

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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WHOLE No. 117.

FIVE CENTS.

"VIVE LES SOVIETS"

"I heard in Berlin, 'Hoch die Soviets.' I heard in Paris, 'Vive les Soviets,' and I heard in New York, 'Long Live the Russians.' I know that we are going to sweep this land from end to end with this great battle cry for Labor prisoners and conscientious objectors. Just get the reality I've got in me from seeing IT. It is real now, it can be done!" says Robert Minor.

(Reprinted from The Oakland World)

From the days of dreams and theories to the age of realities; from rule by the minorities, to rule by majorities, from geographical government to shop government, and from capitalism to a proletarian dictatorship, is the wonderful story that Robert Minor brought from Europe to 2000 "World" picnickers at East Shore Park, Oakland, California, on Labor Day. The address follows:

(Reading news items). "London, Aug. 31. Omsk is being evacuated and Admiral Koltchak's headquarters are being transferred to Nicolai. It is stated that the Bolsheviks are advancing along the Volga River." "Copenhagen, Aug. 31.—A large British squadron has passed Konigsberg, Prussia, bound eastward. The warships are believed to be reinforcements for an approaching general offensive against the Bolsheviks in northern Russia."

"Allies Capture a Town. London, Aug. 31.—Official reports to the war office from Archangel announce the recapture of the town of Emsva. We captured 10 guns and 500 prisoners. Our casualties were light. The Russians (White Guard) aided by Australians have been engaged in severe fighting along the river. The Bolshevik front positions were penetrated and the town of Emsva captured. Afterward in a counter-attack the Bolshevik forces re-entered Emsva."

The New Tactics.

There, my friends, is the breath of reality, the real political news from Europe. We are accustomed to regard politics, that is the portion of politics particularly relating to the struggle between capital and labor, as a matter of political platforms, finespun theories, etc. These are the days when political news of the class struggle contain the words: 'Batteries, trenches, the front, and battle ships.' That is the breath of reality, I say, from the reports of the labor struggle. We have in the past been looking on these questions of socialization of industry as matters very much in the abstract. Many of us have been unable to grasp these things as matters of concrete reality. We are accustomed to having speeches made on tactics, disagreements in our ranks as to tactics, etc. We have speakers coming out and giving long drawn-out discussions of direct action, industrial action, political action, but I think when the papers give us reports like this it is time to put disputes of that sort on the shelf and to see that in wartime there is no room for such differences, that we ought to unite to fight along those lines which have been drawn by actual experience. It was discovered and exposed in the greatest of all experiences of the class struggle, that of Russia, that one certain tactic applied to one certain situation, that is the situation of a great war being fought by capitalistic governments, that one single tactic was the tactic which must be followed. That tactic has been called the Soviet, the Soviet tactic.

There are many men all over the world now called Socialists, labor unionists, anarchists, syndicalists, many men who presume at this moment to make disputes as to whether or not those tactics which were pursued and successfully pursued beyond any dream we had before in Russia, were the best. We should answer that whether they were the best or not, they constitute the battle line, and whoever is not upholding the front which is

being maintained for the working class of all the world in Russia and Siberia today, and does not accept those tactics for at least the time being, is to be forgotten, to be put aside on the shelf, to be regarded as a man who failed when the test came to be of any utility in the struggle.

Minorities Make Revolution

We have some men who talk to us now of Democracy, who condemn the Bolshevik revolution (as it is called, or should more properly be called the October Revolution of Russia), because it was not a revolution made actually by the majority. Friends, I want to remind you that the majority never yet did make a revolution. I mean by that that the majority never has in the history of the world of any nation moved all at once. It is proven, whether we like it or do not like it, that the human race in a movement of crisis moves by small units leading and the majority following. I have seen in Moscow and in Berlin, to the roar of artillery, what the majority does and what the minority does. In Moscow I noticed that while a few hundred workmen in that city (who understood) were fighting on the outskirts of all of Russia, and I believe of all the continent of Europe, the majority was going to the picture show. Actually in the heights of battles fought in the city streets the vast majority of the population was attending to its little affairs of buying potatoes and seeing the latest movies. I do not like it and regret that it is true. You do not like to hear it and I do not like to say it. But I came to tell the truth regardless of whether you like it or I like it, otherwise I would be deceiving you. There are men who have seen that the Russian Revolution was made, that is, started, and made possible, by a minority, that is the industrial working class population of Russia, which was about 15 per cent of that population. Men have complained on the ground that it, therefore, was not a democratic thing. This is a very illusive point. It is easy to be lost in the mysteries of that word "Democracy." We have been regarding democracy as a thing pertaining to city halls and White Houses and House of Representatives alone. Yet none of us live in City Halls or White Houses or spend our time there, and few of us ever enter their doors. Our lives are spent in factories, in workshops, in coal mines, and such places. I came to tell you that Democracy from now on in this industrial age does no longer pertain to political halls, it pertains to workshops. And to those men who are deceived, who are puzzled by this fact, for which neither you nor I are responsible, the fact that the human race moves as a minority first, a small group first, I want to say that the object for which the working class of Russia fought was the conquest of all Russian industry and agriculture for all the people of Russia. That being the object, no man being denied the right to participate in that democracy, I say that the man who truly conceives what democracy is will say that whether it is the will of a majority or not, slaves have the right to strike off their shackles.

If we had waited for a majority of the negro slaves of the Southern States to make democracy in our South, we would be waiting today and the black man would still be wincing under the lash of the blacksnake whip on the plantations of the South as a chattel slave as they were before, not as industrial

slaves as they are now. And I say that while there are different tactics for different times and places, we are forced to accept the fact accomplished of the minority-made revolution in Russia, to accept and be glad that the majority of Russians did finally, after seeing the satisfactory results of that minority move, accept it wholeheartedly, and the present regime in Russia is now the will of the majority of the Russian people.

This Is the Age of Realities.

We have been accustomed to our theories being thin and airy things hardly connected with reality, because we have been kept down and away from the realization of our dreams. We have been accustomed to getting our conceptions from the platform, from our friends like Snyder and Whitaker, who don't cut their hair very short and who have been standing as dreamers, as men who hold this dream of ours steadfastly as they were and tried to keep the fires burning in us by their power of imagination to pre-conceive the system that is to come. From this time forever more we will have the dream, which they have so well preserved for us as a dream, transformed into a concrete reality in certain parts of Europe, and we must study now, not what might be or would be if something or other happened to happen, but what actually happened.

The Soviet

The Soviet is a strange thing to some of us, largely because it has a foreign name, but the word Soviet really means nothing in the world but Council. Why, even a council of war in Russian language would be called a Soviet. The word Soviet means simply a group of men brought together in a council for the purpose of attending to the business of a group of other men, regardless of what the purpose

might be. When the hold of the old governmental structure was thrown off of the backs of the Russian people, industries were no longer policed, soldiers no longer shot the discontented workmen, and the workmen found themselves all-powerful in these industrial places. They came together, each factory or each mine, sending its entire personnel to a meeting, and elected the men in whom they had greatest trust to transact the business of the daily labor of those institutions. That is the Soviet. These Soviets sent their delegates to the center in Petrograd, and in Petrograd the National Congress of Soviets of all Russia undertook to solve the problems of Russian industry.

It was discovered that when a solution of a problem was arrived at by the government in the Governmental halls, and at the same time that question was considered or advised upon by the Soviet of workmen's deputies in the unofficial hall of the Soviet Congress, the workmen and soldiers through-out Russia instantaneously forgot what the Government said and followed what the Workmen's Council said. That showed to all clear eyes that there was no reality in the old political structure. It showed a thing which Lenin expressed to me in private conversation some six months ago in this way: "We have been accustomed to looking upon the constituency of the State as a geographical division electing delegates or Congressmen from a geographical constituency to go to Parliament or Congress, but in the future the constituencies of society will be built not along political lines but along the lines of industrial unionism. Not along geographical lines."

The Rise of the Shop Movement. It was a strangely illuminating

thing, then, to have gone to Germany and to have found that fact proven again. In Berlin I was a witness to the entire Spartan revolution. I saw the fighting on the streets, I saw the murder of the workmen in the working class district of Berlin back of Alexanderplatz. I saw the revolution of machine guns wiped out in workmen's blood. Then I saw this revolution quietly creep into the workshops and paralyze the German bourgeois government. It went so far that when I left Germany the German government was considering making a makeshift to keep industry running, a makeshift which recognizes again this fact of the industrial age, that all real power is industrial, no longer political. This device which the German government was considering for the purpose of making smoke come from the smokestacks again was as follows: You know the English have a House of Lords, the house of aristocrats which gets together and have a right to veto as representing the feudal, aristocratic class of England, the actions of the democratic assembly of England, the idea being that the aristocracy is a privileged class. Now in Germany the device I speak of is a House of Labor Lords. They don't call it that, but having discovered that those labor classes are all-powerful in Germany, they have hit upon the device of allowing the Soviets of workmen's deputies in Berlin to have the veto power over every act of Parliament.

And then, again, it is fine to hear the same thing echoed from England. In England it is coming at such a pace that when the House of Commons and the House of Lords combined, decree that certain things shall be, the Triple Alliance of transport workers, railroad workers, and miners have the

power (and exercise it) of saying: "No, it shall be otherwise." It is one of the signs of the times. Those are manifestations of the same things of which the most conspicuous manifestation was the Soviet revolution. We are even having it over here in America. It manifests itself through industrial action of Labor. Perhaps first showing itself in industrial action to force the nationalization of the railroads.

If it seems to you to be far away and misty in the distance, realize, will you, that this Plumb plan (which is not necessarily a move of labor, perhaps it may be classed as a move of capital to get out from under) nevertheless is a manifestation of at least the fear of the bourgeoisie that they will not be able to run the railroads any more unless they nationalize them and cut out the profit-taking of the bourgeoisie. It is true they are issuing 7 per cent bonds, or plan to do so to reimburse the stockholders (I believe they were 4 per cent, but on account of the water in the stock it amounts to 7 per cent). But, don't fear, those bonds will be repudiated. (Applause.) As sure as life they will be. There are the signs, the echoes of what is going on in Russia.

The Capitalist International.

In England they just had a vote of 1,800,000 in a labor congress against 900,000, or 2 to 1, for a general strike throughout all of England for the withdrawal of troops and ships from the attack of Soviet Russia. (Applause.) There you have the sign of the Proletarian International taking hold. We have been deceived in some of our predictions. The Proletarian International did not come in real form as soon as we had hoped. The Capitalist International came first, under the title of the League of Nations. And the first

act of that Capitalist International is to crush out, in bloody murder, the first great strike of a nation of workers. There has been published over the name of an American military officer the fact that the first act of the American troops in Archangel, Russia, was to break a strike on the street cars. They have been doing the same thing in Siberia. Everywhere the quarrel has broken on class lines. Everywhere the League of Nations, which is merely an enlargement of what was called the Allied side of the war, has been engaged in putting down the proletariat of cities and the peasantry of the country. In Siberia the OTHER side says that 95 per cent of the peasants are Bolsheviks, and they are engaged there in trying to exterminate all the Bolsheviks for the protection of the Russian people! Those are the activities of the Capitalist International. But this news from England of the general strike there is the news of the Proletarian International getting busy.

