

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

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1c. Paid.
Duluth Minn.
Permit No. 40.

VOL. III—No. 43

14

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1919

WHOLE NO. 124.

FIVE CENTS.

SOVIET WILL FIGHT UNTIL LAST MAN

SOVIET IS PERMANENT, SAYS ROBERT MINOR

Bunk About Bolshevism Won't Overcome Workers' Republic, Robert Minor Tells Duluth Audience.

Robert Minor, the well-known American war correspondent and cartoonist, who was in Russia during the revolution of the Bolsheviks against the government of Kerensky, which resulted in the establishment of the first Workers' Republic of the world, spoke to an audience that filled to the doors the Woodman Hall. We had to turn many people away. The majority of the audience being in their seats one hour before the scheduled time for the lecture. We trust that in the very near future we will have a hall that will accommodate all those who desire to know the truth about Russia and things in general.

Minor Warmly Received.

Upon his appearance on the platform Minor was given a great ovation. He said, in part:

In Petrograd I walked into the palace of a former grand duke. I saw a soldier playing upon the grand duke's piano. In another room one hundred and fifty working men were being taught how to read and write. This is certainly a significant change in the world's affairs. The last three years have been more significant in the changing of the world's affairs than the three centuries previous.

The world war was not the greatest thing; the Russian revolution is only a part—it is the great social revolution that is now going on in every part of the world that is significant. Many men do not know that this change is going on. The Russian revolution is a spectacular example of the big upheaval now in progress. It doesn't follow that all will occur in other countries like it has occurred in Russia. We have learned lots of things to do and lots of things not to do from Russia.

Some men are now engaged in an armed blockade to prevent intercourse with Russia. These men are endeavoring to extinguish Russia's social experiment so that we will never know what has really happened there. We hear that Petrograd has fallen. We have heard that before. I remember reading many times that Nicholas Lenin had been shot and killed, in the columns of the great newspapers. I remember when Leon Trotsky, mounted on a white horse, leading his army of bolsheviks, was killed by a cannon ball—in the columns of the bought press. I remember, following this distressful incident, when the same Trotsky was reported in the same papers as having put Lenin in jail. I recall reading later when Trotsky, after his sudden demise, was reported having been in Berlin to see his paymaster, the Kaiser, and later from the same reliable kept press I learned that Trotsky as admiral of the bolshevik navy had been sunk by the British fleet. How often have we read of the death of these two men, reported in the newspapers of big business. Now we hear Petrograd has fallen and over the Kremlin in Moscow there still floats a flag of red.

How Wild Years Originate.

There is a world-wide propaganda against Russia. I have sat in cafes in Stockholm and Christiania and have seen newspaper

correspondents making up wild tales about the red horror. In one of these places a former Russian princess hangs around and vamps the correspondents, who alter their copy to please her. In another place I met a cousin of Nicholas Romanoff and other down-and-out royalty, who spend their time catering to the correspondents and injecting poison into what they write. I saw a former grand duke send in a column of absolute bunk—the kind of stuff that caused U. S. troops to be sent to Russia and caused the loss of American lives. Ninety-nine per cent. of the stuff printed about Russia is absolutely false or biased. Stories are printed about the nationalization of women. No one except the delegates to the Paris peace conference have taken this story seriously. There is no nationalization of women in Russia in the manner the word is usually implied. And there are no painted women walking the streets soliciting money from men. There are no laws in Russia which regard women differently from men except in two instances. The first is, women with small children receive extra food allowances. Second, expected mothers receive a vacation for three months and free food, shelter and hospital care from the soviet government.

I recently read a story in a London paper telling how a ferocious army of Chinese bolsheviks had bombarded Moscow with heavy artillery. I was sitting on a bench in a public square in Moscow at the time of this alleged bombardment and knew nothing of it until I read it later in the London papers. The story was a pure fake. I never saw over a dozen Chinese in bolshevik uniform during my entire visit in Russia. However, Kolchak's anti-bolshevik forces have thousands of them.

Another story was printed that the bolsheviks had raided bourgeois homes and had carried away the young women. Nothing like this happened. On the day this outrage was supposed to have occurred a vast parade of workers ratifying the soviets was being held. The only bourgeois girls I saw near the bolsheviks were running typewriters for the soviet government.

Russian Workers Are Sober.

