

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, with heart upon recovering to 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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HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1919

WHOLE No. 119.

FIVE CENTS.

TO STEEL PLANT WORKERS! ARE YOU MEN OR ?

A few months ago, the following news item appeared in the New York World:

"In 1913 the prices of billets of Pittsburgh was \$26.50, in 1916 \$42.00, and in the middle of 1917 \$100. In 1913 plates were \$33.60, in 1916 they were \$73.00, and in 1917 \$200.00."

The United States Steel Corporation made \$271,531,730.00 war profits during the year 1917. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation made, during the same year \$43,593,968. These figures are official, being published in the corporation's annual reports.

When you read about these profits and you also learn that it has been made necessary for 284,000 steel workers to down tools, you will realize the truth of the following words uttered by President Wilson:

"We have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated governments in the civilized world—no longer a government of free opinion, no longer a government by conviction and the vote of the majority of the people, but a govern-

ment by the opinion and the duress of small groups of dominant men."

Today men are being shot and in some cases killed, just because they are demanding sufficient of the necessities of life to enable them to live.

Society could not run its industries without the work of these men who are now out on strike. Go where you will, there you will find evidence of the work of these men who are asking for the ordinary rights, that should be accorded all workers. If you take a street-car ride, you do so, because these men produced the steel. If you take a ride in a Ford car, you do so, because these men produced the steel. If you want to till the land and produce food for the nation, you must use tools that are made out of the steel produced by these men who are out on strike. If your child falls sick and a operation is necessary, the doctor must use scientific instruments that are made out of the steel manufactured by these men who are out on strike. If you want to take a trip across the ocean, you must ride in a steamship made out of the steel manufactured by these men out on strike. There is not one single industry in the world, that does

not have to depend upon the work of these men. Yet the men who go down the mine and dig the ore and the men who turn that ore into steel, cannot obtain a decent living. Yet the parasitical directors of the Judge Gary type can draw their millions of dollars profit. Why is it that those who perform the work of society must strike to obtain even the mere necessities of life, yet those who do NOT work can revel in idle luxury?

There is no argument that can be cited in favor of the Steel barons of America. If there is, it is the old argument that MIGHT IS RIGHT. All the talk you may indulge in about the ballot and every man having an equal chance, falls to the ground crushed by the evidence that we have presented to you. The only manner in which the striking steel workers can convince Judge Gary and his set of the justification of their claims, is by using their economic power. They are doing this today. They are standing with their arms folded and whilst they are doing this, the murderous thugs of the Steel Trust, backed up by the State Constabulary of Pennsylvania, are shooting them down like cattle.

Workers of the Duluth Steel Plant!

Are you going to remain on the job and allow your energy to be used by the Steel Trust to crush the rest of your fellow-workers who now are striking? Are you so lost to a sense of shame that you will assist the very men who shoot down your own class? If you remain on the job, you will earn the respect of your masters. They will call you 100 per cent Americans, even though you are a foreigner. But if you do remain on the job, you will earn the contempt of your own class. In the years to come men will point to you and with a curse

upon their lips, they will tell of the days when you had not the manhood to stand by your own class, that you stood by your oppressors.

Strike with those of your fellow-workers who are striking now. Strike for the benefit of the children that are to follow you. If you will get together and walk out, the Steel Trust will be compelled to grant your demands and more. Never in the history of your career has such an opportunity presented itself. Now is the time for you to demonstrate that you are a man. Now is the time to make a concerted demand for higher

wages and shorter hours. Every man of you must leave the Steel Plant and take your stand on the side of those who are carrying on a valiant struggle. It is a struggle for bread and you need it as much as they do. Will you allow them to wage the fight and then, after you have remained on the job, you to come along and accept the benefits that they sacrificed their time and in some cases their lives for? If you are men, with red blood in your veins, you will strike and AT ONCE. If you are not men, but miserable slaves, fearing to call your soul your own you will stick on the job!

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

DEFECTIVE PAGE

"WE MUST WIN IF WE ALL STAND FIRM"

DULUTH LABOR WORLD

We wish to congratulate the Duluth Labor World on its remarkable news service. In their last issue they carried a story of the British Trade Union Congress. The story was dated Sept. 18th. When you know that the Duluth Labor World is made up and printed on Thursday evening, you must admit that was going some to print an account of what transpired the SAME day in Glasgow, SCOTLAND.

The story is all the more remarkable when you know that the British Trade Union Congress concluded its deliberations on Sunday Sept. 14th.

The real truth, apart from the foolishness of the Labor World in endeavoring to fool its readers, about this vote on DIRECT ACTION is, that the motion to put the previous question was proposed by Harry Twist, a supporter of the constitutional methods as opposed to the use of the strike as a political weapon. It was not the direct actionists that feared to take a vote, but the anti-direct actionists. The workers are growing tired of the politicians. They have a kind of a feeling that they can do things better themselves. WE DON'T BLAME THEM.

OUT OF WHITE LIPS

Out of white lips a question: Shall seven million dead ask for their blood a little land for the living wives and children, a little land for the living brothers and sisters?

Out of white lips: Shall they have only air that sweeps round the earth for the breath of their nostrils and no footing on the dirt of the earth for their battle-dressed, battle-soaked shoes?

Out of white lips: Is the red in the flag the blood of a free man on a piece of land his own or is it the red of a sheep slit in the throat for mutton?

Out of white lips a white pain murmurs: Who shall have land? Him who has stood ankle deep in the blood of his comrades, in the red trenches dug in the land?

CARL SANDBURG.

EDITH CAVELL and JEAN LABORDE

Frederic Denis, writing in The Exploited of Brussels, says: When Miss Cavell fell, pierced by German bullets, one huge cry went up from the whole world to punish the assassins.

But who has spoken, and who will speak of the assassination of Jean Laborde? About this the capitalist Press of the Entente keep a discreet silence.

It must be made known, however, that French officers have assassinated a French woman.

During the occupation of Odessa by the Allied troops, the Communist group of Moscow sent six delegates into this town instructed to distribute manifestos to the soldiers pointing out the odious methods of the reactionaries in Russia. These six delegates were arrested by the French military, authorities and condemned to death. There was one woman amongst them, a Frenchwoman, Jean Laborde, formerly a pupil at the normal school at Sevres. Fearing that the French soldiers would refuse to execute this unfortunate (we are not all "Boches"), the officers decided to carry the matter through themselves. Therefore, fetch by night in a motor, the six prisoners, saying it was for changing prisons only,

then taking them to a cemetery, they brought them down by pistol shots. A Serbian who happened to be amongst the condemned and who succeeded in making his escape owing to the darkness, recounts the massacre in the Pravda.

These facts are not unknown to the authorities in France. In the issue for May 31 of Opinion M. Henri Massio, a reactionary, one of the calumniators of Romain Rolland, refers to it in these terms: "It is quite true that an unfortunate woman, like pupil at the normal school at Sevres, was sent by Lenin in order to spread propaganda amongst our men. She has paid the penalty with her life."

Ah! What gallant words these things are said in!

WAGES

The Manufacturers News in a recent edition compares the wages paid to the workers of Japan and those paid to the workers of America. The object being to prove to the American workers how much better off they are than the Japanese. Are they? To answer that question we must understand what wages represent and how they are determined.

The means of life, the factories, the coal docks, the mines, the ships etc. are owned by the employing class. The employed class, the workers, do NOT own any machinery etc. All that they own is the power to labor. This labor-power of the workers is sold in the open market, known as the labor market, like ham, pork chops, eggs etc. The price received for the sale of labor-power is called WAGES. But the labor-power of the worker is not like eggs. You can detach the eggs from the hen, but you cannot detach the labor-power from the worker. The worker sells himself. Wages, that is the price that the worker receives for his labor-power, are regulated by the very same laws that regulate the prices of all commodities. When there is a scarcity of commodities, the prices rise; when the commodities are plentiful, that is, when there is a glut on the market, the prices fall. Exactly the same thing takes place with the workers. If there are ten thousand men looking for ten jobs, the price of labor-power, that is wages, fall. If, on the other hand, there are ten men looking for the ten thousand jobs, then the price of labor-power rises. But there is a law of competition that tends to reduce the prices of all commodities to their social cost of production, that is their value. If the prices of commodities are high, forces are immediately set going to increase the supply of that commodity and as a result the price of the commodity comes down. That is true with the working-class. If the prices of labor-power, wages, are high in one town, immediately there is a rush made to that town and the competing workers bring the wages down. If prices are too low immediately the supply is decreased and the prices rise. So this law operates and the law of value forces the prices of commodities to conform to the quantity of social labor required to produce them within the limitations of capitalism. This law of value forces ALL commodities to adapt themselves to it. So we find that wages are fundamentally determined by the cost of subsistence—or as it is sometimes called, the cost of living. Due to the recent increase in the prices, the cost of living has gone up. All the increases in wages that have been demanded by the workers, have been granted by their masters in view of the rise in the cost of living. This is a tacit admission that wages are determined by the cost of subsistence of the working-class.