We in America are a little behind in point of time, but on October 8th next we are going to have OUR manifestation of OUR solidarity with the world proletariat and its International. On October 8th there will be a general strike, yes, there are some who think there will not be. There are some who have rubber stamps in their desks with the names designating some form of organized labor upon them, some such men say there will not be a general strike, but there is going to be one just the same. And that general strike is going to be America's first step toward getting into life.

All Things Today Are International. There are but two sides now, there can be no more factions.

(Continued on page 5.)



By permission of "Liberator"

"I know what this Bolshevism means, Bill—it means us!"

EFFECTIVE PAGE

OPPOSE "RIGHT" SOCIALISTS

Hilferding and Longuet oppose "right" socialist.

Translated from "Leipziger Volkszeitung" by G. A. Engelken.

August 5. — "Vorwärts" reports that at Luzerne Dr. H. Hilferding, in behalf of the Independent Socialist Party, stated that the Independent Socialist Party could only join the International if the Majority Socialists were excluded! Longuet of France concurred in this position, stating that if the International would not take a revolutionary stand, the majority of the French socialists would turn to the Moscow International. He stated further that the Majority socialist of Germany were in agreement with Renandel.

Wels attacked the statement of Hilferding concerning the status of the Revolution and the alleged merits of the Independent. In the course of a heated debate, Hilferding pointed out that the nations of the Independent were being dictated by the Communists and that under their influence they were striving to break up the International. Bernstein also opposed Hilferding and asserted that the German national economy would not yet do without the employers.

Comment taken from Leipziger Volkszeitung.

The American workers are also slowly learning that increased wages will not solve their problems but that Capitalism must be supplanted by Socialism.

Excerpts from "Leipziger Volkszeitung."

Translated by G. A. Engelken. Vienna, August 5.—According to reports from Budapest, the erstwhile commander of the Hungarian Red Army, Ensbinder, together with several others, was hung yesterday in Oedenburg by order of court martial.

LUZERNE CONFERENCE

The first session of the Executive Committee of the Second International at Luzerne, Switzerland, took place Saturday afternoon, August 2nd. The opening address was delivered by Arthur Henderson.

The activities of the Committee since the Berne Conference were severely criticized from several sides. MacDonald as well as Cachin expressed regrets that the International had not made a stronger demand for a better Peace. Troelstra (Holland) declared that if one side had been formerly reproached for not having vigorously enough opposed the war, it was now proper to reproach the other side for not having demanded strongly enough a good Peace. They had elected to the International committee individuals who are favorable to the Alliance. Therefore they proved of no value. In Paris

AN APPEAL TO YOU ALL



THE COAL DOCK WORKERS ARE FIGHTING IN THE INDUSTRIAL TRENCHES. THEIR FIGHT IS ONE THAT CONCERNS YOU ALL. IN THIS HOUR STAND BEHIND THEM. AS THEY NEED YOU NOW, SO MIGHT YOU NEED THEIR HELP IN THE FUTURE. THE GREATEST ACT OF LOYALTY IS TO STAND BY YOUR OWN CLASS. THESE COAL DOCK WORKERS ARE YOUR FELLOW WORKERS. STAND BY THEM AND POUR FORTH YOUR DOLLARS.



Listen, comrades of the shop, mine, factory and every place where workers gather together! We want to engage your attention for a few moments, so that we might awaken your sympathies and touch your sense of pride with the story of a real fight that is being fought by the coal dock workers of Duluth and Superior.

Through the long hours of winter and summer, beneath the hot rays of the sun or before the cold blasts of winter, you will find thousands of men working on the coal docks. For them, there is nothing else in life but to work on and on, and when the flesh gives way to crawl to their homes and take the last leap that we all must take, when the sands of time have run out. For them, there are no trips to the sunny South or to the cool climate of the North, no they must forever work. Work—work, yes, work all the time. They help to keep the world moving. Without their labor, all the directors, shareholders, etc., of the coal companies are powerless. Without the work of these men, mines must close down, ships must lie in the harbor, and profits cease to flow. The world needs these men, but the world does not need the capitalists who hold the lives of these men in their hands. Yet today the men who DO the work are striking and now they stand on the picket line waging a courageous fight, just for a few more cents per hour. The men

who do NOT do the work of society, they are not on the picket line, neither are they fighting any fight to live, their stomachs are full, their homes are warm and cosy, their children are going to college. Their life is one of fullness of joy and contentment. Strange is it not, that those who work must fight to live and those who do NOT work need not display any energy at all. Yet such is the case here in your own city. Over 2000 brave men of the working class are fighting for the right to obtain enough to live upon. They are not asking for any more than that, we regret to say. They will be content with 65 cents per hour for unskilled workers and 82½ cents per hour for skilled workers. To obtain that miserable pittance they are striking. For over five weeks they have carried on that fight. When all around them men have returned back to work, they have just tightened their belts and stood pat. They will not go back to work, until they obtain their demands. All the hounds of hell, and we have a few of them in Duluth, will be powerless to force them back to work. You can take the very roofs from off their homes, but these men will stick for their demands. The fight they are putting up is a noble one. It is a fight that should make every worker, who thinks anything at all about himself, feel proud of his class. As far as we are concerned, we stand with

them. We want you to do the same. No matter where you are or in what part of America you live, you must help these strikers.

We are going to give to them one day's wages and we want you to do the same thing. The strikers are not appealing to you, they do not want the bosses to feel that they need help. But we are appealing to you because we will not stand and see these men go hungry. This fight is your fight. We must back these men with every cent that we have left in our pockets. Every dollar that you have in your pocket is the rightful property of these strikers. They can go back to work and have a few dollars in their pockets, but they are standing now for the union that they have built up. They know that what the masters want is to smash the union. If these men go back to work WITHOUT their demands being granted, the forces of reaction in this district will be let loose and we will all suffer the consequences. So send in every dollar that is taking a rest. Send in that day's wages and play your part in this heroic struggle of the coal dock workers. It is dollars that count now. The men have the guts to fight, have you the spirit to help them? Comrades all, we want you to help them all you can. Send in your dollars as fast as possible. We need every dollar you can send.

Communist Labor Party

PROCLAMATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP

Comrades:—

The great war has shaken the world's foundations. Many idols have crashed to the ground, showing their hollowness. The war has torn the mask of patriotism, democracy, and idealism from Capitalism and laid bare the brutal features of man-devouring imperialism. It has shown the workers of the world that their true interests lie in International class solidarity, exercised upon the field of revolutionary class and mass action.

In this critical moment the Socialist Party of the United States has betrayed the working class. It sold out the birth-right of the workers for a mess of pottage consisting of political respectability and alignment with the interests of the petit bourgeoisie.

The Socialist Party employed the Chicago police department to throw out of the national convention the duly elected delegates of the membership while it packed the convention with "Socialist" aldermen from New York, the very ones that voted for the erection of an arch of triumph in glorification of the victory of American soldiers over the Red Guards of proletarian Russia at Murmansk.

The Socialist Party at the Chicago convention repudiated the real proletarian International—that organized at Moscow. It even found words of excuse for the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It disgraced the word Socialism.

In this emergency your delegates, on August 31, met in convention called by the revolutionary national executive committee, elected by you last spring upon the basis of the Left Wing program, and formed the Communist Labor Party of the United States. We have chosen the name Communist Labor Party because the word "Socialist" has been internationally discredited by the Scheidemanns everywhere.

Realizing the need of unity between all revolutionary forces, the convention of the Communist Labor Party, left nothing undone to bring about unity with the Communist Party convention, which convened at Chicago on Sept. 1st. Conference committees were elected; the appeal for unity was carried to the floor of the Communist convention; and the declaration adopted instructing our national officers to exert every effort for a unification of the two parties. So far our efforts for unity have not met with success. The entire matter will be submitted to you in detail and we are confident that you will defer judgment until then.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party appeals to you to repudiate the traitors of International Socialism in the reactionary Socialist Party and to pledge yourselves, your energy and all, to the great struggle of working class emancipation.

We are confident that your judgement will finally be in our favor and that you will help to unite the forces of the American working class under the banner of the Communist Labor Party, an integral part of the Third—The Communist International.

LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!
FREEDOM FOR ALL CLASS PRISONERS!
VICTORY TO COMMUNISM!

Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney,

L. E. Katterfield, Edward Lindgren, Max Bedacht.
A. Wagenknecht,
Executive Secretary.

National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party.

SUFFRAGE LEADER SAYS WOMEN DIS-TRUST POLITICIANS



Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton,
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"All dressed up and no place to go!"

Want a party that will attack war, militarism and the cost of living.

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TRUTH!

C. E. LINDBERGH

Candidate for Governor on the Non-Partisan League Ticket

will speak in the

WOODMAN HALL

Sunday, Sept. 14th, 8 P.M.

There will be a musical program and other kinds of entertainment.

Admission 35 and 15 cents.

Robert Minor who has recently arrived from Germany and Russia will speak in Duluth about the first of October. Keep your eye on our columns and make sure that you keep those dates open. Minor was in Berlin during the revolution and also was the last American journalist to interview Lenin.

LABOR MASS MEETING

in the

FAIRMONT PARK SUNDAY AFTER-NOON, SEPT. 14th.

C. A. LINDBERGH

will be the leading speaker.

All workers are cordially invited to attend this meeting. It is to your benefit to attend. So do not fail to be there.

Meeting commences at 2:30 P. M.

Workers of Duluth!

My service is for workingmen.

Workingmen's Clothing and a big line of underwear.
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Do not forget to send in your donation to the
Strike Fund!

WITH DROPS OF BLOOD

THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W. HAS BEEN WRITTEN WITH DROPS OF BLOOD

Ever since the I. W. W. was organized in June, 1905, there has been an inquisitorial campaign against its life and growth, inaugurated by the Chambers of Commerce, Profiteers, large and small, and authorities of State and Nation in temporary power.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a Labor organization composed of sober, honest, industrious men and women. Its chief purposes are to abolish the system of wage slavery and to improve the conditions of those who toil.

This organization has been foully dealt with; drops of blood, bitter tears of anguish, frightful heart pains have marked its every step in its onward march of progress.

I. W. W. MEMBERS have been murdered.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been imprisoned.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been tarred and feathered.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been deported.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been starved.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been beaten.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of citizenship.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been exiled.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their homes invaded.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have had their private property and papers seized.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the privilege of defense.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been held in exorbitant bail.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to involuntary servitude.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been kidnapped.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been subjected to cruel and unusual punishment.

I. W. W. MEMBERS have been "framed" and unjustly accused.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been excessively fined.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have died in jail waiting for trial.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been driven insane through persecution.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the use of the mails.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right to organize.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free speech.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free press.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the right of free assembly.
I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied every privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

I. W. W. MEMBERS have been denied the inherent rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence—Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

I. W. W. Halls, Offices and Headquarters have been raided.
I. W. W. property, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature, office fixtures have been unlawfully seized.

I. W. W. as an organization and its membership have been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted.

The charges set forth in this indictment would count for nothing unless evidence and proof were at hand to sustain them. A record of every charge can be found in the annals of the press, the court records of the land, the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and other reports of the Government of the United States.