There are no drunken persons in Russia. Prohibition works in Russia if it doesn't in Duluth. There are no riots and no unruly mobs in Russia. Moscow is more orderly than Gary, Ind. Holdups are unknown in Russia, but when I returned to New York I was held up by thugs the first night after I returned.

The bolsheviks have been blamed for the red terror W. H. Taft, the man who clasped the hand of ex-Czar Nicholas, has said: "We cannot forgive the soviet for the red terror."

I saw the red terror from the start to the finish. There was a red terror, but have you ever heard of the white terror?

My story of the white terror was sent back to America, but the British censor controlling all European news refused to permit it to pass. There were 4,500 persons killed in the red terror. Over 76,000 men, women and children were killed in the white terror.

(Continued on Page 2)

COUNTRY, SPURRED TO DETERMINATION BY BELIEF KOLCHAK AND DENIKINE REPRESENT CZARISM, WILL LOSE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS BEFORE GIVING UP

By ISAAC DON LEVINE.

Riga, Livonia, Oct. 19 (Via Copenhagen, Denmark, Oct. 25.)—Conditions in Soviet Russia are serious but not critical. The Soviet government is not tottering. On the contrary, it is firmer in the saddle than ever and is exercising unlimited dictatorial power. It will not capitulate although the western world is still fed on the ancient illusion of Petrograd's impending fall. But even if Petrograd is taken by General Yudenitch, which is not likely, it is only to be recaptured soon by the Bolsheviks. If Moscow is taken, it will be only after hundreds of thousands of Russians have been slaughtered. Even then the Soviet government will not surrender, but will fight for every inch of the ground from Moscow to Siberia, especially since communist prestige inevitably follows in the trail of the charge that General Denikine and General Yudenitch are reactionaries working for the restoration of czarism.

To-day the majority of Russians are against communistic control of the government, but they are more hostile toward General Denikine and the return of the monarchy and the landlords. The Russians, however, prefer the Soviet form of government. General Denikine and the entente are the best allies of the Bolsheviks and are keeping them in power. Wherever General Denikine's Cossacks and wild tribesmen pass Bolshevism gains a new lease of life. If General Denikine were to defeat the Red army this fall it would not end the Russian problem, but would introduce a reign of veritable chaos, for Bolshevism is certain to come back with a vengeance. If given peace the Russian people would quickly place more moderate elements instead of communists in the Soviets.

People Forgotten.

The Russian masses cry out, but nobody heeds their voice. In

setting the Russian problem the world forgot the Russian people. Its suffering defies description. France wants its pounds of flesh—debts contracted by the czars. Lenin wants a social millennium on earth. Between the two a great country is being bled white. There is no food in Petrograd. There is no fuel in Moscow. Epidemics are beginning to rage. And this when American bread is being rushed into Helsingfors, Reval, Riga, and Libau.

What have the Russian women and children done to deserve such a fate at the hands of the civilized world? Is the question asked by all but the Communists and Cossacks of Russia. No impartial observer can leave Soviet Russia to-day without delivering this message from millions of Russians terrified at the prospect of the coming winter with its hunger, cold and disease.

From a dictatorship of the proletariat the Soviet government it rapidly becoming a military dictatorship. The military situation now dominates everything, and civil functions of the Soviet institutions are being taken over by revolutionary defense councils. Blockaded by its enemies the Soviet government is compelled to postpone social reconstruction and concentrate all vital resources to the prosecution of the war which is waged with masterful organization and skill. There is strong opposition to the severe war regime within the ranks of the communists, a strong group of the latter standing against rule and for internal reforms. But so, long as the British and French keep Denikin, Udenitch, and Kolchak, in the field, so long will Soviet Russia be ruled by extremists and extraordinary commissions.

Big Victory.

During my stay in Russia there was one moment when the moderate Bolsheviks secured a big vic-

tory. There was uncovered in Moscow an extensive counter-revolutionary organization maintaining intercourse with General Denikine, receiving financial support from Admiral Kolchak and preparing for the overthrow of the Soviet government. The full story of this remarkable conspiracy I will send later. There followed thousands of arrest by an extraordinary commission. When General Denikine learned of the arrest of General Dimitrieff, one of the leaders of a secret officers' organization, he threatened the Soviet government by wireless that in case General Dimitrieff was executed that reprisals would be taken.

