main duty to propagate industrial unionism. Along with our propaganda of industrial unionist principles we must forever impress upon the minds of the workers the absolute necessity of abolishing the State. We must urge the workers to abolish the State and in its stead erect the Industrial Republic. Persecution has purged our movement of many false elements. It has driven others to the rear. The so-called "leaders" and politicians may masquerade in the limelight, but behind them in the gloom stand the serried ranks of the revolutionary workers, lining up for the last onslaught against Capitalism. The Left Wing comes before you with the purpose in view as outlined by us. There will be no compromising with the beaten middle-class, nor will we lower the Red Flag. We shall go marching ahead, possessed of a spirit of self-confidence and firmly resolved to take our place in the Third International, worthy supporters of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, Germany and Hungary and of all countries where the workers have thrown off their raiments of moderate socialism and girded themselves with the armor of revolutionary socialism. Our support will be in the deeds we do and not the resolutions we pass.

THE ENDLESS RACE

Saving up your money so that your children will not want for anything. You run your course and then your children get married and they save up, so that their children will not want for anything. So on goes the endless race.

WHAT ABOUT AMERICA?

"It is all very well," said Sylvia Pankhurst speaking at a Hands-Off Russia meeting, held in London, "to cheer Soviet Russia, but what are you doing to bring about a Soviet England? In countries that are not divided from Russia, as we are by the sea and the censorship, the working people are trying to go to Russia or set up Soviet governments of their own."

TO VOLUNTEERS FOR RUSSIA

The Bolshevik Government of Russia has issued a notice to all soldiers engaged in armies whose purpose is intervention in Russia, that only prisoners of conscript armies will be treated with the care and attention that has been given to former prisoners of war. Former prisoners of war were given free tickets enabling them to see any part of Russia and to be well fed and clothed. Volunteers will be placed in internment and treated as prisoners of war, under regulations laid down by international law. Volunteers are requested to bear this in mind.

NEWS FROM ITALY

ITALIANS REPUDIATE FRENCH LABOR LEADERS

By Hiram K. Moderwell.

(Special Correspondent of the Workers' Dreadnought).

Milan, July 22nd.

There seems to be an international campaign afoot to make it appear that the Italian strike of yesterday was a dismal failure. This story may be believed by the workers abroad if they are not on their guard. But to one who was in Milan during the strike, the story is only laughable.

Not a tramcar moved in Milan on the 20th and 21st. Not a newspaper appeared, save the Official Bulletin of the Strike, edited by the Strike Committee, and printed by a few volunteers with the consent of the printers' union. Hardly a shop was open, save those in which the owners did their own clerking. Not a single factory, large or small, moved a wheel. On the other hand, the restaurants were open, for the Strike Committee took care not to interfere with the daily human necessities; milk was delivered as usual; electricity and gas were produced; water was supplied for drinking purposes, and the hospitals were supplied with every need.

This was the situation in every important city in northern Italy. Industry was at a complete standstill. In the seaports, shipping was largely or completely blocked. Still more remarkable, most of the 200,000 organized farm workers struck with their comrades of the city.

In central, and especially in southern Italy, where organization is imperfect or entirely lacking, the strike was only partial. But it is northern Italy that counts in the political and industrial world, and northern Italy, or two days, was all but paralyzed. The bourgeoisie and imperialists were given a holiday with time to think about Russia and Hungary.

The case of the public services was different. Here the organizers of the strike were obliged to meet the threat of permanent dismissal, which exists in the governmental regulations, as well as the last minute recantation of the Strike Committee of the railroad workers. Nevertheless, throughout all north Italy, the lower categories of workers responded generally to the strike call, though the skilled workers and petty officials stayed on the job. No letters and few telegrams were delivered in Milan on the 21st. The railroad shops limped along on one leg. Though the passenger service was maintained, the freight service in many localities had to be curtailed.

But the great cause of the failure of the demonstration in central Italy and of its merely partial success in the public services, was the action of the French Confederation Generale du Travail, in "postponing" its strike at the last moment after all preparations had been made. To the Italians this seemed nothing less than treachery. It took the heart out of thousands who would otherwise have gone on strike. It spread a psychology of failure among the workers, a feeling of sinister and mysterious intrigue. It robbed the strike of its international character. It shattered the first large attempt in history to realize in a concrete act the Socialist dream of international brotherhood.

The Italian workers do not blame the French working class. They blame the leaders. But they will continue to feel uneasy so long as the French workers keep their present trade-union leaders in office. Their feeling toward the Jouhaux of France is not exactly anger. It is rather a philosophic disgust. "What is the use," they say, "of bothering any longer with such people? Our future is with the International of Moscow."

Very little news of the British demonstrations of Sunday has reached here, but we assume that meetings were held throughout the United Kingdom as promised.