We charge that I. W. W. MEMBERS have been murdered, and mention here a few of those who have lost their lives:

Joseph Michalish was shot to death by a mob of so-called citizens.
Michael Hoey was beaten to death in San Diego.
Samuel Chinn was so brutally beaten in the county jail at Spokane, Washington, that he died from the injuries.

Joseph Hillstrom was judicially murdered within the walls of the penitentiary at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Anna Lopez, a textile worker, was shot and killed, and two other Fellow Workers were murdered during the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

Frank Little, a cripple, was lynched by hirelings of the Copper Trust at Butte, Montana.

John Looney, A. Robinowitz, Hugo Gerlot, Gustav Johnson, Felix Baron, and others were killed by a mob of Lumber Trust gunmen on the Steamer Verona at the dock at Everett, Washington.

J. A. Kelly was arrested and re-arrested at Seattle, Washington; finally died from the effects of the frightful treatment he received.

Four members of the I. W. W. were killed at Grabow, Louisiana, where thirty were shot and seriously wounded.

Two members were dragged to death behind an automobile at Ketchikan, Alaska.

These are but a few of the many who have given up their lives on the altar of Greed, sacrificed in the ages-long struggle for Industrial Freedom.

We charge that many thousands of members of this organization have been imprisoned, on most occasions arrested without warrant and held without charge. To verify this statement it is but necessary that you read the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations wherein is given testimony of those who know of conditions at Lawrence, Massachusetts, where nearly 900 men and women were thrown into prison during the Textile Workers' Strike at that place. This same report recites the fact that during the Silk Workers' Strike at Paterson, New Jersey, nearly 1,900 men and women were cast into jail without charge or reason. Throughout the northwest these kinds of outrages have been continually perpetrated against members of the I. W. W. County jails and city prisons in nearly every state in the Union have held or are holding members of this organization.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been tarred and feathered. Frank H. Meyers was tarred and feathered by a gang of prominent citizens at North Yakima, Washington. D. S. Dietz was tarred and feathered by a mob led by representatives of the Lumber Trust at Sedro Wooley, Washington. John L. Metzger, attorney for the Industrial Workers of the World, was tarred and feathered and severely beaten by a mob of citizens at Staunton, Illinois. At Tulsa, Oklahoma, a mob of bankers and other business men gathered up seventeen members of the I. W. W., loaded them in automobiles, carried them out of town to a patch of woods, and there tarred and feathered and beat them with rope.

We charge that members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been deported, and cite the cases of Bisbee, Arizona, where 1,164 miners, many of them members of the I. W. W., and their friends, were dragged out of their homes, loaded upon box cars, and sent out of the camp. They were confined for months at Columbus, New Mexico. Many cases are now pending against the copper companies and business men of Bisbee. A large number of members were deported from Jerome, Arizona. Seven members of the I. W. W. were deported from Florence, Colorado, and were lost for days in the woods. Tom Lassiter, a crippled news vendor, was taken out in the middle of the night and badly beaten by a mob for selling the Liberator and other radical papers.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been cruelly and inhumanly beaten. Hundreds of members can show scars upon their lacerated bodies that were inflicted upon them when they were compelled to run the gauntlet. Joe Marko and many others were treated in this fashion at San Diego, California. James Rowan was nearly beaten to death at Everett, Washington. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, the thugs of the Textile Trust beat men and women who had been forced to go on strike to get a little more of the good things of life. The shock and cruel whipping which they gave one little Italian woman caused her to give premature birth to a child. At Red Lodge, Montana, a member's home was invaded and he was hung by the neck before his screaming wife and children. At Franklin, New Jersey, August 29, 1917, John Avila, an I. W. W., was taken in broad daylight by the chief of police and an auto-load of business men to a woods near the town and there hung to a tree. He was cut down before death ensued, and badly beaten. It was five hours before Avila regained consciousness, after which the town "judge" sentenced him to three months at hard labor.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been starved. This statement can be verified by the conditions existing in most any county jail where members of the I. W. W. are confined. A very recent instance is at Topeka, Kansas, where members were compelled to go on a hunger strike as a means of securing food for themselves that would sustain life. Members have been forced to resort to the hunger strike as a means of getting better food in many places. You are requested to read the story written by Winthrop D. Lane, which appears in the Sept. 6, 1919, number of "The Survey." This story is a graphic description of the county jails of Kansas.

We charge that I. W. W. members have been denied the right of citizenship, and in each instance the judge frankly told the applicants that they were refused on account of membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, accompanying this with abusive remarks; members were denied their citizenship papers by Judge Hanford at Seattle, Washington, and Judge Paul O'Boyle at Scranton, Pennsylvania.

We charge that members of this organization have been exiled from the shores of this land for no other reason than because of their membership in the I. W. W., and we give as proof these several instances: William Field, Thomas Rimmer, Donald McPherson, Fritz Holm, Olaf Finstad, Joseph Kennedy, two young Scotch girls—Margaret and Janet Roy; others have been shipped through without a chance of communicating with friends or conferring with counsel.

We charge that the homes of members which are supposed to be sacred have been invaded. Their private and personal property have been rummaged and seized. In some cases these invasions have taken place in the night time without warrant.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been denied the privilege of defense. This being an organization of working men who had little or no funds of their own, it was necessary to appeal to the membership and the working class generally for funds to provide a proper defense. The postal authorities, acting under orders from the Postmaster-General at Washington, D. C., have deliberately prevented the transportation of our appeals, our subscription lists, our newspapers. These have been piled up in the postoffices and we have never received a return of the stamps affixed for mailing.

We charge that the members of the I. W. W. have been held in exorbitant bail. As an instance there is the case of Pietro Pierre held in the county jail at Topeka, Kansas. His bond was fixed at \$5,000, and when the amount was tendered it was immediately raised to \$10,000. This is only one of the many instances that could be recorded.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been compelled to submit to involuntary servitude. This does not refer to members confined in the penitentiaries, but would recall the reader's attention to I. W. W. members under arrest at Birmingham, Alabama, taken from the prison and placed on exhibition at a fair given in that city where admission of twenty-five cents was charged to see the I. W. W.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have been kidnapped. To prove this assertion Wm. D. Haywood was carried from his home in Denver, Colorado, to Boise, Idaho, where he was held in prison 18 months until finally acquitted to the charge of murder preferred against him. Frank Little was taken out of the jail at Iron River, Michigan, thrown into an automobile which drove out of town. He was lashed with ropes and left in a storm to die. Geo. Speed and Wm. Thorne were kidnapped at Aberdeen, Washington. Many other similar cases have occurred.

We charge that members of the I. W. W. have suffered cruel and unusual punishment. At Fresno, California, where the jail was crowded with members, the Fire Department was called and a stream of water was turned upon the helpless men. Their only protection was mattresses and blankets—one man had his eye torn out by the water. This method of treatment was also adopted at San Diego, California.

We charge that members of this organization have been unjustly accused and framed. This statement is proved by the present case against Pietro Pierre and R. J. Bobba, the latter out on bond, the former now confined in Topeka, Kansas, jail. Charles Krieger has been held for months in jail at Tulsa, Oklahoma. He is guiltless of any crime except that of being a member of the I. W. W.

Our literature, our letters and telegrams, pamphlets and songs have been misinterpreted and used against us.

This communication is addressed to the working class of the world. This is a voice from the men and women employed in the industries. It is a demand for a square deal. The outrages that have been imposed upon us will yet be suffered by you, if you do not help us in our need. Our fight is your fight. We want you to stand shoulder to shoulder with us. Funds are necessary. Checks and money orders can be made out to the General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Wm. D. Haywood, Secretary.

ROBERT SMILLIE ON DIRECT ACTION

Aug. 22.—The 26th annual Conference of Scottish Miners opened here today, with John Robertson as chairman. This is the first time since the Congress was organized that Robert Smillie has not presided, but he is here as an honored guest, improved in health by his rest.

In his presidential speech Mr. Robertson, at the outset, referred to Mr. Smillie's election as the British president, and said that the miners were fortunate in their choice.

As workers they were, he declared, strongly opposed to war with Russia, which was being waged in the interests of Capitalism; they would do their utmost to prevent the young democracy in Russia from being strangled, and would insist on the people in that country being allowed to manage their own affairs. If they wanted to stop war, however, they must not trust any governing class, but must rely on their own class and their own efforts. They must take their destiny into their own hands, and end war for all time.

Political Action Not Enough.
Robert Smillie then was called on to speak and had a rousing welcome.

There was a tendency, he said, among some of their people to urge that all their questions should be settled in Parliament. He believed that a great deal could be done in

the House of Commons, but he did not think they should lay aside their industrial power.

Nothing could be more foolish than to suppose all would be well by a mere reliance on political action. They wanted to combine their industrial and political power, and use them effectively and wisely.

They, as miners, would be justified in using their industrial power to enforce the Sankey Report, if the Government broke their pledge by refusing to carry it out.

Truth About Yorkshire.

Those people who howled about strikes should compare the position now with that of thirty years ago, when stoppages were almost daily features. In his first two years at mining, for instance, he was six months on strike. Their combination had done much to prevent sectional disputes, and would continue to do so. He was glad to see that the Yorkshire dispute was near a settlement. And he would like it known that the strike was not due to the leaders or the men, but was the outcome of bungling by State officials.

They ought, however, to be weary of sectional strikes, as there were governing factions who were anxious to fight them sectionally, and thereby smash them centrally. They must be careful, and fight to suit themselves, and not their enemies.

Referring to the Coal Commission, Mr. Smillie said that when it

was sitting people had their minds made up in favor of nationalization, but politicians were now busy trying to uproot that opinion. There were hundreds of thousands being spent in the campaign against nationalization, and the dukes had become agitators in their own interests.

Their opponents knew that once national ownership of minerals was won national ownership of the surface would follow. Hence their fury. There would be a big fight on that question, for which they must prepare.

Mr. Smillie finished with an appeal for support for Mr. Robertson, his successor, and was awarded a rousing cheer by the delegates.

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GREETINGS FROM COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

Katherine Debs

We of the Communist Labor Party in convention assembled, send to you our heartfelt greetings. We pledge ourselves to work for the release of your beloved partner and once more unite two comrades whose life and work inspires us to go on with the fight for a free working-class.

Yours in comradeship,
Communist Labor Party.

E. V. Debs

We, the representatives, of the revolutionary proletariat within the Communist Labor Party tender to you and all class war prisoners our heartfelt greetings. Your heroic and revolutionary stand has been an inspiration to us and we pledge ourselves to work unceasingly for the realization of the ideal—the industrial commonwealth—that you have labored so nobly for. We further pledge to leave no stone unturned until Gene Debs and all class war prisoners are released and the workers of the world triumph in their heroic struggles against capitalism.

Yours in comradeship,
Communist Labor Party.

BELA KUN FORCED OUT

Copenhagen, August 1.—A Budapest telegram of today's date announces that a purely Socialist Government has been formed under the leadership of M. Peidl.

The resignation of the Revolutionary Governing Council of the Soviet Republic took place at yesterday afternoon's sitting of the Budapest Central Workers' Council.

The People's Commissary, Zoltan Renai, made a long speech explaining that the expected rapid spread of the world revolution and the advance of the Russian army had not materialized, while a considerable part of the Hungarian proletariat had not been ready to make greater sacrifice than the mass of the Western proletariat.