More than 100 persons responsible for the plot were shot as enemy agents. In the midst of this tension a bomb was thrown into the hall where the Moscow communist central committee was in session, causing three deaths. This provoked the indignation of the masses, strengthening the extremists considerably since it was thought that the bomb was thrown by members of the counter-revolutionary organization at large.

At the funeral of the victims of the explosion there was an imposing manifestation of Soviet power. Certain communist sections marched under banners inscribed with a demand for the "Red terror," and the mass extermination of the Bourgeoisie. For a day or two there was great anxiety lest there be a repetition of the outbreak of mass terror, such as followed the attempt on Lenin's life last year. However, the central committee of the community party took quick action.

Lenine, supported by the majority, carried the field against the terror and the extremist agitation was stopped. Later it was discovered that the bomb was thrown by anarchists, who have recently become active again.

FRANCE AND SYRIA

The Times correspondent in the Middle East sent from Damascus on August 15th a very frank account of the situation there. The Vicomte Robert de Caix, in the Bulletin de l'Asie Française, has complained that whilst the British Government, by the Sykes-Picot secret agreement of 1916 a sphere of French influence, this agreement was in conflict with one it had made with the pledged itself to leave Syria as King of the Hedjaz in 1915, and which had been kept secret from the French.

The Times correspondent admits the accusation, explaining the matter thus:—

"Our secret diplomats during the war banked so little on victory that not only did they distribute pledges right and left seeking aid from any quarter, but they did not even take the trouble to avoid contradictions in their pledges. The ill-starred Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, which assigned as a French sphere of influence the whole of Syria, as well as the vilayets of Adana, Diarbekr and Mosul, besides proving a source of deep discontent to our Italian Allies, who, unlike Russia, were not participants, was, as M. de Caix says, compatible with a previous secret agreement between ourselves and the Arabs.

"It was in any case an entirely indefensible proceeding to dispose of the future of these people without reference

either to themselves or to our own democracies."

This last observation is very just, but we never find any objection in the columns of the Times to the disposal of the "future of peoples without reference either to themselves or to our own democracies" when they are to come under British rule. But though the Times correspondent says the secret agreement was wrong, he asserts that the British authorities are sticking to it. He says that British officers have been instructed:

"To do everything possible to promote good relations between the French and the Arabs to have no political secrets from the French officers."

But the Times correspondent tells us the French officers do not believe in the disinterested intentions of the British; they are in an "excited" and "touchy" state. This, he says, is because they find themselves. "In a country which they believed friendly and enthusiastic, but find to be actively hostile and suspicious. ... At a meeting in Aleppo a majority in favour of the French was secured by the unexpected and spontaneous presence of a number of British officers, who voted solidly for France in the hope that this striking manifestation of the popular will would lead to their own speedy withdrawal from the country."

These are most interesting statements: so the French soldiers, even the officers, were mis-

led into the belief that the people of Syria wanted them to occupy the country! The British people are made to believe similar silly stories in regard to the many countries occupied by British troops.

The Times correspondent goes on to explain that the British taxpayers' money is being paid to the Syrian Arabs, though the French want to take over "this expensive privilege," and that it may take 100,000 soldiers two years to subdue the country. The situation has become simply an issue between Mahomedan and Christian. The Vicomte de Caix asserts that the British have engineered this "deplorable" result, the Times correspondent says. He declares that the Syrian Christians would prefer a French to as British occupation but "The Muslims, the overwhelming majority ... would like to be left to their own sweet will ... failing that, the British, or better still ... some more remote power such as America."

The French propose to give Syria a measure of autonomy "under French supervision" and to make Prince Feisal the ruler, but Prince Feisal, we are told, though Lloyd George has urged him strongly to come to an agreement with Clemenceau, is supposed to be at one with the French Party, and to have said that "if the French want Damascus they must take it." Meanwhile, the young Arab Party says: "No life without independence: Syria must be undivided."

IDEA OF BOLSHEVIK AS RUFFIAN IS WRONG

Leaders Men of Great Intelligence; Advanced in Efficiency.

By W. T. GOODE.
Manchester, Eng., Oct. 22.—Moscow was gray and dull. There was a quality of tension in the atmosphere which may have been due, I left, to the presence of a strong government joined to an ignorance of the relation in which at any moment one might stand towards it.