Therefore if the workers in Japan receive a certain wage, it necessarily follows that it requires that much to keep them alive, in order that they might produce more wealth. The same applies to the wages of the American workers. So any comparison made between the wages paid to the Japanese and American workers has no bearing upon the status of the worker. No matter where the workers are engaged in industry, whether it be in America, England, Germany or Japan, they are merely slaves to a slave-owning class. The worker today is not a free unit living in a free society. He is a wage slave. He is a commodity. He is just merchandise. The only way can become a free unit living in a free society is when he bands together with his fellow-workers and takes control of industry. In a word he must overthrow capitalism and in its stead erect the Workers' Republic.

Many restaurant keepers refuse to serve negroes. But thank God we do not draw the color line when it comes to needing scabs!

MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT

WOODMAN HALL

Twenty-first Avenue West and First Street

Sunday Evening, September 28, 1919



TOR VAN PYK

the Swedish Tenor, Cincinnati, Ohio, will sing several songs. From press reports of cities East, Mr. Pyk has always pleased his hearers.

Tor Van Pyk, the Scandinavian tenor's recital at the Waldorf-Astoria, was composed of an uncommonly attractive list of songs. Mr. Van Pyk has that rarest of all voices, a true, pure tenor, and his singing is free from the defects that often mar voices of this timbre. In songs of romantic sentiment and in the characteristic songs by Scandinavian composers, Mr. Van Pyk afforded his hearers an hour of real delight.—Musical Courier, New York City.

Editor of Truth will make a short talk. On the Program are also other well known musical talents.

BE SURE TO COME EARLY
Admission 35c and 15c.

J. P. Morgan, who is in London, sent the following cable to Judge Gary: "Heartiest congratulations on your stand for the open shop, with which I am, as you know, absolutely in accord. I believe American principles of liberty, deeply involved and must win if we ALL stand firm."

TO WHICH WE WOULD HAVE REPLIED BUT—

"Heartiest congratulations on your expression of solidarity, with which I am, as you know, absolutely in accord with. I believe that the principles of human liberty, the principles of the workers of the world, not alone those of the American workers, deeply involved and must win if we ALL stand firm."

Underwear

It's time for you to think about heavier undergarments. We've already given this careful consideration, with the result that we are ready to take care of your needs.



Vassar Swiss
Union Suits
Wilson Bros.
Underwear

All Prices

Boys' Dept.
Underwear
Hosiery

Kenney-Anker Co.

409-411 West Superior Street

Cold Weather Is Here

KEEP WARM

Come In and See Us

All goods are union-made Remember you will always receive a square deal at the store where workingmen trade

OUR MOTTO
Low Prices--Best Quality

A. Y. Litman's Store

1829-31 W. Superior St.

SPANISH WORKERS' STRUGGLE

Government Leader Forced to Turn to Imprisoned Socialists

MADRID, Sept. 1st.—The class war in Spain becomes daily more acute in face of the aggressive position of the employing class, who, led by the "Asociacion Patronal", from a mistaken idea of carrying the fight into the enemy's country, are using the lock-out with a recklessness that may well have serious consequences. In Barcelona, the textile and building industries are completely paralysed, and in many smaller industrial centres in Catalonia all work is at a standstill.

In Tarragona, the boycott, by which the workers are defending themselves against the general lock-out has closed all shops. In Vigo, in the west of Spain, shipkeepers have locked out their employees.

In Saragosa, in Cordova, in Madrid, partial lock-outs have been called, or are threatened. The country seems to face a determined plot on the part of the "Asociacion Patronal" to starve the workers into submission, whatever may be the consequences.

The shipping strike remains unsolved. All ships belonging to members of the Mediterranean Association of Shipowners are tied up, except a few mail-boats, which run with permission of the strikers.

By Convicts' Permission
Senor Amado, recently appointed Civil Governor of Catalonia, has arrived in Madrid from Barcelona to lay before the Government a series of suggestions for the settlement of the intolerable situation.

The most important points are: That the military occupation of Catalonia cease; that the Unions be given legal recognition; that the eight-hour day be at once enforced; that the lock-out be put an end to by the Government; and that liberal amnesty be granted political prisoners.

It is rumoured upon good foundation that to arrive at this arrangement, Senor Amado was forced to send a representative to the Barcelona gaol to consult the Labour leaders incarcerated there. This has caused a stir in the reactionary Press.

Hands off Russia!

When all the world was racked with strife,
And hate and murder reigned supreme;
When death, unchecked, could harvest life,
When hope seemed dead and peace a dream;
When every man who dared protest
Was thrust in prison foul to rot;
When tyranny went unredressed;
When thought was chained and joy forgot.
'Twas then the Russian workers rose,
Spurred on by bitter wrongs and deep,
And battled with a world of foes
That freedom they might win and keep.
Their challenge resonant rang out,
Through every land its message rolled;
The rich man heard its echoing shout,
And trembled for his hoarded gold.
But to the poor man's ear it seemed
Of those forgotten things to speak,
That in his far off youth he'd dreamed
And sought; and then had ceased to seek.
To all the folk that toil it brought
Resurgent hope with promise bright
Of life with love and gladness fraught,
Of might at last in league with right.
But all those human birds of prey,
Who steal the fruits of others toil,
Were struck with terrified dismay,
Lest they must needs disgorge their spoil.
With brutal force and treacherous guile
The Russian Commune they assailed.
But these and all the murders vile
Of "White" assassins nought availed.
Not force nor fraud nor famine could
Quench liberty's undying flame.
As firm as granite Russia stood,
And none her dauntless soul could tame.

The fight is raging still. Shall we
Let Russia's foes and ours renew.
Their efforts with fresh strength till she
Succumbs: and they destroy us too?

July, 1919.

R. M.

Reprinted from Glasgow Socialist.

TO RAISE THE BLOCKADE

Resolution moved by the Dutch Syndicalist Workers' Organisation at the International Conference of Trade Unions at Amsterdam:

"The International Conference, responding to the appeal of the proletarian classes of the Socialist-Bolshevik Republics to support their struggle by demonstrations and strikes in order to enforce the

imperial governments to terminate their blockade and military intervention.

"Expresses its satisfaction on the combined efforts of the proletarian classes of the various countries affected on July 21 last, and decides on the undertaking and intensification of a renewed international action to effect the cessation of the blockade and the intervention."

TRUTH—DULUTH WILL FIND US

DEFECTIVE PAGE

TO THE STEEL BARONS

"IF BLOOD BE THE PRICE OF YOUR CURSED WEALTH. GOOD GOD, WE HAVE PAID IT IN FULL."

IN ALSACE SERVING HIS VILLAGE SYSTEM COLLAPSING

By Mrs. H. M. SWANWICK.

It will be remembered that, a month ago, the French Socialist National Council decided, by 1,420 votes to 54, with 501 abstentions, to refuse its assent to the ratification of the Peace Treaty. Marcel Sembat (the author of "Faites un roi sinon faites la paix") protested against the "caricature" of a League of Nations; M. Renaudel, against the "theft" of the German colonies; but the most sensational protest was that of Citizen Grumbach, of Upper Alsace, who considered that "French administrative methods had wiped out a great part of the enthusiasm of the inhabitants."

Most English people have not the least idea of how the French Government has behaved ever since its invasion of Alsace in 1917, nor of how the evidence of the "enthusiasm of the inhabitants" has been secured. One remembers President Poincaré's priceless slip of the tongue when, last winter, he told the people, "To-day you are free; to-morrow you will be French." One thinks, when one reads reports of what has been done in Alsace, that there is much in the antithesis.

The writer has had the opportunity of a long conversation with a woman from Sulzbach, in Upper Alsace, who has also supplied a booklet written by a native of Thann (Alsace), and published in Strassburg in 1918, as well as with a number of letters and postcards written by her brother-in-law from various French internment camps. This is her story.

An Alsatian's Story.

Her sister is an Alsatian and married to an Alsatian forester. They were living at Sulzbach, in Upper Alsace, with their boy of 11, when the war broke out. When the French entered the town in August, 1914, they took the man away without making a change at all. Two days later, when the mother was out, they took the lad; later on they apprehended her in the street. The man was spirited away, and nothing was heard of him till January 2, 1915. The mother and son were marched for two days and nights over themountains to a French internment camp. With their contingent was a young woman, whose baby, three weeks old, died on the march, and was left by the roadside. They were housed in an old mill, and nothing was done to protect them from the mob, which assembled to pelt them and squirt water at them. Pressure was put upon them to allow themselves to be naturalised French, but they refused; they spoke German and were loyal German citizens. They were told they would be shot if they persisted in their refusal, but this did not shake them. At last, in January, 1915, the mother and boy were taken to Issire, and here, in a batch of prisoners being exercised, she recognised her captive husband.

He had been taken to Besancon and every effort made to force him into the French Army; but he refused. A favourite method of intimidation was to exercise the prisoners in the open streets, so that the mob might howl at them and pelt; one humane French lieutenant protested and he was dismissed the army.

In the internment camp where the mother and boy were, men, women and children had to live, eat, wash and sleep in one room, and officers came to them daily and pressed them to become French. These officers told them many lying stories, among them that the Germans had cut off

the hands of Alsatian young men so that they should not fight for the French. At last the German Government secured their return to Germany, by holding 200 French people as hostages. But the man remained in captivity till November 1, 1917, and for part of the time the anxiety and cruel treatment deprived him of his sanity and he was in an asylum. He, too, has now at last been repatriated, but he is a broken man, and the boy cannot shake off the terrible impression of that time.