"Those who today rejoice at the fall of the proletarian dictatorship," he said, "may be certain that the day of social revolution will certainly come, and by reason of this very hope we must not stake all. We must rather, in the interest of social revolution, save the Hungarian proletariat." Amidst loud applause and handclapping he then submitted the list of new Ministers.

Bela Kun's Speech.

Bela Kun, who was received with enthusiastic cheers, said he would have preferred to have seen the proletariat fighting at the barricades, but the question arose whether their brave followers would have triumphed. He agreed to what had taken place primarily because he expected a revival of production as the result of a change of Government. He concluded by saying that during the transitional period they

would stand aside, but he referred to beginning the struggle afresh enriched by experience and under more favorable circumstances and with a mature proletariat.

"M. Hanbrich, the new Hungarian War Minister, has decreed the strictest martial law for Budapest. Exemplary quiet and order prevails. The new Hungarian Government's proclamation says that the governing council has resigned in consequence of negotiations being begun with the Entente. Every Workers' Council remains at its post. The necessary steps have been taken with a view to arranging an armistice."—Reuter.

The New Government.

A special wire to "Humanite," wires our Paris correspondent, says the new Hungarian Cabinet is a combination of the less Radical elements of Bela Kun's Ministry and the more advanced of Karolyi's. Agoston, Dvosak, and Hanbrich having been aides to the former Communist leader, and Peidl, Garbai, and Garamy in Count Karolyi's Government.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to declare a political amnesty, Bela Kun himself, who is in Vienna, being guaranteed freedom by the Entente.

The Peace Conference has informed Budapest that the Rumanians will withdraw behind the Theiss, from their position near the Hungarian capital, as soon as the stability of the new Government is assured. The frontiers of Hungary will be those stipulated in Paris, on June 13.

JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES

THE CARDS IN THIS CONVENTION ARE STACKED AGAINST YOU

We again wish to call your attention to the padded representation at this convention from the states of New York, Massachusetts and Michigan.

In New York the New York state and city committee have expelled more than half of the party membership. New York has 32 delegates on the floor of this convention, based upon its 1918 membership. This representation ought to be reduced to at least half in justice to the other delegates present.

The case of Massachusetts constitutes a more grievous offense to the attending delegates. The state organization of Massachusetts containing about 5,000 members was expelled by the former national executive committee. A reorganization took place in which somewhat over 1,000 members joined. Massachusetts has 14 delegates upon the floor of this convention, based upon the membership in an expelled organization, whereas it should only have about four delegates, based upon its membership in the newly organized state party.

Michigan state has six delegates upon the floor of this convention. The former national executive committee expelled Michigan from the party. A reorganization took place in which about 150 members joined. Michigan is represented upon the floor by six delegates based upon a membership of 3,000 for 1918, which membership is supposed to have been expelled. Michigan should only be permitted representation for its reorganized membership, namely 150, and should only be entitled to one delegate.

We were informed by the chairman of the contest committee last evening that this committee was not a credentials committee; that Adolph Germer was the credentials committee and that only contests would be decided by the contest committee. This means that Adolph Germer is responsible for the padded representation at this convention and that you will not have a voice and vote as to who shall be seated of the so-called uncontested delegates unless you demand this voice and vote by motion upon the floor of the convention. That one person should act as the credentials committee for a Socialist Party convention is a further attestation of the despotic nature of the methods now in vogue in the party.

A word about the hearing before the contest committee last evening. Many contests were made by individuals. Hogan made many. Germer contested the seats of others. And so it went. It was not a question of a contesting delegation but a question purely of convention control. If we had known that individuals would be allowed to contest delegations, we would have contested the New York, Massachusetts and Michigan delegations. But we were under the opinion that only contesting delegations could make contests. This is the usual procedure. Since this procedure has been violated, every delegate upon the floor of the convention has the right to contest the padded delegations. It is your DUTY TO DO SO.

A PROCLAMATION

Issued by part of the delegations from Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Missouri, Kansas, Illinois and Indiana, and by the entire delegations from Washington, Oregon, California, Utah, Nebraska, Colorado, Arkansas, Minnesota, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Rhode Island, Florida, the German and Scandinavian and Finnish fraternal delegations and the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Comrades of the Convention:

We shall be brief. Considering the many months of party controversy, every delegate upon the floor of this convention should now understand the differences that divide us.

This is a contest between two distinct elements. One of these is a compromising fusion element of Moderate Socialism. The other is an uncompromising anti-fusion element of revolutionary Socialism.

The moderate element, at present in control of the party machinery, also controls this convention. It is led by such persons as Berger and Germer, who aimed at St. Louis to change the party laws to permit party members to vote for capitalist party candidates. Also by such persons as Goebel and Hogan, who at a National Executive Committee meeting last year attempted to violate the St. Louis war program by a PRO-WAR resolution.

The revolutionary element consists of the OVERWHELMING MAJORITY of the Party membership. This Party membership has demanded affiliation with the THIRD International, that of our Russian Comrades, not the second International of Scheideman. This majority has declared itself for the Left Wing program, which pledges the Party to Communist Socialism, to control of Party activities by the Party, to war to the last ditch against the reactionaries of the Scheideman brand.

Forces representing these two elements attend this convention. In test votes taken up to now, about forty delegates have proclaimed themselves revolutionary Socialists. About 80 have voted with the reactionary Party machine. Over 50 delegates are denied admission to this convention by Germer and his police. This means that the division of strength at this convention is over 90 to 80 in favor of revolutionary Socialism, in spite of the padded delegations from Michigan, Massachusetts and New York, and in spite of the fact that the revolutionary elements of Michigan, Massachusetts and seven federations totaling over 30,000 members, have no representation here.

For the more than 90 delegates in and out of the convention hall we make this definite demand: That ALL these delegates entitled to be seated MUST BE SEATED, AT ONCE, before any other business of the convention is conducted.

The entire question of principle is involved in this contest for the seating of revolutionary delegates. It means control of the convention. And THAT is what decides the

issue here between reformism and Revolutionary Socialism. We demand that the expressed will of this Party's membership be enforced by seating the revolutionary Socialist majority THIS AFTERNOON.

WHAT ABOUT OHIO?

The old national executive committee constitutionally ceased to function on July 1, 1919.

This outlawed national executive committee expelled the state organization of Ohio about two weeks ago—about a month and a half after it ceased to exist.

Ohio has 16 delegates and they are waiting upon the other side of the cordon of police to take part in this convention.

How long will these delegates have to wait? How long will you permit Germer's policemen to keep Ohio's 16 delegates off of the floor of this convention? When will you act?

WHO ORDERED THE POLICE?

It is now understood that the outlawed national executive committee ordered the police to appear at this convention.

Adolph Germer personally commanded the police yesterday morning, when 40 delegates were thrown out of the convention hall. These delegates had gathered there to take part in the convention.

After the police had removed these delegates, it became known that admission to the convention was to be by TRUTH—EDITORIAL 2 Hsrc.-). *12345666 "white card" issued by the police commander, Adolph Germer. We had an idea that the state organizations elected delegates, issued duplicate credentials and that all those possessing duplicate credentials were entitled to a seat upon the floor of the convention. We have since found out that Adolph Germer is the "king," issues white cards irrespective of the desires of the party membership in the states, and that he decided who shall sit upon the floor of the convention.

What kind of a convention is this turning out to be? The "police question" has not yet been settled. Are you going to settle it or be a party to the damnable conspiracy between the police and Germer?

How many insults are you going to stand before you finally decide TO FIGHT BACK AND FIGHT HARD for your rights and those of all other delegates?

Are you being awed by the reactionary officialdom of the party? Are you going to be bluffed by a coterie of moderate Socialists with whom you have nothing in common?

SPEAK UP TODAY, when the convention again convenes, and do your duty by the party membership.

National Executive Committee, Socialist Party.

A. Wagenknecht, Secretary.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR UNITY

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION TO THE BOLTING DELEGATES FROM THE SOCIALIST EMERGENCY CONVENTION

Before the beginning of the war in August 1914, sharp differences in principles and tactics had made themselves apparent in the parties within the Second International. In each country there was the faction which placed its reliance upon the parliaments of the bourgeoisie state for the transformation of capitalism into Socialism. This faction, the dominant element in the Socialist Party in practically every country, directed its tactics and agitation to the end of attaining a majority in the parliaments. They argued that this majority, through legislative action, would end the power of the capitalists in industry and build up the structure of the new society.

In harmony with this conception it considered the activities of its parliamentary representatives for reform measures intended to improve the position of the workers under the capitalist system as the method by which Socialism would be established.

In sharp conflict with these Moderate Socialists stood the Revolutionary minorities, which rejected the idea that the class struggle could be won in the bourgeois parliaments. The Revolutionary Socialists considered the overthrow of the working class could not be achieved through the capitalists state but only through the overthrow of the capitalist state by the mass Power of the workers and the establishment of a new organ of state Power by the working class, in the form of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the transformation of Capitalism into Communism.

Between these groups stood the wavering centre. Revolutionary in phrases, it was never revolutionary in action. Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existence a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures under the capitalist system, this faction nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Capitalism would be abolished.

It required the test of action under revolutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcilable differences be-

tween these factions. Under the test of action it was found that Moderate Socialism betrayed the class struggle in favor of "reconciliation of the classes". Moderate Socialism is today directly and openly counter-revolutionary. The Centre, because of its vacillation, is even more dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the revolutionary class struggle.

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advanced stage, the influence of the social revolution in Russia and struggle in Germany have deepened the difference between the three factions. After months of agitation and discussion we find, at this moment, the old party splitting into three organizations corresponding to the three fundamental differences or viewpoint which have heretofore existed in the one party.

Out of the Socialist Party Convention, easily controlled by the Right Wing by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delegates who for a large variety of reasons are opposed to association with the Right Wingers. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of those in control of the old organization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party upon legalistic grounds. They have emphasized the questions of party regularity. They have asked for support upon this basis, not upon understanding and acceptance of Communist principles and tactics.

There are delegates in your group who have made use of revolutionary phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which separate the Right Wing from the Left. There are delegates who are with you because of personal grievances against the old party officialdom or against the Left Wing officialdom.

One of your delegates, for instance, in his statement before the Socialist Party contest committee, specifically repudiated ever having endorsed the Left Wing or being in sympathy with it. There are delegates with you on the basis of objection to "foreign" control, thus showing inability to grasp the first principle of Communism. Think of such an

objection against an organization which is to be the American Branch of the Communist International!

In the Communist Convention are to be found the representatives of the conscious Communist elements in this country. In contrast to your heterogeneous bolting delegates, most of them without a mandate from any membership for the organization a new party, the delegates in our convention came clearly instructed to form a Communist Party based upon the principles and tactics of the Communist International.

It must be remembered that a Communist Party gains nothing by additional membership unless that membership is consciously Communist. Ours must be a party closely united on fundamentals.

In considering our proposal for a unity of all the delegates now in Chicago who represent Communist groups, it must be kept clearly in mind that our convention is absolutely bound by the Joint Call which accounts for the presence of 123 delegates and 9 fraternal delegates in this city. These delegates represent 58,000 members. Their mandate from this membership is states in the Joint Call. Obviously our Convention is bound by the call which brought it into existence.