For that it is a strong government is beyond dispute. The idea that it is composed of men who forced themselves into offices for which they were entirely unfit seems to me, after months of experience among them, quite outside the truth. The eighteen commissaries, or ministers, are men of unusual intelligence—in some cases of high technical qualifications. And however they have been chosen they were well chosen.

Lenine himself, whatever opinion may be held of his ideas, is by way of being a political genius. Krassin, commissary for transports, is a highly qualified technician and was formerly manager for all the Russias of the Siemens-Schuckert company. His organizing powers are undoubted.

Men of "Solid Ability."

Lunacharsky, commissary of education, is a man in love with his work and one who has that rare quality in an educational reformer—vision—and he labors to materialize his visions.

Milutin, commissary of industries, is professor of economics at Moscow university. Karski, commissary of justice, is a local lawyer. While in Tomski and Melnikhansky of the professional unions; Dr. Semassko, state hygiene; Mrs. Lebedev, doctor of medicine of the maternity branch of the commissariat on social maintenance, and Siderski of food control, not to mention others, the government has people of solid ability, great experience and considerable powers for work.

Marvelous Power for Work.

The commissaries of the people form real executives and they are men of grip. They recoil from no act which they consider justifiable in the interests of the government. And here is, I think, one of the secrets of their power. Another is their capacity for work. The stories of orgies and of self-seeking are quite false. A London clerk lives better than they do. Their lives are simple. Their habits and dress equally so (I saw only one of them who was at all well dressed), and the reality is a life of work to which a convict's task is child's play.

They bear marks of the strain under which they live. I do not know what is the average number of hours worked daily by the commissaries, but one of them works regularly from lunch time to 3 or 4 o'clock a. m. and has never been known to go out to breathe the fresh air; another takes only five hours sleep; still another less.

Administration Is Praised.

I mention this only to show the character of the men who are in the forefront of bolshevism, and to put down coldly my own experience with them. But even these men could not hold their own without a good organization to back them. This they have.

And the western world should realize that politically and administratively the organization is strong and complete.

The commissariat or ministries are well housed, elaborately organized and highly staffed.

Number of the bourgeois and former functionaries are employed, and at first one of the greatest dangers and difficulties was the amount of sabotage experienced. But this was dealt with ruthlessly and sabotage was made one of the crimes answerable to a revolutionary tribunal—the extraordinary commission.

The head and front of the whole organization is supplied by pure socialists—communists—who have a party organization of their own to which the leaders belong. Its discipline, self imposed, is complete and unique and is rigidly observed. When called upon for some duty, however distasteful, the professed communist must obey without hesitation. At times even the leaders are ordered off into the country to some part where propaganda, explanation or justification is needed, and they go.

Punishment to Fit Responsibility.

In cases where some lapse occurs—bribery or lawbreaking—if the offender be a noncommunist, he is punished with prison; if a communist, he is shot as a traitor to his principles. It will be seen, then, that the communists form the spearhead of bolshevism and are a formidable weapon.

But for supervision of the whole organization of government there has been set up a department of state control which deserves a brief description. It is subdivided and covers the whole administration, concerning itself only with officials, not with private persons, and its powers extend to all departments, to the chief executive committee, even to the commissaries of the people. It controls the finances and budget. It is capable of compelling departments to improve their work, and can stop overlapping of departments and duplication of work. It has suppressed departments as unnecessary. If an official does work that is unsatisfactory, it can recommend his removal and it can and does prosecute incompetent or sinning officials.

Instructs While It Governs.

And not only does it control; it also instructs, and sends down officials to teach those in provincial town or local soviets.

One of the greatest difficulties experienced by the bolsheviks has been in finding competent officials for soviets in the country. They found themselves up against the besetting sin of old bureaucracy, and they themselves trace many of their errors to the character of the men they employed at first. But they have set out to supply themselves with more reliable elements.

In the palatial club of Moscow merchants they have established a school of soviet workers, with 700 students drawn from all parts of Russia by the local soviets, whose expenses are paid, and a course of four months provided in matters relating to local government.

A test has to be passed at the close of the course, and when it (Continued on page 2)

DEFECTIVE PAGE

A Real Snap!

Do You Want to Save

\$34.00?

This fine Premium Base Burner, largest size, three flue, worth \$132.50 on today's market, on sale while PRESENT STOCK LASTS at last year's price—\$98.50.