One of the most evil features of the situation is that some jingoists are utilizing the discouragement of the workers in order to arouse nationalist prejudices against Britain and France. "The British have done nothing for you," say these serpents, "and the French deserted you at the last minute. Why worry about international labor solidarity? Vive l'Italia!" These sentiments are shrewdly propagated by Turati, the reform-Socialist, who, though not a jingo, seems to be

trimming his sails for political office. In a speech in Rome on Monday he spoke of the British workers as the bourgeoisie of the international proletariat. They eat five meals a day, he said. They have the eight-hour day, because they have colonies to work for them. The French have annexed the Saar basin. No wonder these people are inclined to accept the Treaty of Versailles. The implied conclusion is that the Italian working class would be better off if Italy had more colonies too.

There is a certain vicious truth in this logic. It was used with terrible success by the Imperialist-Socialists in Germany before the war. It says, in effect, that if Labour will help big capital to become successfully imperialist, big capital will pass around some of the loot to Labour. And if big capital is shrewd, it does pass around some of the loot, and Labour seems to enjoy an easy prosperity. So far, the logic is just. But the inevitable result is war, with its hunger, misery and despair.

The Italian proletariat is not at all likely to be gulled by this argument, but it may well be weakened by it. Thousands of the less alert workers, if they fail to find help among the workers of France and England, may look for it among the imperialists of Italy.

This is the first lesson of Monday's general strike—that henceforth no proletariat can act for itself alone. The French leaders may have supposed that they were dealing with a purely French question in renouncing the strike. But in reality, they were taking a step of international political significance (to say nothing of breaking their word). Their action was simply and solely a victory for Clemenceau and international imperialism. The repercussion has already been felt in the international politics of Italy.

Again, the workers here have learned that Labour needs some open diplomacy in its own ranks. What happened in those forty minutes in which Clemenceau talked behind closed doors with the Administrative Council of the C. G. T. is something Labour ought to know. (Alas, what happened when the Strike Committee of the Italian railroad workers talked with the Minister of Transportation?) Did somebody receive a political bribe? Will one of the C. G. T. leaders presently turn up in the French Cabinet? If any worker believed the reasons given by the C. G. T., he is already undecieved. The defeat of the French government in the Chamber, which was the pretext for renouncing the strike, has proved to be of trivial consequence, even as parliamentary defeats go. Clemenceau is still in power. He is still pursuing his high tariff policy which keeps the cost of necessities above the purses of the workers. Was any of the C. G. T. leaders so simple as to believe the promises which Clemenceau is supposed to have made? Demobilization? It was already under way and inevitable. "All possible measures against the high cost of living?" Words! Amnesty? The Amnesty Bill has been announced, and it coldly refuses amnesty precisely to those prisoners who most need Labour's help—those who sought to infuse the spirit of internationalism into the workers and soldiers of France. As for Russia and Hungary, Clemenceau did not even make any promises. So the result is, that for the sake of three illusory promises the French leaders consented to leave in the lurch the Soviet Republics struggling for their lives.

Agreements of this sort, the Italian workers are saying, must not in the future be made behind closed doors. It took the railroad workers here about twenty-four hours to turn out on the street the committee which betrayed their strike. They cannot understand why the French trade unionists do not do the same thing.

The international strike broke in its weakest links. And it is a valuable thing to have found out just who the weakest links are. They are being replaced here by stronger ones. The Italian workers have about come to believe that one of the weak links in the international chain is the French Labour movement. And this link they are nearly tired of trying to patch. They are turning their faces more and more to the east, where, for them, the sun is rising.

LABOR DAY GREETING

From Eugene V. Debs

Written fifteen years ago

The workingman is the only man in whose presence I take off my hat. As I salute him, I honor myself.

The workingman--and this is the day to write him in capital letters--has given me what I have, made me what I am, and will make me what I hope to be; and I thank him for all, and above all for giving me eyes to see, a heart to feel and a voice to speak for the workingman.

Like the rough stone from which the noble statue is chiseled by the hand of man, the Toiler is the rough-hewn bulk from which the perfect Man is being chiseled by the hand of God.

All the workingmen of the earth are necessary to the whole Workingman--and he alone will survive of all the human race.

Labor Day is a good day to rest the hands and give the brain a chance--to think about what has been, and is, and is yet to be.

The way has been long and weary and full of pain, and many have fallen by the wayside, but the Unconquerable Army of Labor is still on the march and as it rests on its arms today and casts a look ahead, it beholds upon the horizon the first glowing rays of the Social Sunrise.

Courage, comrades! The struggle must be won, for Peace will only come when she comes hand in hand with Freedom.

The right is with the labor movement and the gods of battle are with the Working Class.

The Socialist and the Labor Movement must be one today in celebration of Labor Day and

of Pana! Think of Leadville! Think of Cripple Creek! Think of Victor! Think of Telluride!