By this we do not mean to lay down any rule of formalism. To say that we are bound by the Joint Call is only another way of saying that the fact of our convention means a fundamental basis of agreement arrived at by discussion among these members. Every delegate in our Committee on Credentials has had placed before it the documentary evidence of a membership mandate to organize a Communist Party.

Our convention would lose its real meaning if every additional delegate did not meet the same test. There is nothing in the nature of an adventure in our work. It has been deliberately planned; it is the calculated response to the development of the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party; it is not an accidental gathering of Socialist Party members who happen to agree at the moment that a new party might be the right way to give expression and force to the revolutionary Socialist movement in this country, speculating as to what

response such an experiment might meet.

This is our instruction from our Convention: that every additional delegate must present his credentials to our Credentials Committee in the same manner as delegates already seated. This instruction carries with it the clear implication that every additional delegate who votes in our convention must meet the test which puts him on the same membership basis as the rest of us. His vote, in addition to the votes already assigned within our Convention, must be in correspondence with the membership of the state or organization he represents.

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialist and Communist conventions, who have already been received for full participation in our Convention. Others who have such credentials will be similarly received through the Credentials Committee. There may be other cases which would meet the same general test in a different way, according to the principle already stated.

Delegates from the Left Wing State or other organizations, that is organizations which have adopted the Left Wing program, but have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Convention and who were not elected in opposition to the Communist Convention, therefore fail to participate as voting members of our body, will be seated as fraternal delegates. This Committee will favor the exclusion, however, of delegates who opposed the Joint Call for the Communist Convention in favor of the Emergency Convention or who were elected on such opposition.

The total delegates for any state or other organization will be reduced by the number of delegates for such organization already seated in our convention.

Signed: Alexander Stoklitzky, C. E. Ruthenberg, Daniel Elbaum, Nicholas J. Hourwich, I. E. Ferguson.

Committee of the Communist Convention.

Sept. 3, 1919.

(Emphasis ours. Ed. Truth.)

ANSWER OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION TO THE STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION.

We waive answer to the introduction in your statement because it contains no point of controversy, neither do we care to propagandize the Communist Convention, for we are sure that the introduction to your statement is common knowledge among revolutionary socialists.

The Left Wing movement is not a child of a day. Left Wing movements have existed in the Socialist Parties of the world ever since we have had Socialist Parties. The only difference between the Left Wing factions of today and those of before the war, is that the Left Wing factions of today have added to their fund of knowledge the experiences of the war and revolutions.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution, Left Wing manifestations in the Socialist Party of this country became more pronounced and gradually crystallized until a very large element in the Socialist Party accepted the Left Wing position. This eventually resulted in the suspension and expulsion from the party of a portion of the Left Wing element by a reactionary officialdom. When this definite break occurred a conference was held in Chicago, at which Fraina, Keracher, Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Stoklitzky and Stilson were present. It was there agreed to carry on the fight for the Left Wing and its principles within the Socialist Party in order to rally all Left Wing forces for a final battle against Right Wing control.

At this conference it was unanimously decided to divide the necessary work to be done. The duty of making what is now called the "Legalistic" fight was given the Ohio State Office of the Socialist Party and it was agreed that the Revolutionary Age should continue its propaganda for Left Wing dominance of principle. Under these circumstances any criticism of our

group of making a "Legalistic" fight is unworthy of those who make it.

The decision to carry on the fight within the Socialist Party was endorsed by the Left Wing National Conference and again at the meeting of the new national executive committee held in Chicago in July. Members of your group, Fraina, Ruthenberg and others, there again agreed to this course.

Despite these repeated decisions to carry on the fight for Left Wing control within the party, certain elements in your group began to organize a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation — Michigan combination which united not upon principle, but for political expediency.

The National Left Wing Council, a creature of the National Left Wing Conference, violated its instructions, was stamped into joining this call for the organizations of a new party.

The group we represent remained true to all edicts officially issued by these several Left Wing conferences, carried the battle to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party, and there made a decisive fight. We shall probably never find ourselves in agreement with the tactic of flopping from one position to another at the rate of nearly twice a week, in direct violation of the mandates of higher governing bodies and agreements.

We agree that the sentiment of the membership in a large organization can never be definitely gauged. However, the Socialist Party membership, by a vote of about 10 to 1, decided to affiliate with the Moscow International. This would at least mean that by far the greater majority of the membership of the Socialist Party subscribes to the Left Wing program. The Left Wing delegates who compose the convention of the Communist Labor Party, are unanimously in favor of carrying out this decision of the party membership. All actions of this convention must be in harmony with this membership decision. The 92 delegates which compose this convention represent an overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party's membership. The delegates who compose your convention, in the main, are separated from us merely because of the one fact that a few reactionary officials kicked them out of the party.

We have kept our joint agreements. You have violated yours. You deserted us, you deserted the membership of the party when it needed you most. It is therefore assuming much on your part to attempt to lay down terms to us. Despite your inconsistencies, we now offer to meet you to unite the two conventions upon a basis of equality.

We see many inconsistent elements in your convention. We are, however, desirous of uniting all forces communism into one solid phalanx to oppose capitalism and the elements of reactionary bourgeoisie Socialism. We are sure that in the course of time, all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements your convention, you can not justly criticize any seeming inconsistent elements in ours.

We must refuse your demand to come into your convention as individual delegates. We are Left Wing delegates regularly assembled in emergency convention and have permanently constituted ourselves the Communist Labor Party. We represent a permanent and stable organization. We have obeyed all agreements of the Left Wing conferences which were legitimate. We have also obeyed the mandates of the revolutionary faction of the party membership as expressed by referendum. We can claim at least as much credit for the crystallization of the revolutionary elements among the Socialist Party's membership as your volatile and bolting groups.

We claim ours is the advantageous position yet we are willing to meet with you as equals. Unity can be effected and should be effected, so that out of the existing crisis, instead of two parties, each claiming the right to affiliate with the Moscow International, and each deserving that right, only one party of Communist Socialism shall emerge.

Toward this end we propose: That the two conference committees shall constitute a joint credentials committee to go over the roster of both conventions to see whether they really contain any irreconcilable elements, and if

Statement submitted to the delegates of the Convention by the delegates from the State of California.

We, the delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, duly elected by the membership of California present to the delegates of the Convention the following statement relative to our status and action in the present party crisis.

1. Each of us at the recent state referendum received an overwhelming majority of the votes cast, over and above those received by the candidates who contested our election by LET-TER.

2. This majority of votes was based upon the count from the uncontested locals of the state.

3. The allegations upon which the Ex-National Secretary Germer instituted a so-called "contest" against our seating were utterly without basis of proof and immaterial.

4. We were ejected from the convention floor by the police at the orders of Mr. Germer in spite of our regular election and the fact that no delegates appeared to contest our seats.

5. We are crowded off into the afternoon where we could not hear the proceeding of the convention and where many of us had to stand for hours while packed delegations from other states occupied the Convention floor.

6. The hearing of the contest developed into an inquisition on matters irrelevant to the issue. The next morning the delegation was haled before the inquisitors again without notice to its chosen spokesman of the previous evening.

7. The Contest Committee refused yesterday afternoon to announce its decision in our case despite the fact that all at the hearing that there was absolutely no grounds on which we could be fairly excluded. This action debarred us from participation in the first two days of the Convention although we had each come over 2,000 miles to attend it.

8. The contest committee at this morning's session recommended that we be not seated thus arbitrarily depriving the 2,000 Socialist Party members of California from a voice in their deliberations.

9. We were finally granted our seats over the adverse actions of the committee because the delegates to the Convention finally shewed a waking up to the despotic procedure steam-rolled by the officialism of the Convention.

10. The delegates from California, having canvassed together, have unanimously agreed:—

(a) That they will not take their seats in the Convention until all duly elected delegates have been seated.

(b) Nor until the packed delegations from the so-called reorganized states shall have been reduced to a representation of the actual membership which they in fact represent.

(c) Nor until the Convention ceases to act under the guardianship of the Chicago Police Dept.

(d) That unless the Convention takes the above action before transacting other business, the delegates from California, representing the overwhelming sentiment of their constituents, do join with the delegates refused seats and the comrades of the expelled and suspended Federations and states in the immediate formation of a real revolutionary Socialist Party in the U.S., the Communist Labor Party of America — and we urge all comrades having the good of the workingclass of the U. S. and the world at heart to at once leave this reactionary convention and repair to the floor below to organize. Help us organize the proletarian of America for the final victory over Capitalism.

possible, to agree upon a joint recommendation to both conventions.

SIGNER: Kasper Bauer, Ludwig Lore, Katherine Greenhalgh, L. F. Katterfeld, A. Wagenknecht.

(The above answer was unanimously adopted by the Communist Labor Party Convention, meeting, September 3, 1919.)

"VIVE LES SOVIETS"

(Continued from page 1)

There are men who regard the American labor movement as different from the European in the sense of being strictly national, having no international connections. And yet even aeroplanes have become international now and fly across the ocean. Nothing is going to live in the future that is not international.

30,000 Sailors for Tom Mooney.

Over in Petrograd in the early days of the revolution, before the Bolsheviks took power, somebody received word from America of the effect that Thomas Mooney was going to be hanged as a labor agitator. Immediately there was a meeting of 30,000 sailors in the fort of Kronstadt, which is the naval fortification of Petrograd. 30,000 men in one meeting, and in the midst of Russia's greatest crisis they met on the subject of a San Francisco labor case. That sort of thing is more powerful than the rubber stamp in the desk that I spoke of. These 30,000 sailors got together and Wm. Shatoff from Chicago and Seattle and New York came and addressed them. They couldn't all hear, because 30,000 men can't get close enough together to hear one man's voice, but they held several meetings about Mooney's case and appointed a committee of six men to go to see Ambassador Francis.

The committee went to Petrograd in a naval launch supplied by the Russian Navy for the purpose of attending to the Mooney case, and visited Ambassador Francis. They expressed to him the solicitude the Russian sailors had for Thomas Mooney's welfare as a labor agitator. They suggested that Francis might come to visit them in Kron-

stadt fort and remain there as their guest until they heard news from Mooney. They suggested that all courtesies would be extended to him in exact measure as courtesies would be extended to Thomas Mooney. I am not here to ask you in a lightheaded manner to regard that as a model for your today's action. I am not flighty on the subject. There is a different thing to do for each different situation. I only point that out to you as an example of the international solidarity which has characterized everything that has happened in Russia.

Why the Bolsheviks Signed!