The Reason

We carry over about half a carload of these fine heaters, due to last year's shortage of hard coal. Now there is enough hard coal to go around and you can get your heater at last year's price.

This Is A Real Snap

ANDERSON FURNITURE COMPANY



TRUTH OCTOBER 31, 1919 NO. 2

Overcoats

at
\$35 and \$50

A big showing in overcoats is here for the first week of wintry weather.
2nd Floor Daylight Clothes Shop.

Splendid selections of overcoats at \$35.00 and \$50.00.

A beautiful fur-collared coat at \$60.00.

Third Ave. W.
at
Duluth.Superior,
at
Broadway.

FOOT NOTE: Shoes and rubbers for the whole family.

Soviet Is Permanent Says Rober Minor

(Continued from page 1)

terror, which preceded it. These persons were stood against walls and shot in cold blood because they were bolshevists. But that's not murder. That's called "restoring order." The white terror began first—the red terror was only retaliation and defense. The bolshevists are hated not because they have shed blood. It is because they have shed somebody's money.

I met a diplomat who had spent several years in Russia. He could only speak a smattering of the Russian language—just enough to give orders to the servants. I asked him why he never learned Russian. "Oh," he said, "all of the better classes in Russia speak English, and we get our information from the better classes."

It is through this information that the bolsheviks have been misrepresented. The strength of the bolsheviks has been ridiculed. Upon this misinformation the allies made plans. Hundreds of lives would have been saved if the allies had been told the truth. They were asked to plunge into war to exterminate Labor's republic. The allies want to establish democracy, but Russia is not given a voice. If the allies want democracy, why don't they make their troops en route to Russia stop in Japan and make it democratic?

Kings Are Still on the Job.

With all the brattle about democracy, we see kings everywhere thrust forward. The king, not a president, of Belgium is visiting the United States, and the Kaiser's cousin is to be officially recognized here—the Prince of Wales.

Only the soviet is not welcome. That is because the soviet has dared to confiscate the holdings of capital, and for that very reason every worker should rise up on his hind legs and shout: "Hands off Russia!"

In my calm judgment the present Russian soviet government is a permanent one. I don't believe that Moscow can be overthrown. The soviet government is not weak. The bolsheviks have 1,500,000 disciplined troops and it is the only army in Europe that can be depended upon to obey the orders of its officers. When French ships were sent to bombard Odessa, the sailors hoisted the red flag and sailed away. An Italian ship, sent out for the same purpose, wound up in Cuba.

When Kerensky headed the government he was beset with strikes. The workers struck for first 100, then 200 and finally 500 per cent increase in pay. The bosses showed the workers their books and said that they couldn't pay the wages. The workers put the bosses in wheelbarrows and trundled them out of the factories—in other words, forcing the bosses out on strike.

Kerensky sought to put down these strikes by the only method known to the bosses—shooting the strikers. Committees from the workers visited the soldiers and

the officers were sent back to Kerensky with their hands tied. Peasants confiscated the land under Kerensky—they did this long before they ever heard of bolshevism.

Kerensky personally told me that the workingmen asked the soldiers not to salute their officers, and the soldiers obeyed despite Kerensky's order to the contrary.

Industrial Government Strongest

There were two governments in Russia—a political and industrial—and in all tests the industrial was the stronger. D. R. Francis, a St. Louis stock broker, was America's representative while these things were going on. He couldn't understand the trend of affairs or what was in the workers' minds.

Kerensky conspired with Korniloff to bring Cossacks into Petrograd and shoot down the workers who were violating the law by driving the bosses out on strike. In order to make it appear that the desired conflict was a battle for defense, guns and hand grenades were given the striking workers by Kerensky's government. The workers went out to meet the Cossacks. They carried with them the most dangerous weapon of all—hand bills. They distributed their messages among Korniloff's army, which melted away like a snowball.

When the soldiers got back, they forgot who loaned them the guns and hand grenades. They kept the weapons and that was the end of Kerensky.

When the soviets decided to abolish Kerensky, it was the matter of a few hours—a bayonet clash or two and all was over. A minority made that revolution. It was a minority that made the American revolution. The majority in Russia followed and the soviets have been approved by the majority from that day on.

In Russia there are three political parties, and all approve of the soviet. The whole purpose of the soviet is to extend democracy further than it has ever been extended before—into the industrial field—into the shop.