Two Imperialisms.

We have heard much of the beflagging of the Alsatian towns when the French troops entered. What is not known is that the French authorities sent the crier round to command decorations, and it can well be imagined that the terrorised inhabitants did not wish to make themselves conspicuous. On Armistice Day many of them hung out flags, locked their doors, and went away for the day, so as not to witness their humiliation.

The special reason for the persecution of these people was that 30,000 of them had signed a petition to President Wilson asking him to secure the independence of their country. Too long had they been "the football of Europe." They wanted their freedom from the Imperialism of Germany as well as from that of France. They wanted to live their decent, quiet, industrious lives in their beautiful wooded vales and hills — a cheerful, inoffensive, laborious people.

Last February M. Pichon said that the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine would have the opportunity of showing their feelings at the next elections. Those elections will be a farce. The French Government will see to that. They have already expelled the 30,000 who signed the petition — and how many more? The others are well intimidated. If it is not quite true that they "were free," it is pretty certain that now they "are French". But by what methods! — London Daily Herald.

SWEDISH WORKERS AID BOLSHEVIKI

Dockers Refuse to Load Cargo Destined for Koltchak Government

An indication of the pro-Bolshevik sentiment obtaining among a large fraction of the Swedish working class is given by the following telegram found in a copy of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, just received here:

"Stockholm, Aug. 22.—The placing of a boycott upon all the non-Bolshevik elements of Russia by the Swedish Social Democracy has had its first effect. Yesterday the dock workers of Götterburg refused to load a steamer with steel tubing worth 2,500,000 crowns, destined for the manufacture of projectiles for Omsk. (Admiral Kolchak's capital.)"

"The central organization of the Stockholm trade unions, which is steadily slipping out of the control of its moderate leaders and coming under Bolshevik influence, expressed its approval to the Götterburg workers and resolved to demand that the Government allow the resumption of trade with Soviet Russia. If this demand is not conceded, the union executives are to begin a nation-wide agitation for the understanding what the workers want."

By Anise (Seattle Union Record)

In a Russian peasant cottage

The old man lay dying

Among his four sons;

Two of them were officers

Who fought for Russia.

In the world war;

Two of them simple peasants.

"You are all fine boys,"

Said the old man,

"But I am PROUDEST

Of my peasant sons."

"But surely," said a stranger,

"Your officer sons

Have won you FAME

Fighting for Holy Russia."

"Let Russia then

Be PROUD of them," he said,

"Since they have served her."

My pride is given

To things I know.

My peasant sons have served

OUR VILLAGE,

And I am a villager."

II.

After the old man died

His oldest son,

To give your sons

Advantages of CULTURE."

"My sons will go," he said,

"To the village school;

If they prove very clever

The village will give them

A SCHOLARSHIP

And HELP them

To the university.

All that I do for the village

Returns in time to them;

Why should I set them apart

From their COUSINS?"

III.

And I thought: "This pride

In simple neighborhood service

Passing from father to son,

This sinking of personal gain

In the common life—

Shall it not make of Russia

The world's leader and saviour

In the age of brotherhood

That is to come,

As the Western Nations

Have been world leaders

In the age of competition?"

To earn enough

To give your sons

Advantages of CULTURE."

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COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA

What Tchitcherine thinks of Peace Treaty

That which strikes me most in this treaty is that it is anything but a peace treaty. It does not establish peace, but a situation which is reality is the continuation of the war. It does not confine itself to placing Germany in an intolerable situation that will give her not one moment of respite should the treaty terms be carried out, but by means of every kind of control and of guarantees, by means of threats and future ultimatums inserted in the very text of the treaty, it creates a situation that is nothing less than incessant strife. It is not a document of peace, but one that perpetuates the war.

I am convinced that this is precisely what its authors desire, and that they do not contemplate in the least degree the establishment of a durable peace, but the continuation of the war. The world war was advertised by the oligarchy, which thus attempted to escape the menace of the labour movement. Now that the danger of revolution approaches closer and closer, and becomes more menacing than ever, the oligarchy cannot dispense with the war. It consolidates its domination in inciting the workers of the different countries against each other. The workers are supposed to be bound to their so-called masters by community of interests in the struggle against the exterior enemy. It is precisely upon this fallacy that the theory and the practices of the social traitors are based.

In Shakespeare the Mother of Coriolanus states that if discontent spreads among the people, their attention should be distracted by exterior wars. The French telegrams which exposed the motives for which certain elements in German government circles desired war, in the Yellow Book published by the French Government in 1915, indicate among the essential causes the menacing growth of the German Social Democracy, which forced the German Government to have recourse to the heroic: the foreign war. That which has been attributed to the German governing circles must also be attributed with just as much reason to the governing circles of the other capitalist countries. When the war broke out, the English bourgeoisie declared openly right and left that they would thenceforth be rid of workers' strikes for another 50 years.

The most complete and effective theory of the social traitors was elaborated by the Germans, and it is based entirely on the community of interests of the whole people in the struggle against capitalist competition. It is this theory of community of interests, although in a form less developed, that is the basis of French traitor Socialism. Marcel Sembat develops it with particular ardour in his discourses. In England it is developed most completely by that brilliant adventurer, Victor Fisher, who was formerly the right-hand man of Hyndman, who created a British Labour Imperialist League, which attracted those leading social traitors who were most influential and most in the public view, above all those of the trade unions.

It is in England that the system of domination of the masses by the oligarchy, of action by the masses themselves in the interests of this oligarchy, and of transformation of workers' organizations into tools of domination for the oligarchy attained its highest state of perfection and complexity, and this system cannot help but thrust the working class up against capitalist competition. The priority of the interests of the nation, the subordination, in the name of these interests, of labour representatives and organisations to the national needs, and of the demands of the working class to the interests called national—all this is based upon the necessity to fight together against the enemy or the foreign rival.

The oligarchy unchained the war in order to save itself, but the forces it has unchained have passed over its head, and it finds itself powerless to master the spirits that it has let loose, like the sorcerer in Schiller's poem. Nevertheless, it does not cease to incite the workers against each other, and it has invented a peace, that is at the same time the continuation of the war, but that

is not a war in the ordinary sense. It is war enough to thrust the workers against each other, but at the same time it is peace enough not to provoke by too much slaughter and disorder revolution. Such is at least the calculation of the oligarchy. Is it correct? That is another matter.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PERPETUATES WAR.

Does not the creation of a League of Nations prove that the great powers are endeavouring to establish a durable peace?

To be precise, this League of Nations that figures in the treaty of Versailles does not in the least establish perpetual peace, but further perpetuates war. It is directed against the enemy, against whom the members of the league mutually guarantee the integrity of their possessions and found a defensive alliance. It is an enlarged coalition, which recognises an opposition coalition, and not in the least that world organisation that Imperialism seems incapable to create. A series of the neutral States have now adhered to the party of the victors and figure in this coalition, but the preponderance of one of the coalitions does not take away its character of an armed union organised for war. But this coalition presents no sign of durability. In spite of the efforts of President Wilson to give it solidity in appealing to the old Presbyterian term of "Covenant", this scrap of paper will not soften the opposition of the interests of the principle members of the coalition.

For example, there exist no real interests that can oblige America to send troops to defend India against the dangers which, according to England, may menace it from this side. The revolution in Afghanistan has taken away from England the outpost of its defence of India. When in 18'5 the Russian military expeditions on the plateau of Pamir attained the heights of the Hindu-Kouch, whence it is easy to descend towards India, the convention of Pamir was concluded; it established a barrier on the heights of Hindu-Kouch, which separated India from the Russian possessions in Central Asia. This barrier was confided to Afghanistan, which then seemed to be the faithful vassal of England. Immediately after this barrier commences the Chitral, conquered by the British Colonial troops in the time of Chamberlain. After the revolution of Afghanistan, the Chitral ceases to be protected against the dangers that England feared from the Russian-Turkistan side. The English oligarchy tremble now for their Chitral and, in general, for India, where there is so much inflammable material, and where the explosion is so near. What is it that can really oblige America to defend the interests of the English oligarchy in India against the dangers that it fears? It is not the "Covenant" that could oblige the Yankees to spill their blood yonder.

As soon as the League of Nations comes to grips with the reality, it will disperse quickly into its constituent parts. It has but one meaning: that is to be a demagogic formula with the concealed aim of giving a presentable form to the fact that it is merely a prolonged coalition against German competition, which the Entente still fears.

The League of Nations was one of the essential demagogic means employed to provoke the patriotic enthusiasm of the popular masses of the Entente. It figures in all the resolutions of the social traitors. In England it has become what one might term the principal arm in the arsenal of patriotic propaganda. The deceived French and other workers were happy to spill their blood in the trenches, naively convinced that it was a war against war, and that they would die to rid humanity for ever of all wars. It was impossible to escape payment for this effect, and it is now necessary to wave before the masses the League of Nations.