The very first thing that the U. S. Government did was to send Elihu Root to represent the American people. It was a sad mistake. The Russian people, some of them, complained, others said that it was entirely appropriate because the U. S. government is represented by Root and he is a true representative. In such manner they got their conception of America. Mistakes were made, tragic mistakes that have done the world great damage, in not having better connection between Russia and America. The Russians did their best at all times to keep up communication, but they were unsuccessful because of the efforts of the official cliques to cut off Russia from America. After the overthrow of Kerensky, which was inevitable, which could not have been prevented if Lenin and Trotsky had tried to help Kerensky themselves, the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the treaty with Germany, came up as the great problem before the Russian people. When that treaty was presented by German delegates to be signed by Russians, Trotsky and other prominent leaders refused to sign it, and when the Central Soviet of Russia decided it was necessary to sign that treaty, they sent their office boys, virtually, to sign. Since no national leader of any reputation would consent to sign it, they sent these young unknown men to sign this treaty, with instructions NOT to read it, and when the treaty was signed it was announced in all the Bolshevik papers that revolu-

tionary Russia was not going to pay any attention to the treaty. They have been criticized very severely for signing it. They signed it only after they had pleaded with Ambassador Francis to help them by allowing them to communicate with the outer world, by allowing them to receive military supplies, and even requested that American military officers be sent to Russia to help organize the Red Army. But Francis was busy deceiving you, to make you believe they were German agents. I heard an American I. W. W. in Moscow say that the matter with Francis is that he is afraid the I. W. W. will capture his stockbroker's office in St. Louis, Mo.

The constant fear of the diplomatic corps of the U. S. Government that Russia would infect the U. S. with working class ideas was a tragedy which caused the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty to be apparently unavoidable, and I say that Ambassador Francis signed that treaty morally rather than the Bolsheviks.

No Time for Differences of Opinion.

I have a difference of opinion with the Bolsheviks which I can't discuss at length in these moving times when all the energies of men must be bent to fight the one fight. I have a difference of opinion with them as to the proper course at that particular time, but there is but one answer to the bourgeois contention that the Bolsheviks surrendered to Germany, and that is that it was not the Bolsheviks who signed that treaty as much as the American government. I told you the other night that the Russian Soviet Congress waited two days in the month of March. Lenin postponed the Congress two days when it was about to decide on the rejection or signing of the treaty, and they were waiting for a message from Woodrow Wilson in answer to the question: "Will you give us some material help to fight the German Kaiser?" Woodrow Wilson did not answer that question. And his representative by the name of Sisson was at that moment telegraphing all over the world that he had discovered proof that the Bolsheviks were agents of the German Kaiser. He had documents, copies of which I have read, which went to show that certain bankers in Berlin had sent certain enormous sums of gold to Stockholm to be deposited in the bank to the account of Mr. Lenin. They didn't even have his first name. That is the way bankers do business in the foggy minds of these detectives on the trail of Bolsheviks as German agents.

The Border States Are for the Soviet.

After the signing of this treaty some tremendous problems were presented to those continuing the

revolution. The problem of Finland, the problem of Lithuania, of Latvia, of all the Baltic provinces, and the Ukraine, had to be solved at the time of this negotiation for peace. When finally the treaty was signed Finland was regarded as separated from revolutionary Russia. There was a revolution going on nevertheless in Finland. The Red Guard was fighting against the White Guard. A whole lot of American I. W. W.s and Socialist party members were in the Red Guard in Finland fighting bravely. Some of my personal friends, Letts and Ukrainians, were in Finland fighting with them. The Red Government of Moscow had signed this treaty promising with its fingers crossed not to help the Finnish Revolution, but I noticed when I came down the railroad from Murmansk to Petrograd with a trainload of Russian soldiers with their red flags, and I asked, "Where are you going?" They said they were going into Finland to drive back the White Guard. I said, "How about the treaty?" They said, "To Hell with the treaty!"

The Tragedy of Finland.

The tragedy of Finland is little known to the world. When it is known it will be one of the most heartbreaking stories that ever was told. In Finland the French government rushed to the aid of the Finnish White Guard government with recognition and moral support and right along with the French government crowding for place was the German government, trying to help the White Guard of Finland. The British government and the Kaiser's government almost quarreled with each other as to which should get in to fix up an arrangement to crush the working class of Finland. It is said, though I cannot prove it is true, I do not know it to be true, that 40,000 Finnish workmen were sold to the German government by General Mannerheim as slaves to work in chains for the German government during the war, and that large numbers of them were allowed to die of starvation and cold during the war. In all the histories of cruelties of war from the days told of in the Old Testament down to this day, there never was a more inhuman brute than General Mannerheim. He was put upon virtually the throne of Finland by the Kaiser of Germany and was maintained by the Kaiser's bayonets until the Kaiser resigned, and some ten minutes after the Kaiser resigned General Mannerheim became a great believer in democracy and the Allied cause. He is now being maintained and supported morally and materially by you, through the American government. And the Entente governments are maintaining him. All of these black reactionaries from Denekine and Kolchak to Mannerheim and even Skoropadski have suddenly become democrats when the Kaiser resigned. The armistice was hardly signed before British ships were in the harbor of Libau for the purpose of giving machine guns to the people of Libau to put down the Bolsheviks. The British commander in charge of these machine guns sent word to these authorities that machine guns were being unloaded to help the population of Libau to defend themselves against approaching hordes of Red Guards, and the authorities hastily sent word to the British commander, "For God's sake, don't unload those machine guns, the population of Libau is all Red Guard!"

The Rights of Small Nations.

We heard much during the war about the German Baltic provinces, the old German aristocracy which was fastened about the necks of the Baltic people like little old men of the Sea. We heard about the German barons that had a Prussian regime in the Baltic states, and how necessary it was to support the Allied side in order to free the Baltic people, and as soon as the armistice was signed, every recourse of the Allied armies and navies and of the American Red Guard Commission was exercised to the limit to give support to the German barons of the Baltic provinces. And down there in Poland the class struggle broke just as soon as the guns of war were silent as the reactionaries, and there are no worse reactionaries than that particular brand that Poland seems to be able to produce.

saw the need of posing as democratic and so took a piano player who had been in America and claimed he stood for democracy. They put Paderewski at the head of the Polish government and proceeded to have a limited political democracy, limited by a little aristocracy, with elections postponed and restricted until they could make sure that Bolsheviks had no chance to prosper. They were going to ally it by theories of government. They found society divided into two kinds, the working class on one side and the privileged class on the other. There was much blood shed in Poland, many thousands of Jews were murdered for democracy and Paderewski and privileged landlordism and private business. All of the Allied resources were on the side of the people who were doing the killing, not because they particularly wanted any bloodshed but because by their very nature they could not side with any but the propertied classes.

The Letts Are Revolutionists.

I noticed that during the revolution the people of Lettland played a great part. In the earliest days it was discovered that the Lettish Sharpshooters, one of the most highly disciplined bodies in the war, were all on the revolutionary side. At times I personally regretted the stand that was taken by the Lettish sharpshooters, but on the whole they always sided through the early days of the revolution with the revolutionary cause. The part they played was rather a classic one. They became the most relied upon guards by the government at Moscow. After the armistice was signed, the war was over, these Letts went back to their home country, and they went back as Letts, not as an invading army of Russians. They went up to the Lettish border with their discipline and guns and uniforms and flags, and at the Lettish border the Lettish sharpshooters of the Lettish army were created on the spot, and they have been fighting for the revolution in Lettland ever since. The policy of the Moscow government was not to send invading armies into any of these countries for the purpose of conquering as armies. There was enough of these nationalities themselves in the Red Army simply to disband them at the borders and they would step across and reorganize in ten minutes. Altogether those men who have been trained in Central Russia in the Red Army and Red Guards for the purpose of fighting the fight of the revolution, men of nationalities such as Letts, Finns, Poles, Ukrainians, the rears enough of such men to make a fairly sure prediction that these reactionaries who plan to make little suffer states along the fringe of Central Russia for keeping Bolshevikism from spreading throughout the world, will not succeed. Everywhere they find they can get no population to support these practical schemes.

Britain's Piracy.

The British government is engaged now in piracy and banditry. They have ships firing on Petrograd without a declaration of war. Under international law that is called piracy. The British, French and American governments are sending troops into Siberia and other parts of Russia for the purpose of fighting undeclared wars against Russian workers. Under international law men who without declaration of war invade another country, as they claim Villa's men did, are called bandits. Yet it is going on and some men hope to make it official, and want to make it official under the old Los Angeles battle cry of "Law and Order," under the authorization of the League of Nations.

We Must Hasten International Solidarity.

So, friends, it is time for the working class to hasten, to hasten with its international, to hasten international solidarity. We need it for that great international situation, and God knows we need it at home, well, for we are now in the midst of a Russification in the old Carlist sense in America. Do I not personally know, I who cannot receive my mail through the regular channels because the Postmaster General chooses to have his spies open my letters, don't I know we are drifting into a Carlist regime over here? They have gone so far that in this day no man who stands for liberty in America, even though an editor of a capitalist newspaper, is free from having his mail opened by Government spies. That is the breath of reality in our domestic situation.

Furthermore, the whole right of asylum for political exiles is being abridged. The time is impending that a man cannot go even into Canada without a passport, without being recorded on police books as to where he is at all times. We are drifting into such a regime that life will not have even the few joys that

the capitalism of the past allowed us to retain. Everywhere the iron heel of the Capitalist International is prepared. Everywhere the division is being drawn sharply and clearly between the exploiters and exploited. Our authorities in America show it plainly now and then.

Hate Rules the Bourgeoisie.

I addressed a society women's club in San Francisco the other day. I don't know why they invited me, but I went because I was advised by a labor man that it was just as well to tell the story anywhere. I found more concentrated hate in that audience than I ever saw before in my life, with one exception, and that was the hate of the Russian Congress in July, 1918, directed towards the box in Congress where sat the German Embassy. The concentrated hate of these society women was the manifestation of the division of the present fight between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Another amusing example of it is something that happened in Judge Sturtevant's court the other day. Some workmen applied for citizenship. The Judge questioned them very carefully as to their political views. He wanted to know if they had any of the working class philosophy of Bolshevism, and when they had satisfied him that they were not loyal to the working class he admitted them as citizens. Then up stepped a gentleman, a business man, who applied for citizenship. The Judge questioned him, to which questions here piled that he was born in Germany and that he had asked the German Consul to let him join the Kaiser's army when the war started, and the Judge said he was welcome to be a citizen of the United States.

King Worshiping Americans.

Within a few days there is going to cross the border into the U. S. a relative of William Hohenzollern, who used to be Kaiser of Germany. He is coming to America on a delightful tour, as a guest of the U. S. government and New York society, as a blood relative of the Kaiser of Germany, a cousin of the Kaiser, and he is a monarchist as is proven by his very profession. He is a member of the U. S. Department of State appointed by the Secretary of State to welcome this member of the house of Hohenzollern at the border of our country, to assure him in your name and mine that he is welcome. This Kaiser's cousin is the Prince of Wales. They don't mind his family connections and they don't mind his being a King's son and a future King himself. They don't care about democracy any more than they care about the problem of perpetual motion, this ruling class.

Political Democracy Not Feared.

I had a little conversation with a bourgeois in Berlin in which he explained to me that he was not losing anything by the change in the political form of the German government. "No," he said, "Political democracy, that is nothing. What is the difference between a republic and a monarchy, only that a republic is a safety device monarchy, that makes safety for us, because the people go out and vote and are satisfied with that and don't do any more." I said, "You would be a pretty bad fix if it were not for Scheidemann and Ebert," but he said, "We are fortunate over here in Germany in having the working class organized under men whom they could trust like Scheidemann and Ebert." I said, "Whom they could trust, or whom you could trust?" He said, "That's right, they are all right anyhow." Then and there I saw what function is being played by these men, mistaken, honest men though they may be, like Spaarg and Russell, who are going about preaching division in the ranks on the subject of the Russian Revolution. These men who are trying to get the working class to be led into submission, and their only magnetic power of leading you into that situation is their name of Socialists.