Any person over 20 years of age engaged in useful production with either hand or brawn has a voice in the government.

The bolsheviks offered to help lick the kaiser, if they were given contact with the outside world, but they were denied that contact. The Finns asked the kaiser to send one of his princely sons to lead their nations and were recognized by the great powers. The Ukrainians were given French artillery and allies' gold and then went over to help the Germans.

Bourgeois Are Sab-Cats.

When the soviets came into power in Russia—it was the bourgeois class who practiced sabotage. They wrecked trains and put emery dust into delicate machinery. Lenin met William Shatoff, an American I. W. W. agitator, and appointed him to the task of getting rid of the bourgeois "sab-cats" who were trying to wreck the soviet administration of affairs. Shatoff did a good job.

Plans of America to help the bolsheviks were dropped when Sisson reported that the bolsheviks were pro-Germans. Lenin placed a former Cleveland, Ohio, sweat shop worker in charge of a battalion of troops. A raincoat maker from Chicago was made commander of a regiment. In 1918 the profiteers began to get in their work. Bread sold for \$1 a pound, sugar \$6 a pound, and butter sold for \$7.50 a pound. There was no bread to be had for many weeks. You don't know what bread it if you have never been in a famine. I used to dream about bread. Even axle grease on wagon wheels excited my appetite. I got hold of a small piece of rotten bacon one day and ate it raw. Famine resulted in the deaths of thousands of people in the summer of 1918. While we were waiting for the Volga wheat crop to relieve our misery, the Czechoslovaks seized the crop. It was the most terrible blow ever struck against a starving nation. The workers rose and drove the raiders out.

When Kolchak captures bolsheviks, he usually murders them

on the spot, but occasionally he cuts off their noses and ears and turns them loose. Kolchak's army carries a trainload of women who wait upon his officers. The war cry of Kolchak is: "Hang every Jew in Russia." As a result over 50,000 Jews have already been killed in programs started by Kolchak. Kolchak's army assassinated soviet officials and an attempt was made to assassinate Lenin—then the red terror started. The red terror was the finish of food profiteers who were charging one dollar a loaf for bread. When the bolsheviks recaptured the Volga valley, the price of food dropped 90 per cent.

Some Huge Pay Envelopes.

In Russian factories under the soviet rule, the workers are seen leaving with pay envelopes three feet long—sacks of flour. They are paid in food and other needed articles. Single workers get single portions, but family men get an extra portion for their wives and children. The kids bring trucks to the factories to help their father bring home the week's wages. The business men who do not work are allowed one-quarter portions, but are told when they do useful work they can have the same as workingmen. An oil magnate whose wells were taken away by the government, draws a large salary and lives in a fine house, but he calls his chauffeur "comrade."

The bolsheviks have solved problems that we have not solved. They have appropriated more money for educational purposes than any other nation in the world. They give free food, clothes and shelter to students while they attend college.

The czar's imperial ballet now dances for workmen in Moscow. Theatres are doing better business than ever before, with workers for audiences. In a co-operative restaurant I asked the manager why the orchestra played only classic airs. "Since the soviet, the musicians refuse to play jazz," he said.

Europe is a tinder-box, and the soviet is the only government that can rule in the far east. It asks to be let alone and will pay both the czar's debts and those of Kerensky's. Are the plutocratic governments so insane and criminal as to send a Jan army in a conquest against white races?

Cannot Stop Big Turn-Over.

They say that there will be an industrial revolution unless the soviet is destroyed. I say there will be that change whether it is or not. The Italian and the Spanish governments will last only a few months. England will continue to take more and more orders from the trades unions. In America we have the Plumb plan. This is only a concession of Labor's power. It is a move of the capitalists to get out from under.

You cannot trust the bourgeois class to run the world. The workers are making them act. I have seen workers in Germany fighting to establish control by the workers. I have seen workers in Paris slashed by the sabers of Clemenceau's troops for May Day celebrations, and similar scenes are being enacted in America. In America men are imprisoned with wrists chained to bars nine hours a day, and are sentenced to jail for 20 years for being opposed to war, while in other countries two years was the maximum. Even poor old Turkey has released her political prisoners.

Demand Release of Political Exiles.