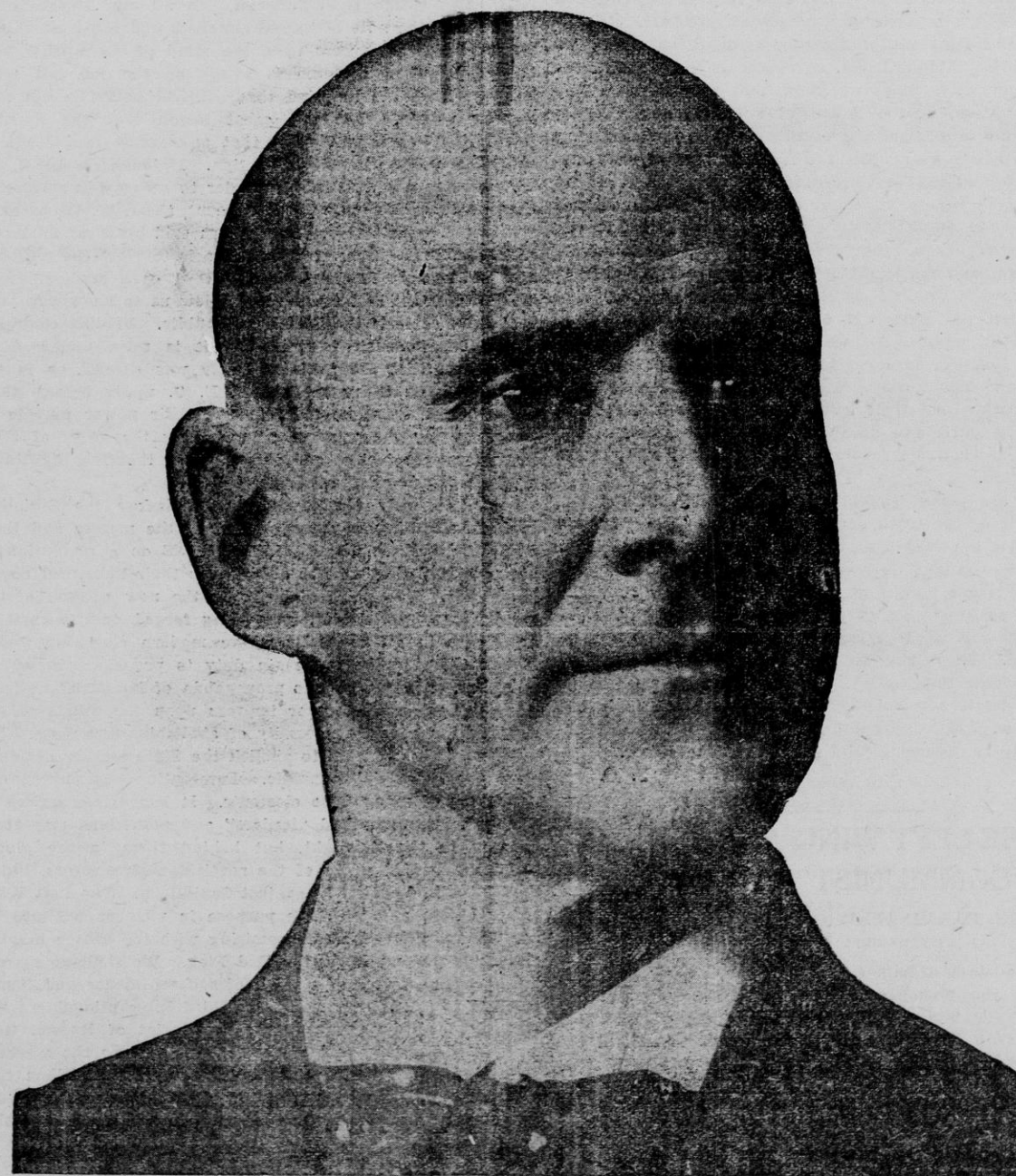
These are some of the bloody battles fought in the past in the war of the Workers for Industrial Freedom and Social Justice.

How many and how fierce and bloody shall be the battles of the future?

Comrades, this is the day for Workingmen to think of the Class Struggle--the day for Labor to clasp the hand of Labor and girdle the globe with the International Revolutionary Solidarity of the Working Class.

We are all one--all workers of all lands and climes. We know not color, nor creed, nor sex in the Labor Movement. We know only that our hearts throb with the same proletarian stroke, that we are keeping step with our class in the march to the goal and that the solidarity of Labor will vanquish slavery and Humanize the World.

* * *



pledge each other their mutual fidelity and support in every battle, economic and political, until the field is won and the Workingman is free.

Forget not the past on Labor Day! Think of Homestead! Think of Latimer! Think of Buffalo! Think of Coeur d'Alene! Think of Croton Dam! Think of Chicago! Think of Virden! Think

Eugene V. Debs, is the same courageous and noble fighter today, as he was in 1904. He is being compelled to undergo the tortures of hell, in order that your masters might break his spirit. But we know 'Gene too well. They can never break his spirit or bend his back. They will have to kill him first. Will you allow them to kill Debs? Men of Labor you must act. You must strike and stop the wheels of industry and compel the ruling class to release 'Gene Debs and all class-war prisoners.

—Ed. Truth.