Give Yourself the Russian Test.

I tell you that in this day, and in the light of the Russian Revolution you have got to reconstruct all your conceptions. You have got to be on one side or the other side, and there are but two. I think that the greatest test by which you can tell which side a man in on is the Russian test. When you test a man that way, then test him on the Mooney case. And when you

have tested him that way, test him on the question of the conscientious objectors, and find out whether he stands for making America into a Prussia.

These conscientious objectors in America who received 20 years in prison, if they stay in prison, it is going to be our constant shame, a symbol of our shame, that we permit our native land to be so debased. And then again, the soldiers and sailors who have been put into these military hells, these disciplinary barracks, because they didn't snap their heels in Prussian style sufficiently to satisfy some little nincompoop of a second lieutenant. Are we going to leave these men there? (Cries of "No!")

The New Soldier Is Not Our Enemy.

Now, friends, we of the working class have had a different conception of the soldiers from what we should have now. We have regarded them as the men who were at the wrong end of the guns in a strike. The soldiers of these conscript days are human beings. They are there not because they are caloused to the human cause, but because they have been dragged into that place. They have been conscripted. They are our people, we have got to make them understand us and we must understand them. In the future, in the conscript days, soldiers are human beings, and the soldiers of all the world will soon have their own soviets.

It is up to us now to take our stand, to demonstrate to these men in prison for military infractions and for conscientious objections that we are theirs and they are ours. In that way we build for the future in that way we show that we understand the breath of reality which comes to us from Europe, which brings the news of the soviets that everywhere have brought the soldiers into the cause of humanity.

We Must Help All Our Comrades In Prison.

Frieds, I have been discussing about conscientious objectors, the soldiers in prison, and Mooney and Billings; those questions are to be dealt with by the strike is not for Mooney and Billings, and the soldiers and sailors, and the C. O.s only, it is for every man who is in jail for expression of an honest opinion, and that must, of course, mean Gene Debs (Applause), and Kate Richards O'Hare, and my friend that great man Alexander Berkman, and that great woman Emma Goldman. And it means every man who has gone to prison because he stood on the labor side of any fight, no matter what his political shade might be. And when I say it, I mean it. I mean those men who are over here in San Quentin, who are there because of a labor struggle, no matter what sort of a verdict capitalist juries brought in. I don't mean to make any reservations and say the least said about this case or that case the better. I don't say that, that is of the past, now in the future we must stand for all who have in any way been burned in the fire because of a labor struggle and been punished by the capitalists: courts because of their loyalty to labor. The mere fact that it was a labor issue and that the men punished by capitalist courts proved it was in Labor's cause they were condemned.

A Really International Workers' Defense League.

So I close with the mere reminder that the International Workers' Defense League which started out three years ago, how well I remember it, a seemingly hopeless case, to save five labor prisoners from the gallows, the International Workers' Defense League has grown with the times, it has grown until we are now really the International Workers' Defense League. I heard in Berlin, "Hoch die Soviets," meaning Long live the Soviets. I heard in Paris, "Vive les Soviets," and I heard in New York, "Long live Russia." I know that for any International Workers' Defense League the greatest battle cry that the world ever knew was "Vive les Soviets!" I know that we are going to sweep this land from end to end with this great battle cry for Labor prisoners and conscientious objectors and Soviets. So I thank you for listening and being so friendly in your reception of this message. Just get the reality I've got in me from seeing it. It is real now, it can be done!

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THE PRESIDENT CAME AND????

President Wilson condescended to address our august deliberative assembly at St. Paul, last Tuesday afternoon. During the course of his remarks he gave utterance to the following classical gems:—

"We might as well sit up straight and look facts in the face, gentlemen. The laboring men of the world are not satisfied with the relations with their employers.

"I am not dogmatic about this matter. I cannot presume that I know how it should be done. I know the principle upon which it should be done. The principle that the interest of capital and interest of labor are not different, but are the same.

"You can't any longer regard labor as a commodity. You have got to regard it as a means of association, and when that is done the production of the world is going on forward by leaps and bounds."

We shall take the President at his word and "sit up straight and look facts in the face." The President referred to the "employers" and "laboring men". Now a careful analysis of these two terms will give us an understanding of the vexed question that so utterly confounds President Wilson. President Wilson is a great speech-maker, but he has yet to prove his ability as a solver of economic questions. If lip-service could emancipate the workingclass, then Wilson has done his share towards bringing it about. Lip service has abounded everywhere from the President of the land to the two-by-four peanut politician, but the corresponding deeds are yet to come. So let us test these remarks of the President in the light of economic reasoning and then we will find out, how fallacious are the ideas expressed by Woodrow Wilson. If we do that we might be able to bring Wilson down to the level of ordinary human beings and so enable the average worker to understand that all what President Wilson says is not commonsense.

The terms "employers" and "laboring men" signify two things: first, that they are persons, second, that they are persons in particular conditions, otherwise there would be no necessity to designate them in such terms. The conditions which these persons are placed when such terms are applied to them are essentially ECONOMIC, and they therefore apply to an ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP.

It is because public speakers failed to recognise that these terms are applied in an ECONOMIC sense, that we have so much confusion. Many so-called leaders(?) of thought, notably college professors, fail to differentiate between the social and economic relationship between "employers" and "laboring men". They fail to be able to understand when the relationship between these two classes is social and when it is economic. In so far that inequality exists in economic relationship it will shew itself in our social relationship. If that economic inequality does not exist, then there will not any inequality in our social relationship. The economic relationship underlies all other relationship, because upon it depends our living. There is no need for us to emphasize that point, because if you ever been out of work you know that well if you do not work you starve. To clearly analyse the economic inequality between "employer" and "employee" we must go to the shop. It is there that we proceed with the business of life, performing the necessary work for the carrying on of world production. All other phases of our activities are dependent upon the activity that takes place in the shop. Now for a moment consider these things. In our everyday life we hear that "one man is as good as another" etc. But in the shop and business generally we hear this, "you are a worker" and "I am an employer". What change has come about? Something has taken place that has made one man a worker and another employer. What is this something? A man has sold his energy, that is his power to labor, and as all selling transactions must have a party who buys, the man has sold himself to an employer for such money, for so many hours per day. Through that transaction a man has sold himself, that is a worker, to a man who needs his services, an employer. The price paid by the employer to the worker for the use of his services is known as WAGES. The moment that you work for wages you become COMMODITIES, just like eggs, butter, shoes, etc. You are bought at so much per hour, eggs at so much per dozen, butter at so much per pound and shoes at so much per pair. The WAGES that your receive are determined in exactly the same manner as the prices of the necessities of life, and just as other COMMODITIES are expected to satisfy the demands of the buyers, so are you expected to satisfy the demands of those that bought your labor-power. You do not buy rotten eggs or worn-out shoes, same with the boss, he does not employ cripples or consumptive workmen. Thus those that buy your labor-power have POWER over you. If that is NOT so then you cannot explain the many facts of your everyday life in the shop. If the boss has no power over you, then answer these questions? Why is there a general stir throughout the shop, a warning note sent abroad, when the boss makes his appearance? Why are men and women servile to directors, managers etc. and you know they are? Why do YOU dodge behind the machine or sneak to the toilet, in order to smoke and your boss come strolling through the factory puffing a huge cigar? Why, when you are discussing shop conditions, you stop talking when you see the boss coming? Why is it that you hate the worker that tells your boss what is going on in your unions? What is it that makes you bow and scrape to the boss, yet you never think of doing it to a fellow-worker?

All these incidents that we have related to you and they are incidents of your everyday shop life, are but manifestations of that ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. We told you of at the beginning of this editorial, the economic relationship embodied in the terms "laboring men" and "employers" that President Wilson talked of in the Minnesota Legislature. You are all conscious of the power of your boss. You know that he has the power to fire you. You know that that firing means the hunt for another job and you also know that you can be blacklisted and driven out of town by the very boss that fired you. All employers possess that power over their workmen. The employing class own and control the means of production that you use and live by use of, hence we have the economic relationship, ECONOMIC POWER TO ECONOMIC POWER.

Can you deny facts that we have shown you or deny the analysis that we have made? President Wilson may indulge in rhetoric and endeavor to cover these facts up with fine words, but you know that they cannot be covered up, because at every turn of your life they assert themselves. Such being the case there can be no improvement of the relationship between employers and laboring men, much less their interests being the same. For employers and laboring men to have the SAME interests, there must be no advantage on either side. There may be good conditions in one shop and bad conditions in another. There may be good masters and bad masters. But so long as you sell your labor-power to the purchases, the employer, so long will there be wage slaves and profiteers, workmen and employers, power to power.

If our analysis is correct, then there can be no addition of power to either side, without one side losing by that addition. If the employers become stronger the workers suffer and if the workers gain power the employers suffer. Watch the strike of the coal dockworkers! What prompts the coal dock owners to resist the demands of the men, only the fear of the men gaining too much power. It also follows that the addition of power to either side produces modifications or changes in the attitudes of either side in social relationship. The history of the relations between employer and workman have proved the truth of this. The lonely worker raised that standing alone he was helpless, so he organized into trade unions. The employers have fought such combinations with a ferocity that cannot be found even in the jungle. Men, women and children have been sacrificed in industrial disputes, in the endeavor of the employers to exterminate trade unions. Read the history of Cripple Creek, Ludlow, Bayonne, Lawrence and many other places and there in the cold facts of life you will find the truth of what we write. Also we know, despite what Wilson may state, that our employers have sought to use unemployment as a weapon to smash trade unions.

The war, accidentally we might state, brought an accession of power to the organized workers not known before in history. The war brought to the fore the Seattle, Butte, Vancouver and the I. W. W. movements. Since that accession of power, and NOT before, we hear all this talk about the "principle is that the interest of capital and the interest of labor are not different, but are the same." Now that the workers are beginning to understand their position in society, the very man, President Wilson, who denounced trade unions and did not believe in them at any price, read his Princeton lectures, is endeavoring, to create a feeling of mutual admiration between the trade unions and the employers. Even the Duluth Herald talks of the necessity of sane trade unionism and lauds Samuel Gompers. "Our fighting in the past has been a terrible mistake." "Let us shake hands and forget the past etc." In effect, we are asked to make workmen's and employers' organization into one, to allow the employers to sap the vitality from the labor organizations.

President Wilson does not attempt to go to the root of the trouble. Nowhere is there the faintest sign of the recognition of the root trouble. If the workers go into any partnership with their employers, as suggested by President Wilson, they go into a game where the cards are stacked and the dice loaded against them. To speak of a change of mind without a change in the economic conditions of life is to talk of that which is contrary to all experience. It is the economic mode of production that is the basis of our ideas etc. and you may speak until your are blue in the face, Mr. President, you cannot alter the fact.

Where is that change of attitude on part of the employers? If there is a change and a feeling that labor is not receiving justice, why does Judge Gary fight trade unions? Why do the coal dock owners endeavor to starve their workers into subjection? Why are the I. W. W. lynched, tarred and feathered and jailed? Deny these things if you can and your denials will be on little use, for your deeds, masters of America, which are done daily, speak louder than the words of even Woodrow Wilson.