Eugene V. Debs, that grand old man, is rotting in jail because he had a political opinion that the Kolchaks of America didn't agree with. I say release every political prisoner and conscientious objector in the United States.

We hear that Mooney is going to be released. Mooney will not be released until you release him. The reactionary forces of America will not release Mooney until American labor makes it absolutely necessary.

The Russian soviets are determining whether the workers' back in all countries shall continue to be remembered that these 700 can be turned out three times a year.

When You Are Hungry Go To

Oliver Restaurant
2000 W. Superior St.
for good things to eat.

Beautiful

Chrysanthemums and Poinsettias are now in season.
All out of town orders given prompt attention.

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bend in the future and whether our children shall be raised for butcher's meat for the financiers. Withdraw the troops and lift the blockade from Russia.

Idea Of Bolshevik As Ruffian Wrong

(Continued from page 1)

the influence of such a move can be understood. In addition, in the same school the Communist party maintains a special course for 600 students, drawn from the provinces, mostly peasants, in the methods of propaganda applied to the middle class peasants.

Conducted with Sure Intelligence.

I stayed long in the great hall where lectures and discussions went on, and I can testify to the deadly earnestness of the crowd of students. They were mostly young and of both sexes, and the lecture to whom I listened held them easily and initiated and conducted the discussion with admirable sureness.

The idea of this school is an extension of the idea of propaganda, which is one of the great weapons of the bolshevik. It is all embracing and constant. I have spoken of monuments, but that it only on infinitesimal portion of the program. A constant stream of pamphlets pours out, the people are spoken to in their own language, often with great skill.

Posters are found everywhere, and there are special shops for their display. Many are crude in conception and execution, but others are striking and effective, and all appeal strongly to the eye.

PATRONISE OUR ADVERTISERS. BY DOING SO YOU ASSIST TRUTH. USE YOUR BUYING POWER TO THE BEST ADVANTAGE.

NOV. 6th

Second Anniversary of the Soviet Republic

WOODMAN HALL

Thursday Eve., 8 P. M.

We will have a number of speakers for that night

A Message From EUGENE DEBS

Margaret Prevey

OF OHIO

WILL SPEAK IN

Woodman Hall

SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 2nd, 8 P. M.

Margaret Prevey has personally talked with Debs in Atlanta Prison. — Don't fail to hear her.

Admission 35c & 15c.

Musical Program.

DENNIS E. BATT

OF DETROIT, MICH.

will speak Tuesday evening, Nov. 4, Comrade Night.



VILMA SUNDBORG,

Tickets for "Vermlandingar" the beautiful Swedish play that will be given at Lyceum Theatre, Sunday Nov. 2nd, 2:30 and 8 p. m. by the Swedish Dramatic Society from Minneapolis are selling fast. This is the first opportunity that the Scandinavian people up this way, have to hear Vilma Sundborg, from New York. She plays Anna, the "heroine" in the play and press reports from where ever she has appeared, have given her full credit for her excellent playing. Annas Myhre from Chicago plays Erik. Swan Erson and his wife Lisa is played by Gottfrid Nord & August Linde. As John Hanson Axel Lund and as Mor Annika, a genuine Swedish character, Mrs. Clara Larson. A Andevy — John Linde, well known Minneapolis singer. "Stina" will be played

by Elna Liljequist. She has been here before and need no introduction. Per—Stor Swans hired man, E. Billgren. As Bengt pa Asen—Oscar Larson. And as preacher in the play P. W. Dillner. Löpare Nisse Johan A. Johnson. Harry Torstenson as the important Olavi Gilby. Loriner Linder as Student and Lotta, Astrid Rydahl. As landowner, the well known song teacher, Tor Van Pyk.

The Minneapolis Swedish National Dancers will give several dances and everything is well arranged so as to give the public a good time. The musical part is well taken care of Prof. Carl Johnson & Prof. Jacobson have charge of that part. Director for the Society is Axel Sundborg, for the last 15 years active in behalf of the Swedish stage here in America.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

Karl Liebknecht:

The man, his work, and message

By Wm. Paul

Early Life.

Karl Liebknecht was born in 1871. His birth took place in the same year that saw the success of German Imperialism over the equally sordid Chauvinism of France. This year, which beheld the first great triumph of Prussian militarism, thus witnessed the birth of one who was to meet a martyr's death for helping to finally crush capitalist warfare. When Karl Liebknecht was born his father was incarcerated in prison in consequence of his allegiance to International Socialism and his embittered opposition to the Franco-German war. Thus, in passing, we may note the prenatal influences which operated upon one who, too, was to suffer for his hatred to capitalism and his fidelity to the cause of International Labour.