But since then the situation has changed. The masses have ceased to believe in the tales that were told them for so long, and all the demagogues grouped round the League of Nations already somewhat ancient. I am convinced that it will

not for an instant arrest the development of the revolutionary movement, which marches rapidly in the lands of the Entente.

Moreover, the very fact of the perpetuation of the war coalition shows that the situation created at Versailles is in no degree a situation of true peace, but is nothing other than a new form of the continuation of the war. It shows that the old world is powerless to dissolve the antagonisms that convulse it, that in a general way it is in the presence of problems that it is incapable to resolve, and that the moment is come when a new society must take up the heritage that it alone can carry.

DISARMAMENT TO PROLONG OLIGARCHY.

Does not the fact of the introduction of general disarmament contradict that which has just been stated?

This disarmament is but a new manoeuvre to prolong the domination of the oligarchy. The latter forced the masses into the furnace of the war. The masses have there been worn out, which at the beginning may arrest the revolutionary movement, although it is precisely in this circumstance that later it will receive its nourishment. General military service finished by revolutionising the masses. The workers, after they had received arms, commenced to menace with them their masters. The English, French, and American troops recruited in Russia on the system of general service refused to obey their officers. The oligarchy is obliged to return to the voluntary system, to replace the military system, to replace the system of a nation in arms by bands of white guards. The German Government is already proceeding along these lines. The English Government is at the present time occupied in the formation of voluntary detachments of this nature for service in Russia, and perhaps against its own people. Even in 1917, when Benoit XV, proposed in his encyclical to replace general military service in small voluntary armies, several progressive English writers, such as Brailsford in the London Herald, pointed out the danger of this new step of reaction for the labour movement of all lands.

The technique of destruction and of the annihilation of human lives has attained such a degree of perfection that relatively small detachments can operate by means of gas asphyxiants, shells of enormous destructive force, mine-throwers, flame-throwers, etc. A few aviators can make considerable ravages in a crowd. In these conditions the disarmament of the people, the suppression of the great national armies and the creation of voluntary detachments devoted to the oligarchy, causes to the revolutionary movement that is developing, a new obstruction, that we have already noted in Germany, and which it will only be able to surmount in a relatively easy manner when the workers who have arms in their hands do not let them go. The programme of disarmament introduced into the treaty of Versailles is therefore only a new proof that the treaty is the perpetuation of the world antagonisms, not only international, but also interior, existing between the classes. The latter antagonisms are predominant, and it is because of them that the oligarchy are perpetuating the former, and that for Germany a situation is being created that may be termed the continuation of a prolonged and constant struggle.

TREATY A STRANGLE-HOLD ON GERMANY.

Do you not think that Germany can become accustomed to the situation that has been created for her?

All measures are taken in the treaty of Versailles to render that impossible. The indemnity imposed upon her is something staggering. All the world would have laughed if, at the beginning of the war, the zealous German scribblers had stated that it would be necessary to burden France with an indemnity of a hundred thousand millions francs, yet the treaty of Versailles strikes at Germany with an indemnity of 150 thousand millions of francs, or 120 milliards in marks. Further, 20 milliards of marks must be paid in

specie in the first two years; the remaining sum must be covered partly in specie and partly in merchandise of all kinds, such as ships, coal, etc. This constitutes such a blood-letting that it is impossible technically to realise it, even if the German people worked day and night for the victors.

And all the other articles of economic character, will they not make it definitely impossible for Germany to settle in the situation that has been imposed upon her?

Germany sees herself limited in the use of her merchant fleet. The German wireless telegraphic stations are placed under the control of the Allies. From the military point of view Germany is not only disarmed; but the execution of all the conditions that stipulate a prohibition in this sense is placed under the control of the Allies, and their violation is proclaimed as a hostile act disturbing the general peace; that is to say, is provides for an potential ultimatum. The treaty contains a large number of prohibitions of this nature, of which the principal are the reduction of the effectiveness of the army to 100,000 men; the prohibition to establish general military instruction or to have fortifications of any kind of military force not only west of the Rhine, but also within a zone of 50 kilometres east of that river. The League of Nations—that is, the coalition of Germany's enemies, have the right to inquire into anything that concerns the military situation of Germany. Even all these so-called guarantees have appeared insufficient to the Entente, and the treaty contains a complementary clause, according to the terms of which, if, at the expiration of the period of 15 years, the Entente judges that it is insufficiently guaranteed against new acts of hostility on the part of Germany, it can delay the evacuation of the regions of Germany that is in its occupation. If the treaty were really applied, the situation created thereby would make the German people feel unceasingly its intolerable slavery. This would not merely be a light smouldering under the ashes, but a continual raging fire. It would stimulate international antagonisms to their bitterest point, where they would remain, prolonged and incessant.

WHY FRENCH SOCIAL-TRAITORS OPPOSE TREATY WHILE ENGLISH COLLEAGUES JUSTIFY IT.

Do you attach any great importance to the cession of the mines and oil wells of the Saar Valley to France?

A very considerable importance. It is precisely the mines and the oil wells of the Saar that were among the choicest morsels for the possession of which the world war was projected. The German heavy industries, without the minerals and oil of the Lorraine and of the Saar Valley must perish. The French plunderers hope that the acquisition will procure them such enormous profits that it is necessary to ask oneself how far French usury-capital, incapable of employing itself productively, will be able to cope with this task. In any case, the French working class will suffer thereby.

French capital strives always to find foreign markets for exploitation, taking the form of bank capital, precisely because the revolutionary traditions of the French workers induce in it the fear to employ itself productively in France. Now, in the frontier regions, the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle and other neighbouring departments, French capital is employed not with the French workers, but with the motley mass of foreign elements that changes perpetually and during its brief stay seeks only to amass a few copper to return home to Italy, to Poland, or even to far-off Russia. For example in the zinc works of Auzou (department du Nord) where the French refuse to work because of the deadly vapourizations, it is above all the Russians and Tartars of our eastern provinces that are employed there. They are subjected to a very hard discipline, and the local trade unions accord them no protection. The heavy industry of the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle presents a typical example of the substitution of the permanent local

working class by an international omnium-gatherum which up to the present time has been quite incapable of any action of solidarity or of any participation whatever in the struggle under taken by the local working class for its interests.

The growth of this region will cause the greatest injury to the French working class. The French capitalists, whose position this base will fortify, will be less able than ever before to take due account of the working class agitation at Paris, of the actions of those who maintain the revolutionary traditions. The French capitalist citadel will be stronger than ever. That will considerably prejudice the interests of the lawyers and other intellectuals who have carved out their career, with so much success, at the expense of the French working class movement. French capitalism, grown stronger, takes less account of them that ever, and the new situation is menacing their Socialist careers, their future mandates as parliamentary members, and the ministerial portfolios of these social traitors. It will therefore be readily understood that the treaty of Versailles has caused great anxiety in the midst of the Socialist arrivists, not only because they have to play the role of the defenders of the interests of the working class, but also because their own particular interests are strongly menaced.

It is curious to note that the French social traitors are opposed to the ratification of the treaty, while their English colleagues are charged by their government to justify the treaty. The English wireless telegrams show that the social traitors that are in the limelight are precisely those who have issued from the ranks of the old Socialist parties. The justification of the treaty has been made by one of the collaborators of Hyndman, a brilliant demagogue risen from the labouring class, Jack Jones, at present one of the pillars of the Nationalist-Socialists, who formerly toured England pronouncing revolutionary speeches, but who, today, intoxicated as ever, repeats with weary monotony the same old patriotic and opportunist phrases. At the same time, the English radios are sending forth another justification of the treaty made by the labour leader Clynes, who was for a long time a prominent member of the Independent Labour Party, a Catholic cleric, the devoted servant of the clerical opportunist circles, who was during the war one of the most influential leaders of the policy of the socialist traitors, and receive the portfolio of the Minister of Food in the Lloyd George Cabinet. At his side to be seen the leader of the miners, Walsh, that the oligarchy forces to oppose the honest leader and friend of the miners, Robert Smilie. These three pillars of traitor-socialism are using their utmost endeavours to justify the treaty of Versailles, while L'Humanite writes that it is essential to vote against its ratification. The perspicacious French Socialist politicians see with reason in this treaty a serious menace to the opportunists of the labour movement, of which they are the leaders.

Are you then convinced that the treaty of Versailles will not appease the situation?

It cannot possibly do so. It is a challenge sent forth against the whole of the working class movement. It makes all world antagonisms more bitter than ever. By this project the Entente opens a new page in the history of the impetuous revolutionary period that we are traversing.

MASSACHUSETTS

The language federations of this state are to hold a state convention, for the purpose of reconsidering their resolution to join the Communist Party. Many of the branches were not satisfied at the methods adopted to swing them over into the Communist Party and after hearing both sides they are expected to come over into the Communist Labor Party.

NEW YORK CITY

At a meeting held last week of the Bronx Local New York, the membership decided by a vote of 90 to 58 to join the Communist Labor Party.



HE IS DYING IN ATLANTA
By Covington Aml.

Written after reading that Debs has been sent to the prison hospital and then this from one of President Wilson's recent utterances: "This war was a commercial and industrial war, not a political war."