To sum up the speech of President Wilson, it is a great effort to preserve the position of the capitalist class. The question as to whether the profit system is the best system, has never been touched by him. President Wilson assumes that the present system, which allows one class to exploit another, is alright. Upon that basis he makes his plans and forms his speeches. No consideration whatsoever as to the merits or demerits of the capitalists system. Just like a statesman!

President Wilson, we agree with you when you say, "We have got to have a constructive program with regard to labor..." But that constructive program must be made by LABOR and LABOR alone. We shall meet with the employers, as you suggest, but meet them recognising that THEIR position and OURS are fundamentally opposed. They wish to retain their hold upon us and we do not wish to have that hold. They, the employers, struggled through the centuries to obtain THEIR power. We also of the working-class have come through the long years of strife and have suffered their blows and spite. We do not squeal. We know, painfully at times, that life is a struggle. We know that struggle is THE law of life. As the employers rose to power on our backs, so we shall gather together, organized and educated, and standing erect we shall throw them off our backs. Far and wide the reverberations of the world-wide movement of the revolutionary workingclass extends. This is not the time to compromise with — a class that has been the most vicious and whose reign has been the bloodiest in all history. Now is the time of all times to stand firm on principles which penetrate to the foundations of society. There is not and can not be any real freedom, so long as thousands of our class lie in prison and others are slaving away their lives in the factory, mines etc. Neither can there be any REAL DEMOCRACY on the basis of economic inequality. There can be no toleration of schemes, such as those proposed by President Wilson, they only hinder us and prevent the attainment of our ideals. We challenge them, we repudiate them, and by means of INDEPENDENT WORKINGCLASS EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION we mold our forces to challenge the rulers of the earth. We measure our progress towards our goal by the progress that we make towards the independent mastery of the factories,

mines, farms etc. So we shall continue on along the road that leads to the formation of the Soviet Republic of America. Many will pay the price, but we shall not be afraid. For the "blood of the martyrs is the seed of human liberty." So comrades all let us buckle to and prepare our forces, so that the revolutionary hosts of Labor can march triumphantly out of the bondage of capitalism into the freedom of Communism.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA.

The Socialist Party of America has ceased to represent the workers of America. When its national secretary ordered the police to drive accredited delegates of the party from the Convention Hall, he proved how weak the position of the party officials was. The delegates to that convention, who desired to capture the Socialist Party for revolutionary socialism, found themselves offset by a group of politicians who were drunk with power. They knew that the sentiment of the party was with the Left Wing, and they also knew that if the party was controlled by the rank and file there would be a clean sweep made of all those who dragged the principles of socialism down into the mire of dirty politics. Because of these things, the Socialist Party officials compelled many of us to hang our heads in shame. We never dreamed of a time, when old time comrades of the Socialist Party would be driven from a convention by police, at the behest of comrades(?). The split has taken place and it could not have been prevented. A world war had to come to demonstrate to us the weakness of moderate Socialism. Out of the happenings of this world war we have gained a knowledge of how weak our party was and how impossible it was for it to act. So despite what took place in the Socialist Party convention, we are not discouraged. To those of you who have a little faith left in the Socialist Party we beg to draw your attention to the following resolution, which was voted down by 63 votes to 31:—

"INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

"We consider that the Second International ceased to function as an international Socialist body upon the outbreak of the world war.

"All efforts to bring together the elements that made up the former international have only added strength to this conviction. The Berne Conference was a notable example of this collapse, especially with reference to its failure to take a helpful attitude toward Russia and its policy of hanging on to the tails of the Peace Conference in Paris and placid acceptance of rebuffs given it by members of that conference, its refusal of Russian passports, for instance.

"Any International, to be effective in this crisis, must contain only those elements who take their stand unreservedly upon the basis of the class struggle, and who by their deeds demonstrate that their adherence to this principle is not mere lip loyalty.

"When leading Socialism join their national governments upon a coalition basis they accept and sanction policies which hinder Socialists and the working class generally from taking full advantage of the opportunities for deep-seated change which the war creates. This makes the workers content with superficial reformist changes which are readily granted by the capitalist class as a means of self-protection from the rising tide of working class revolt.

"And when Socialists use the military organization of the master class as a means of crushing the agitation of their more radical comrades they flatly take their position with the counter-revolutionaries whom they serve.

"The Second International is dead. We consider that a new International which contains those groups which contributed to the downfall of our former organization must be so weak in its Socialist policy as to be useless.

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in principle and in its past history, has always stood with those elements of other countries that remained true to their principles. The manifestoes adopted in national convention at St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919), as well as Referendum "D" 1919 unequivocally affirm this stand. These parties, the majority parties of Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Bulgaria and Greece, and growing minorities in every land, are uniting on the basis of the preliminary convocation, at Moscow, of the Third International. As in the past, so in this extreme crisis, we must take our stand with them.

"The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the "Moscow" programs and methods, but because:

"(a) "Moscow" is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

"(b) "Moscow" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

"(c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come.

"(Signed)

J. LOUIS ENGBAHL,
WILLIAM F. KRUSE."

The defeat of the above resolution is sufficient proof to prove how reactionary the present leaders of the Socialist Party are.

Even if the Left Wing delegates had been allowed to take their seats, the Right Wingers had already packed the convention. Michigan, with 3,000 members expelled and only 150 members in the party, had seven delegates. New York with two-thirds of its membership expelled, had 35 delegates, more than it was legally entitled to on the basis of a full membership. Massachusetts with two-thirds of its membership expelled also had fourteen delegates. Same could be said of many other places. The Right Wingers knew that they no longer represented the party, but like all politicians they intended by hook or crook to keep the control of the party in their hands. Better by far to sacrifice the membership, than to sacrifice their jobs.

Many comrades believe the party is revolutionary on account of its manifesto. Read it and take along with you a microscope and discover anything therein of a revolutionary nature regarding Russia. For remember the test of any party, that claims to be revolutionary, is its stand on Russia. Furthermore, a manifesto can be revolutionary, like Wilsonian speeches, it is programs that count. It is not what you say you are that counts in the struggle for workingclass freedom, it is what you do.

The delegates who represented Left Wing membership found that they could not retain their self-respect and sit in the convention of the Rights. So therefore, those of us who

have fought the fight within the party, found it necessary to form a new party. To our eternal regret, two parties were formed, one the Communist Party and the other the Communist Labor Party. The delegates to the next State Convention to be held on October 5th, Commonwealth Hall Minneapolis, must decide what party they desire to join up with. Personally we stand for the Communist Labor Party. We believe that a party that is going to function in America, must take into consideration the psychology of the American workers. By that we do not mean an American party, full of men and women who are nationalists, but a party that will be in the main dominated by the American workingclass. Foreign speaking comrades can never successfully function as a revolutionary party in this country. This is a fact, and all the speeches you care to make will not alter or eliminate it. Let us recognise facts and not seek to bury our heads in the sands of phraseology and endeavor to convince ourselves that the facts are not so, when we know they are. The Communist Party has some very able men, well versed and able to write flaming manifestos, but when it comes down to action, the Communist Party will find itself all alone, with the hosts of American labor organizing themselves and ignoring the phrases of the Communist Party leaders. Speaking before the Fourth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, Lenin uttered a truth that applies equally as well to the Communist Party of America, as it did to those in Russia who at the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, wanted to sacrifice the weakened forces of the Russian people to the strong forces of German Imperialism. Lenin said, "We must not deceive ourselves. We must have courage to face the unadorned, bitter truth... Russia will become (referring to the supply of food etc.) such, provided she frees herself of all dejection and phrase-mongering, provided she strains her every nerve and every muscle, provided she comes to understand that salvation is possible only on the road of the international socialist revolution we have chosen. To move forward along this road, not becoming dejected in the face of defeat, to lay stone after stone, the firm foundation of the Socialist society, to work tirelessly, to create discipline and self-discipline, to strengthen everywhere organization, order, efficiency..." Time has proved the correctness of the position taken by Lenin at that time. Time will prove the correctness of the position taken by the Communist Labor Party. The revolutionary movement is not the plaything or the stepping stone to position of any revolutionist. The masses of the people must be organized and all those who partake in that work must be as self-sacrificing and enduring as the man on the job. Because after all it is not the writer or the speaker who fights the battles of the workingclass, it is the workers all the time. No matter how ignorant they may be, without them no movement can ever succeed. Therefore the party that is bent on winning its fight, must take the masses into consideration. The Communist Party fails to do that. The majority of the English-speaking membership it had, the State of Michigan, is withdrawing from it, disgusted by the domineering tactics of those who are foisting themselves upon the revolutionary workers of this country, simply because their comrades in Russia have made a name for themselves.

Let us not fool ourselves comrades. Let us weigh well what we do. Today when the thrones of autocracy are tumbling down and national boundaries are being wiped away by the hosts of Imperialism we must be ready when the time comes. Therefore when we engage in that work we must forget petty dislikes. In the day when the conflict grows keener, it is the duty of every comrade to be in the movement where he can do the most good. Neither personal feelings, nor a false sense of duty to a party which does not function as a revolutionary unit in the army of Labor, should prevent anyone from fearlessly throwing in his or her lot with the Communist Labor Party. Everything in these days must be subordinated to the class aspect of the struggle against world-imperialism. To that rank and file of the Socialist Party, that, no matter what its leaders may have done, which has played a noble part in the class struggle, we appeal to them to join hands with the Communist Labor Party.

The Communist Labor Party will assist the workers at every turn of the fight. The Communist Labor Party will engage in very strike that is waged by the workingclass. True it is that strikes are but skirmishes pending the overthrow of capitalism. But nevertheless they must be fought, because you can never suspend the class struggle. There can be no postponement or suspension of the fight against the capitalist class. The master class must be opposed and fought continuously, here and now and everywhere. The workers must be assisted in the everyday struggles against their masters. Wherever the members of the Communist Labor Party see a bona fide struggle taking place, they will lend the strikers every assistance, whether they are members of the American Federation of Labor, the I. W. W. or the W. I. I. U. Thus the Scandinavian local of Duluth, with many of its members in the I. W. W. lends its support to the striking coal dockworkers of the A. F. of L. Last week they raised at their meeting over \$160.00. It will be seen that the policy of the Communist Labor Party is not a dogmatic doctrinaire formula, but is, on the contrary, a living illustration of the desire on our part for the solidarity of the workingclass. It helps where it can, both anxiously and willingly, but it nevertheless refuses to leave the revolutionary course it has mapped out. With calm and scientific precision it welds ever closer the weapon of industrial solidarity. To bring the masses together and to get that mass to act as a mass is the task that the Communist Labor Party has set before it. It beckons to the hosts of Labor to unite and march forward to the goal of its endeavors the Soviet Republic of America, and in conjunction with the workers of other countries create the Soviet Republic of the World.

Comrades the old social order rallies to its side its diminishing hosts. Before the Red Dawn, the hosts of imperialism stand blinded by the dazzling light of the rising sun of liberty that lights the earth and floods the heavens. Out of the East come marching the millions of revolutionary workers, appealing to you to join hands with them in the Third Internationale. Let us stop quibbling and unite. Words count for nothing in these momentous times, it is action that counts. Will you play your part? If so then join hands with the Communist Labor Party.