He spent his life for liberty, for labor and for right,
And he's dying in Atlanta in a felon's cell tonight;
He is dying in Atlanta,—in a dungeon bleak and gray,
The Wilsons and the Gomperses are killing him today.

He is dying in Atlanta,—he the loving, true and brave,
The Tolstoid of America is passing to the grave;
He who always loved the children, and who always sought
the light,

He is dying in Atlanta in a felon's cell tonight.

He is dying in Atlanta,—he is stricken without ruth
For the crime of being honest, for the sin of telling truth;
He is dying in Atlanta, he the generous and just,—
Like the Christos he is paying for his perfect love and trust.

WHY THEY SILENCE THE TRUTH ABOUT UNITY

(An answer to C. E. Ruthenberg, national secretary of the Communist Party, to his question "Why do they refuse to follow the one way of unity?")

By A. BILAN

(N. E. C. Communist Labor Party). The National Secretary of the Communist Party is surprised that out of the Chicago Emergency Convention, there was organized a new party, the Communist Labor Party, and asks the question: "If they desired unity of the Communist forces, why did they hold a separate convention at Chicago and organized themselves as a Party?"

Comrade Ruthenberg is playing "argumentum ex silentio" instead of giving an explanation to the rank and file, he writes an article of question marks. If comrade Ruthenberg were not so interested in covering up the facts of the development of the Communist Labor Party, there would be no questioning at all. He dare not do it, unless he is willing to leave the Communist Party.

We knew that the Communist Convention was going to be held in Chicago, Sept. 1st. We knew more than that. We knew that this convention was going to be called by the Michigan-Federation combination, who bolted the Left Wing Conference in New York and stated so, that regardless of what happened to the Left Wing Movement, they were going to issue a call for Sept. 1st. Also, we know what the Left Wing Conference answered to them and how the National Council was instructed, and at last we know what stand the "Revolutionary Age" took against the Communist Party. We recognised that stand and we still hold to it.

Now, let us remember what was said and done by the Left Wing, in the conference and after. The "Revolutionary Age", Vol. 2, No. 1, July 5th, 1919, carried a report of the Left Wing Conference and printed in black and white we read:

"On the following day, thirty one delegates, consisting mostly of hte Federations, decided, after a caucus, that they would withhold further activity in the Conference, these delegates resigning from all Committees and having previously declined nominations for National Council."

What action did the Left Wing Conference take? Did they agree to join that call for such a Communist Party? They did not. This is the answer given by that Conference (the same report from the "Revolutionary Age"):

"The final act of the Conference was the adoption of the following motion, made by Fraina: "That the N. C. call a

conference at Chicago, Sept. 1st, of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with revolutionized Socialist Party or with a Communist Party that might be organized by Left Wing delegates seceding from the Convention of the Socialist Party to be held August 30th."

Comrade Ruthenberg was elected to the National Council of the Left Wing. He knew who called the Communist Party Convention on Sept. 1st; he knew what the Left Wing had decided to do by adopting this resolution, Fraina knew, Fraina knew, because they voted for it and defended it in the "Revolutionary Age". Read every issue up to No. 36 and you will find articles by Ferguson and Fraina, bitterly criticising the self-appointed organizers of the Communist Party. Read Fraina's article, "ALL POWER TO THE LEFT WING". Let us hear what the Fraina of yesterday has to say, against the Fraina of today: "There is a call issued for the organization of the "Communist Party" at Chicago, Sept. 1st. The Convention is called by a "National Organization Committee" consisting of Dennis, E. Batt, D. Elbaum, O. C. Johnson, John Keracher, S. Kopnagel, S. Stilson and A. Stoltzky. The Committee represents a small group which emphasising its own plans and purposes as against the considered opinion of the Left Wing Conference is actually sabotaging the Left Wing." The whole article is defying the self-appointed organization Committee of the Communist Party Fraina of yesterday is denouncing the Fraina of today.

In the same issue of the "Revolutionary Age", there was a call issued by Ferguson, the Left Wing National Secretary, to the delegates of the Emergency Convention. Read that call and you will see to what convention they were called. He calls them, not to the Communist Party Convention of Batt and Stoltzky, but to the Convention, which will be organized by the Left Wing delegates after they are refused seats in the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party.

But what is the use—the Frainas, Fergusons, Ruthenbergs of today are repudiating the Frainas, Fergusons, and Ruthenbergs of yesterday. They left the masses and then they declared that the masses left them. That the masses went over to Batt and Stoltzky's Communist Party. So being "leaders" they had to "follow" and sign the call of the Michigan-Federation group without having the consent of the majority of the Left Wing.

When they came to Chicago, they found that they had left the masses;

that they were out-generated by the so-called organization Committee of the Communist Party. They saw that there were present many delegates from the Left Wing who had stood true to the edicts of the Left Wing Conference. The majority of the Left Wing Council to justify their position, had to use all means to prove to the rank and file that their position was right. They forgot all that was said against the Michigan-Federation group and started to throw bricks at the delegates who followed the outlined program of the Left Wing Conference and the new revolutionary N. E. C. for the organizing of a new revolutionary party of Communism, which was willing to unite all revolutionary elements. Instead working with them they called them self-appointed individuals representing nobody.

Instead of joining with them and organizing a Communist Party, they went over to the Michigan-Federation Communist Party, adopted their call for the basis of representation. They were willing to seat only delegates who went direct to that Communist Convention and to the rest of the Left Wing delegates they were willing to offer reserved seats to, as special guests to witness how a real Communist Party shall be organized.

On what grounds have the majority of the Left Wing Council, the right to claim that they represent the rank and file, when they turned their backs on them?

It is easy to state that the rank and file has decided to join the Communist Party, when you declare the duly elected delegates as individuals, representing only themselves.

It is the silliest argument to deny that the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY represents the rank and file and then to recommend to their National Executive Committee to issue a call to the Socialist Party membership to join the Communist Party.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party is not flapping from one side to the other in a few weeks time, as the old Left Wing Council did. We state that organization of the Communist Labor Party was a necessity arrived at by the historical development of the Socialist Party controversy, endorsed and supported by the rank and file, whereas the actions of the Communist Party were pre-determined on June 23rd, in spite of the Left Wing, to organize a Communist Party of their own. The COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY was organized to express the will of the rank and file of the Left Wing movement.

The stumbling block, which split the revolutionary forces, was created by those elements from the Left Wing who by going over to the Communist Party, created the audacious idea that they were representing all true Communists and so prevented the possibility of unity.

It is an unpardonable blunder of the Left Wing Council members who are now with the Communist Party, and we can not believe that they are seeking unity of all Left Wing forces—because they refused unity at Chicago, unless the rank and file of the Communist Party forces their leaders to admit this blunder and instruct their N. E. C. to meet the C. L. P. to bring unity on the basis of equality. THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY has proclaimed a standing invitation for unity to all revolutionary elements and organizations who agree upon the principles of the Third International, formed at Moscow and stand for affiliation with it, to join their forces.

THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO WARDS UNITY.
THERE CAN BE NO OTHER WAY.

GERMAN FEDERATION

Delegates representing all the branches of the German Language Federation met in the city of New York, on Sept. 15th and decided to leave the Socialist Party. There were sixty one delegates at the convention. The vote to join the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY was 41 to 8.

Ludwig Lore, editor of the Class Struggle and the New Yorker Volkszeitung, stated:—
"The Socialist Party will not hold a single German branch in this party," he said. "Some members will leave the branches and continue in the Socialist Party, but the apostates will not amount to 10 per cent. of the present membership of the German branches, except in the Bronx, where probably approximately 25 per cent. of the members will continue as Socialists."

"We believe, that the 6,000 German speaking Socialists in this country will follow our lead and quit a party that has lost all its vitality and at the present moment stands for compromise and deals with the bourgeoisie elements, contrary to the interests of the proletariat."

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IN MEMORIAM

DEGEYTER A SUICIDE

Composer of "Internationale" Hangs Himself to Escape German Arrest.

LILLE, Aug. 6.—The tragic death of Adolphe Degeyter, the composer of the "Internationale", who died here during the German occupation, has just become known to the city. Degeyter, a man of strong character and a workingman, had written several songs which he and his brother-in-law used to sing. It was on this instrument that he played the famous air which he wrote to the words of Eugene Pottier's hymn.

Then his wife died. His brother went to Paris and passed himself off as the author of the famous air. The two misfortunes worked disastrously on Degeyter's mind. He began to drink heavily and conceived for all music a dislike so strong that he would leave a cafe if any one began to sing or play a musical instrument.

Then the Germans came. Degeyter suffered acutely from having to work for them at the military hospital, and one day he failed to present himself. The "Kommandantur" issued a warrant for his arrest. In the evening he hanged himself.

He is buried in the cemetery near the hill here, where a little wooden cross with the name "Adolphe Degeyter" marks the grave of the author of the "Internationale".

French Federation of Labor Favors Russian Soviet Government

LYONS, Sept. 20.—Resolution embodying a tentative platform for organized labor in France were adopted at the closing session of the Federation of Labor here last night. The majority shown in the vote was considered approval of the attitude of the labor leaders during the war.

The resolutions demand the nationalization of industries, under the control of producers and consumers, and the nationalization of transportation, mines, water power, and banks. They contend that this does not mean an extension of the powers of the State nor the subordination of industries to functionalism, "with its irresponsibility and constitutional vice." It is declared that by nationalization is meant the confiding of national property to those interested in the most—the producers and consumers.

The convention affirmed its solidarity with the Russian revolution and charged the Executive Committee to demand that unions in transportation service refuse to carry arms and munitions destined either for the forces of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia or those of General Denikin in Southern Russia.

"The reactionary policies of the Entente" were condemned, and a demand was made for an immediate peace with the Russian revolutionists.

THE GERMAN SOVIETS ORGANIZE

Capitalists Use Fear of Famine to Hold Labour Back

M. Philips Price

BERLIN, Sept. 2.—I have in previous telegrams called attention to the important work which has been going on in the industrial centers of Germany in organizing the working-class population into industrial unions with their various technical branches.

Berlin has, of course, taken the lead, and the election for the new workers council for the Berlin district, with all its sub-sections and sections, based on craft and profession, was to have taken place this month.

The general idea was to build up an industrial council organization, like the shop stewards, which would draw towards it the local branches of the old Trade Unions, and thereby gradually bring the latter away from the influence of the fossilized Trade Union bureaucracy which sits under Legien's auspices. Noske's coup d'etat last month, however, has made the carrying out of the elections for these new industrial councils impossible.

During the last week I hear the question has been much debated

among Berlin workers whether a general strike should be called to force Noske's hands, but it has been finally decided that the movement is not sufficiently developed in the provinces to give much chance of success.

The Production Cry

Moreover, a certain fear seems to be coming over the masses at the catastrophe which is coming this winter. It is interesting to see how the German bourgeois Press exploits the coming coal famine and the cold and famine which is awaiting that section of the population not rich enough to buy from the profiteers.

Workers are being induced to raise production in order to save the country from the fate awaiting it, and the German workman, although he instinctively feels that only if production and distribution is socialized has the Government a right to all upon him for all his efforts, is nevertheless inclined to be frightened into work, even under the old economic system, in the hope of escaping the sufferings of the coming winter.

In the meantime Bauer's Government tries to convince him of its progressiveness by introducing Bills into the National Assembly establishing a sham system of industrial Soviets. Only separate factories or trade institutions can have their Workers' Council. They cannot combine with similar Councils, and their powers are limited to advice to their employers.

ELECT YOUR DELEGATE TO THE STATE CONVENTION AND WITHHOLD YOUR DECISION UNTIL YOU HAVE HEARD THE REPORT OF ALL THE DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Phrases do not make a party. It is actions that count.

Never judge a party by what it says it is going to do. But what it has done and is doing.

MICHELIN TIRE OWNERS STRIKE

New Brunswick, N. J., Sept. 19, 1919.—The Michelin Tire Co.'s employees who have been on strike for over two weeks are still holding firm and there is every prospect that the company will have to give in.

The workers are organized in Rubber Workers Union No. 470 of the I. W. W. George Speed, of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., is in charge of strike headquarters. On Labor Day, the workers held a meeting and formulated demands, which were presented at 2 o'clock the following day, Sept. 2, and turned down by the superintendent. The workers thereupon walked out, only the foremen and a couple of hundred French workers remaining on the job. About 1600 Hungarian, Russian, Polish, Greek and Spanish workers are standing together with a splendid spirit of international class solidarity.

The conditions under which the employees were working had become intolerable. Their pay averaged 33 cents an hour, while the day shift worked ten hours, and the night shift 13 hours, from 6 p. m. to 7 a. m. The strikers' demands are:

- 1—An 8-hour day, with a half day on Saturday.
- 2—A 40 % increase in wages.
- 3—Time and half for overtime, with double pay for Sundays and holidays.
- 4—Workers not to be docked for damage to materials.
- 5—A strictly union shop.
- 6—A half hour for lunch and 15 minutes to wash up.

While many of the workers live in New Brunswick and South River, the works are located at Milltown, six miles away. There the company has a colony of company houses, jammed together like a model chicken farm or an up-to-date penal institution, practically the whole town belongs to the company, including the police force and the system of dispensing so-called justice to workers who dare to quit work to enforce their demand for better working conditions.

The company has armed a couple of hundred town bums and "loyal" employees with clubs and deputies' badges. These hired thugs patrol the streets and carry out the American capitalist idea of democracy. They stop automobiles and trolley cars from entering the town and force men suspected of being strikers to "go back where they came from." They invade restaurants and drive out men whom they believe to be "agitators." Although picketing has been declared legal by the judicial servants of the master class, the company gunmen drive the strikers off the streets leading to the factory and arrest them on trumped-up

VIENNA UNDER THE SOVIETS

Revolution Hidden for Fear of Allies

WORKERS IN PALACES

Griffin Barry

Paris, Sept. 4th.—Foreigners living in Vienna are awakening to the fact that the great Austrian city is quite thoroughly in the control of the Workmen's Council. As the Vienna correspondent of the Paris edition of the Chicago "Tribune" puts it: "This city is experiencing a phase of Communism like that which reigned in Budapest, only in another form."

The fact is that the pinch of hunger has within an amazingly short time brought one of the richest and most frivolous communities in the world to the realization of fundamental problems. The workmen's organizations are not recognized officially, through fear of bringing down on the head of the Vienna Government the fate which Allied interference in Budapest caused in Hungary a month ago.

Rich men still transact business with representatives of the Entente. But the workmen's authority is the directing one. To that various witnesses attest.

Allotting Housing Space

The Council is attending unhindered to the vital matter of the repartitioning of the city's housing space. Two months ago the official Government, after pressure was applied by the Workmen's Council, ordered that all vacant houses should be occupied by the poor, with or without the consent of the owner, and a nominal rental paid. Recently the workmen have gone one better than the Government, placing the poor in the unoccupied rooms of larger houses, where sanitary conditions and the facility of access enables relief agencies to deal with their condition of semi-starvation.

The movement, which has been general throughout Vienna, has taken place without disorder, and the Government has not interfered, despite the protests of the comfortable classes.

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WILSON AND JOHNSON

On the eve of America's entry into war, President Wilson addressed the following letter to the Reform Club of New York City:

"Consider the situation of the present belligerents. Serbia wants a window to the sea, and is shut out by Austrian influence. Austria wants an outlet in the East, Constantinople or Salonica, Russia wants ice-free ports on the Baltic and Pacific, Constantinople, and a free outlet from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. Germany claims to be hemmed in by a ring of steel, and needs the facilities of Antwerp and Rotterdam for her Rhine Valley commerce, security against being shut from the East by commercial restrictions on the overland route, and freedom of the seas for her foreign commerce. England must receive uninterrupted supplies of food and raw materials, and her overseas communications must be maintained. This is true also of France, Germany, Belgium and other European countries. Japan, like Germany, must have opportunity for her expanding population, interests and commerce. The foreign policies of nations still at peace are also determined by trade relations. Our own country desires the open door in the East."

There you have the "ridiculous Marxian philosophy," as Senator Johnson describes it, vindicated by even President Wilson. In a word Wilson proves to us that the economic considerations of the ruling class of any country stand supreme.

We have witnessed in all countries the remarkable growth of foreign trade. Since 1915, America has extended its economic power into Europe. In September 1915, an Anglo-French Commission came to this country for the sole purpose of making a loan of \$500,000,000. The meeting was held in the home of J. Pierpont Morgan, attended by all the great men of Wall Street. At this meeting all finances and industrial magnates were urged by J. J. Hill, the railway king, to subscribe to this loan, in order that the Allies might buy their supplies from American merchants.

That meeting was of special interest to America. Not because of the fact that it was a meeting to loan money to the Allies. Neither because it was a meeting of "great" men. That meeting marked the turning point in the history of this country. It meant that London was no more the money centre of the world, that that center was now the city of New York. Within sixteen months of the time of that meeting taking place, America had succeeded in paying off a pre-war mortgage of \$5,000,000,000. About \$2,000,000,000 of this consisted of loans made to the Allies.

As to what has since happened, we leave the following unimpeachable authorities to state:

"It was recently publicly stated that prior to the war the United States was a debtor nation to the extent of \$4,000,000,000, but that the most available figures indicated that at least three-quarters of this indebtedness has been directly liquidated, and that in addition since the war began private investors in the United States have loaned to foreign governments between \$1,500,000,000 and \$2,000,000,000 which is still outstanding, while the Treasury Department has made available to the Allied Governments over \$8,000,000,000."

"Up to July 1st, 1918, we had exported more merchandise than we imported to the extent of ten million dollars, and Mr. Ryensky estimates that by the end of this year, we will be in a position of a creditor nation to the extent of \$9,000,000,000. This will mean a net annual income of about \$450,000,000, as against annual interest payments to foreigners, when we were a debtor nation, of \$175,000,000."

J. T. Walton, Newbold, M. A., a member of the I. L. P. of England, has for many months been occupied in an analysis of the power behind President Wilson. The results of his work will convince the most biased members of the Democratic and Republican parties of the fact, that Wilson represents the interests of the ruling class of this country. Wilson went to Paris backed by the support of that ruling class and all the sentimental pleas of Senator Johnson will not harm the policy of Wilson. Wilson stands with the ruling class behind him, on the other hand Johnson stands with a few Americans who still think that the America of yesterday is the America of today. Read the following extract from "The Menace of American Capitalism, or the Power Behind Wilson," and then think over what Johnson told you.

LEARNING TO "THINK INTERNATIONALLY."

In 1915, the National City Bank, under the guidance of Frank Vanderlip called into being the American International Corporation, capitalized, like the subsequent British Trade Corporation, at £10,000,000. It had "on its board the most prominent business men in the country." Its purpose was to make "banking an ally of commerce in the construction task of building new markets for our products, new fields of investments for surplus wealth, and a new co-operative function for American finance in developing the undeveloped resources of the 'world'." The private Bulletin issued to its members by the Federation of British Industries described this Corporation as a "potentially more powerful combination even than the pre-war German Cartels, backed and led by the German banks." It reported Vanderlip as saying—and mark carefully the underlying unity of principle in these words and in the utterances and policy of President Wilson:—

"These changes (wrought by the war) are bringing the United States new responsibilities and extraordinary opportunities. We must as a nation think internationally. Bulletin, F. B. I., 9-10-17.

"This new slogan for the United States industries was thus started eighteen months before the big Republic actually entered the European War. It has now been widely popularised, as well as intensified by that tremendous fact."

This American International Corporation has grown to be an incomparable influence in American and World politics. The next step in its onward march was for the National City Bank to acquire, by consent of the Federal authorities, the stock of the International Banking Corporation. This concern was formed in 1901 and was "the pioneer American bank to organize and operate a system of foreign branches. For seventeen years it has been specializing in the finance of American trade with Asia, especially China and the Philippines." (Board of Trade Journal, Jan. 16th, 1919.) "Its formation was the outcome of the widespread interest in Oriental trade, which was aroused by the United States obtaining control of the Philippines." Its "Shanghai office was opened for business on 15th May, 1902. The Peking, Hankow and Tientsin offices were opened a few years later, the first for the purpose of assisting the American group which had just become interested in the Chinese reorganization, or Six Power Loan. The Corporation has subsequently acted as the financial agent of the American group in China." Its office in Bishopsgate, London, is "at present the designated depository of the War, Navy and State Departments of the United States Government." It is represented most influentially on the board of the Russian Corporation Ltd.

The parent, American International Corporation, includes several great firms of public works, harbour and hydro-electric contractors, such as the Siemens-Carey Construction Company, which in 1916, sought and obtained Chinese consent to build 2,600 miles of railway and to engineer a Grand Canal Waterway, only to be balked by Japan on both occasions. All these firms desire, with the Federation of British Industries, to win access to Siberia, "the most gigantic prize offered to the civilised world since the discovery of the Americas." They know how the contractors entered Mexico to build railways and remained to possess the material basis of its political superstructure. They do not believe in military violence, but in commercial penetration and financial permeation.

The National City Bank has developed a strong connection with South America, where Wilson's son-in-law, Treasury Secretary McAdoo, concluded a series of commercial agreements in 1915 with these debtor Republics, left derelict by the drying up of European investment markets, and made it possible for them to dispose of their crops by dollar instead of sterling exchange. This bank now runs a special magazine, "The Americas," devoted to the Monroe Doctrine and the cult of Pan-Americanism. At the end of 1917, £80,000,000 of South American commerce had come to be transacted in dollar exchange, here London ruled before 1914.

All this means that "Standard Oil" has crept into the monetary domination of South America, the Far East, and is a powerful force even in India, and what were European preserves of British and French capitalism.

Wilson's "Sea Shuttles."

Banking and exchanges are the first considerations, and after that, the provision of a native mercantile marine. This the ubiquitous American International Corporation set out to obtain. It began by taking over the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and then acquired the New York Shipbuilding Company. In April, 1917, the Vice-President of the Corporation stated in International Marine Engineering:—

"We are generously equipped, ready to begin our struggle for our place upon the ocean. We have arrived at a crisis in our commercial history. If we grasp it our trade will be immensely extended."

Meanwhile, McAdoo had set up the United States Shipping Board and, in this very month, established the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, a Federal concern in which the U. S. Government held a majority of the shares, and which, with a capital of £10,250,000, set out to purchase and to build ships to charter or to lease to U. S. citizens to operate in the foreign trade. This new Corporation not only took over all the interned German and Austrian ships lying in U. S. harbours, but by the autumn of 1917 the Shipping Board had "requisitioned every ton of shipping under construction in American yards. The larger part of these vessels were being constructed for English companies. This drastic action placed in the hands of the Shipping Board 403 vessels, or 2,500,000 tons. (World's Work, Dec. 1917.) About this time, the American International Corporation secured from J. P. Morgan and Co. control of the International Mercantile Marine Co. and others of the fleets of the White Star, Leyland, American, and other lines, and a measure of control in the shipbuilding firm of Harland and Wolff Ltd. Since that time, the Belfast firm has been making vast extensions on the Clyde, at Liverpool and elsewhere. It was this "deal" that caused the Federation of British Industries to send out a frantic "S. O. S." It is the £18,000,000 of ships belonging to these lines which the U. S. Government would not permit to be sold to a British syndicate, whose alternate kicks and squels have been causing the writer much amusement during recent months. The Hamburg-America, Norddeutscher Lloyd and American "pool" steamships which, before the war, did a prodigious trade to the East, to Central and South America and to Europe, are now under the control of the American International Corporation, the protection of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation and the spreading folds of the Star Spangled Banner.

To beat the German submarines, the Emergency Fleet Corporation embarked on a colossal shipbuilding effort. It made the American International Corporation its agent, and this body founded the American International Shipbuilding Corporation to look to its shipbuilding business. A "world's record" yard was laid out at Hog Island of the Delaware, to construct fifty ships simultaneously, and to build into them 7,500 tons of steel a day. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation had been making enormous profits and had, just outside Penn's city of Philadelphia, a cynical memorial to Christian brotherhood busy on £50,000,000 of munition orders in the biggest ordnance factory on earth. Charles M. Schwab, its president, having under his control the Union Iron Works at San Francisco, the Fore River Yard in New England, and other establishments, set out to help the Government transform the United States into "one huge factory for the production of ships." He, first of all, bought up several big steel works, put down immense new rolling mills for ship-plates, and proceeded to lay out new Bethlehem yards in California and in New England. Then, says Syren and Shipping (Jan. 1, 1919), he was "persuaded, on the personal appeal of President Wilson," to become Director-General of Shipbuilding. By October of last year, the U. S. Congress had voted \$3,449,000,000 for shipbuilding purposes. Great inland bridge-building plants were employed turning out standard framework which was sent down to the coast to be assembled into ships. By the autumn of 1918, the Official U. S. Bulletin could claim that they had "more yards, more ways, and more workers than any other nation," in fact, that there were now 200 shipyards with 1,020 building berths. "The deliveries to the Shipping Board in August broke all world's records in the production of ocean-going tonnage, and established the United States as the leading shipbuilding nation of the world." The aim of the U. S. in regard to shipping was officially put forward by the head of the Shipping Board when he said:—

"Our railroads must no longer stop at the ocean. We are building a merchant fleet of 25,000,000 tons. Vast

American passenger and cargo liners will run regularly to every port in Latin America, the Orient, Africa, and Australia. Once more we shall have a real U. S. merchant fleet under way, backed by far-reaching policies for efficient operation."

No wonder the Compendium remarked in September last:—"On the high seas, the war is already won." But America is only beginning. By the time her programme has been carried out she will be leading the world as a ship-producing and ship-owning state in the new league of nations. Britain will cease to be the predominant maritime party."

These ships are to carry American exports to the uttermost ends of the earth and to bring back the imports in which the world's people will pay their tribute to the National City Bank of New York and all it represents.

"Democratizing" the U. S. Railroads.

McAdoo went from the Treasury to be Director-General of Railroads, and in that office surrounded himself with a picked staff of assistants from the Harriman-Rockefeller railroads, including the cleverest corporation lawyer the "interests" have discovered in recent times. This gentleman was placed by Wilson's son-in-law in charge of "Legal Matters." McAdoo and his staff of "safe" men proceeded to co-ordinate the various lines and to override or abolish all the anti-trust laws against which the railroads had been doing battle for twenty or thirty years. Whilst in charge of the lines, McAdoo told the railwaymen not to take part in politics and, at the same time as he proceeded to spend £100,000,000 on improving their properties, made the corporations aware that he was not in favour of nationalisation. Neither is his father-in-law. Wilson's latest utterance on the pressing railroad problem is a plea for a "modified private control, under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and under such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected." (World's Work, Jan., 1919.) This, we are told, is what "Harriman hinted at" when he said that "the combination of different railroads should be regulated by law."

The railroads must be rebuilt—or should we say honestly built—at the expense of the Government, in order that billions of dollars of commodities may be transported to the Atlantic and to the Pacific, for carriage in a colossal mercantile marine to every corner of the Old World. Before vacating office, McAdoo recommended a continuance of some measure of control and the electrification of the railroads. There has recently been formed an American International Steel Corporation "to compete with the U. S. Steel Corporation for foreign trade," and to include twenty-five firms, consolidating the Bethlehem and Midvale Steel Corporations, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's Lackawanna Steel Company and the two Rockefeller steel plants, the Republic Inland Steel Company and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This £400,000,000 combination is, probably, getting ready, not only for foreign business, but to provide the steel for rebuilding the railroads at home. The great hydro-electric contractors—mainly "Standard Oil" in domination will, undoubtedly, carry through the installation and operation of electric power. The National City Bank saw in September last "the promise to-day of an enormous development of electrification." So do we, in Britain, in the same manner, for this very reason and under identical methods of regulated private control.

Coal and Cotton.

Now, that the re-organisation of the railroads has facilitated the shipment of coal, and that by March there should have been an increase of 16 per cent. in American production, Sir Adam Nimmo assures us that the United States.

"With her large output and low cost of production... will doubtless be able to bring very great pressure to bear upon our European markets in an effort to displace British coal."

Already she has seriously invaded the South American market, as well as that of Genoa and Paris, and so is beginning to threaten the trade of South Wales, and to strike at our most valuable export business.

Hard upon this comes the news that four textile export associations have banded together into one body to further the export of these staples of Lancashire and Yorkshire, already menaced by Japanese competition.

Finance, shipping, shipbuilding, iron and steel, coal and cotton—as supremacy in these slips from Britain's fingers, what remains for her whereon she can rear her fabric of political eminence, of maritime supremacy, of imperial pride?

There remains for her the British Navy. President Wilson demands the Freedom of the Seas and offers as an alternative the prospect, nay, the certainty of proceeding with the construction of the greatest navy in the world, wherewith he and Vanderlip and Chas. M. Schwab will teach us the virtue of "thinking internationally."

"Democracy" At Home.

Such is the power which stands behind President Wilson as he argues and pleads and dictates at Paris. Gompers is also in Europe, with his passports vised, to persuade the European Labour Movement that trade unionism has nothing to do with Socialism. The American Socialist Party could not get its passports to Berne, it could not get them to the Inter-Allied Conference in London last autumn. Eugene Debs is serving a sentence of ten years' penal servitude for no more serious crime than Ramsay MacDonald has repeatedly committed. Mrs. Stokes will serve her long sentence for expressing sentiments repugnant to Wilson's Government, but no more than Mrs. Snowden may say in this country under Lloyd George. Bill Haywood and his hundred comrades of the I. W. O. serve some, their twenty year sentences, whilst the man whom they fought for decent conditions in the mines of Bisbee, J. D. Ryan, colleague of Rogers and Rockefeller in the copper speculations of 1887 to 1903, is President Wilson's Director of Aircraft Production.

Charlie Schwab, compared by the "New York Evening Post" to Whitaker Wright, at the time when he "looted" the Shipbuilding Trust in 1903; the man whose character was for ever delineated before the Senate Committee on the armour plate frauds at the Carnegie Steel Works, where he was superintendent in 1895; the magnate to join whom McAdoo is said to be betaking himself, has accompanied President Wilson to Paris as one of his commercial advisers. With them is McCormick hawking his reapers and binders. (Written while President Wilson was in Europe.—Ed. Truth.)

Senator Johnson in reply to President Wilson indulges in vague sentimentalism that carries no weight with serious-minded people. When Bryan commenced his fight against the Trusts, he pursued exactly the same line of policy that Senator Johnson is now pursuing. You cannot retard the evolution of industry. You might as well try to turn back the tides of the ocean. The League of Nations Treaty will be carried out, despite any opposition that the United States Senate may present. The League of Nations is the logical development of industry. From the small business to the company, from the company to the trust and so on, until today we see in the League of Nations an international trust. With the movement of capital beyond the confines of the country in which it was produced, the strategic problem of defense entirely changes in character. The de-

fense of the country become subordinate to the defence of foreign markets or their control. Neither a national army or navy can provide adequate protection for surplus wealth exported abroad. A League of Nations becomes the surest guarantee of the safety of capitalist property abroad. The economic determinism which at one period controlled policies that made for war, now inspires the policy that would preserve peace. True it is that in the capitalist system war is made when it pays peace when it is made more profitable.

A careful reading of the facts brought forth by comrade Newbold are proof positive that Wilson represents the Imperialistic policies of the ruling class of America. Johnson represents the old ideas of the days when the capitalists of America were developing the home market. Even the local Republican leaders, those that are the hangers-on of the Steel Trust, did not deem it wise to appear on the same platform as Johnson. They knew that Johnson's opposition to the League of Nations served them politically, as a means of retaining Republican control of the State of Minnesota, but they also knew that the ideas as represented by Johnson were not in harmony with those expressed by their master—Judge Gary. So they found themselves in a peculiar position. Johnson was one of their party, yet at the same time his stand on many questions such as using American boys as international policemen, was one that did not meet with their approval. As the leaders of the Democratic found it necessary to throw over W. J. Bryan, so will the Republican party throw over Johnson and Borah. These two senators are reminders of the past that lies buried.

The League of Nations is here and it is going to remain. Whether the United States Senate ratifies it or not, it will be used as a means to serve the interests of a unified capitalist class, made necessary by the world-war and the development of world industry. The working class that wastes its time attacking the League of Nations, will occupy the same position as the English king who tried to keep the waves of the ocean from washing over his feet. The wise worker, is that worker that recognizes the changes taking place and prepares his forces accordingly. The League of Nations is for the purpose of protecting the interests of those that created it. We have been told by the President that the moment the ink is dry upon the parchment and the Peace Pact has been ratified, then it is farewell to all our social ills. No more will the h-c-l worry us. The capitalist lion will lie down with the working class lamb. All will be well! But despite all the speeches the President may make or the swings around he may take, the people are not going to swing into that relieved contentment, that he so dearly wants them to do. For the realization, grows apace, is entering into the minds of the masses, that there is another war, a war that will be fought so long as there are exploiters and exploited, profiteers and wage-slaves in the world. It is the CLASS-WAR. And that war of the workers will continue until the workers, awakened to their exploitation, shall rise up and demand—aye do more than demand—TAKE the means of life. The workers will demand that the anarchic methods of capitalism must be scrapped and thrown upon the scrap-heap of economic evolution, and a new social order be initiated under a new system of society in which the masses of the people shall rule and only those who work shall eat.

Not only is the class struggle continuing uninterrupted, but it is intensifying. Today hundreds of thousands of steel workers are striking, yesterday it was the coal-dock-workers and the railroad shopmen. Tomorrow, the whole of the working class rising in their might and following the stirring example set by Russia, will rise up and overthrow the system that has cursed and degraded them. In Russia, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Silesia and many other places the revolt of the workers is going on. Elsewhere in the world there are significant murmurings in the ranks of the workers and the master class stands in fear of the future.

THE OLD ORDER IS DYING. THE NEW ONE IS ABOUT TO BE BORN.

Capitalism has played its part. As Lenin says, "Capitalism is dead but President Wilson is not aware of it." Capitalism, like barbarism, feudalism and chattel slavery, must pass away. It is but a stage in the development of human society. The time for its passing is here today.

Independent of the fratricidal struggles on the field of Mars the class-war will go on and on. Until the workers banded together in a League of Workers throw off their chains and throw capitalism and its bastard child—the League of Nations—on to the scrap heap and erect the Soviet Republic of the World.

Do not allow ourselves to be fooled by the League of Nations. Do not waste your time combating it. The working class witnessed the rise of the trust, but they did not waste their time fighting it. Instead they commenced to organize into industrial unions and fight power with power. We will organize the workers of the world into the Third International. We shall meet the INTERNATIONAL OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS—the League of Nations—with the INTERNATIONAL OF THE WORKING CLASS—the Third International. We shall organize our forces in order that we may capture these forces of the political State, since it is the State that directs the use of armed forces against the working class. We shall carry our propaganda, masters of America and the world, right into your armies and navies. We shall prove to the soldiers and sailors that your League of Nations is to perpetuate your power so that you might enslave the working class for many years to come. We shall urge all members of the working class, no matter what their job is, to organize in the one big union of their class and in that hour, masters of America and the world, we shall see the mighty forces of Labor, long prostrated, degraded and dumb, aflame with the spirit of revolution and Communism, and across the frontiers of nations we shall stretch out the hand of comradeship and amidst the happy laughter of smiling children, who know not the horrors of this bloodiest war in all history, we will turn the cannons right around and upon the fields of battle, the blood-soaked fields of Flanders and the world we will erect the new social order.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONALE!

SUCCESS TO COMMUNISM!

RELEASE OF ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!

THE STEEL STRIKE

The only reports that we have been able to obtain relative to the Steel Strike, are those that have been appearing in the capitalist press. We are in communication with John Fitzpatrick president of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Robert M. Buck, editor of the New Majority and will present their report to our readers in our next issue. So far there are 284,000 workers out on strike and the list of dead is ten. If you can assist the strikers in any way kindly do so to the best of your ability. The success of the steel strike means the beginning of the end of capitalism.

Politicians can feel safe these days. We read that the price of eggs is still going up.