We are only concerned with Karl Liebknecht in so far as he was an ardent and enthusiastic worker on behalf of Socialism. Having studied economics and law at Leipzig, Berlin, and Wurzburg Universities, he took his doctor's degree in those subjects at the latter place. When but a mere youth he interested himself in the Socialist movement, and made a heroic defence in pleading the case of a comrade prosecuted by the authorities. He was a successful propagandist, and at a very early age took a most active part in organising and educating the younger members of the working class. Liebknecht, like the Scottish S. L. P., believed in the efficacy of educating young workers upon the principles of Socialism and anti-Militarism. Karl Liebknecht realised the influence of Socialist instruction upon the brains of young workers. He knew that to capture their minds meant also to capture their future activities for the Socialist movement. In his famous book, "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" (published by the Scottish S. L. Press; 1s. paper edition), he says:—

Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class consciousness and with hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the hearts and rouse the youthful enthusiasm of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to Social Democracy and to Social Democratic anti-militarism. It must, and will, be won over if everyone does his duty. He who has the youth has the army.

When he was thirty years of age, Liebknecht was elected to the Berlin Common Council. Four years later (1906) he delivered a lecture against militarism at the Mannheim Conference of the German Young Socialist organisations. The material of that lecture was worked up and elaborated, and finally made its appearance in book form in 1907. Thus appeared his most important work, "Militarism and Anti-Militarism," which was afterwards translated into English and published by the Socialist Labour Press. This book is undoubtedly the greatest pre-war criticism of militarism. It was Liebknecht's belief that the International Socialist movement had not paid sufficient attention to the question of imperialism and that it had failed to define a coherent policy, along the line of class war action, to prevent a world war. Within Germany the

The two foremost propagandists (Scotland) are two, S. L. P. comrades Tom Anderson and James Stewart. The former was the most energetic member of the S. L. P. Socialist School, which published "The Revolution," which was suppressed; he is now equally enthusiastic in the Proletarian School, which circulates the "Red Dawn." The latter published and edited the "Young Rebel," which was also suppressed. J. Stewart was imprisoned in 1918 for writing an attack upon Conscription in his paper

superficial leaders of the Socialist movement tried to assure Liebknecht that his fears regarding their inability to rouse the workers in case of a world war were groundless.

Nevertheless, Liebknecht, believing it to be his duty, published his book. He was arrested and his book confiscated. In October of the same year he was tried at Leipzig. The charge was high treason. The trial, which lasted three days, was one of the most important legal cases ever heard in Germany. We can do no better than quote the words of the late Alexander Sirnis (the translator of Liebknecht's book into English), who graphically described the famous trial:—

The proceedings were begun by the presiding judge in his red robe (the fourteen judges who sat with him were also in red robes), who read the following preliminary indictment, drawn up on 9th August, 1907:

"By order of the Imperial State Attorney, in accordance with paragraph 138 of the law concerning the judicial procedure of the Imperial Courts, the main proceeding are opened before the united Second and Third Criminal Chamber of the Imperial Courts, against Dr. Karl Paul August Friedrich Liebknecht, lawyer, of Berlin, who is suspected of having set on foot a treasonable undertaking in the years 1906-7 within the country—that of effecting a change in the constitution of the German Empire by violence, viz. abolition of the standing army by means of the military strike, if needs be conjointly with the incitement of troops to take part in the revolution, by writing the work 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism,' and causing it to be printed and disseminated, in which he advocated the organisation of special anti-militarist propaganda, which was to extend throughout the whole Empire, and conjointly with it the setting up of a Central Committee for conducting and controlling same, and making use of the Social Democratic Young People's organisations for the purpose of organically disintegrating and demoralising the militant spirit, the necessary sequence of which would be—in the case of an unpopular war and in exceptional cases even to-day, such as in the case of a war between France and Germany or in the case of Germany's intervention in Russia—a military strike, and the eventual incitement of troops to take part in the revolution; that is to say, he not only pointed out the ways and means which appear to be destined and suited to further the aforesaid treasonable undertaking and to ensure its success, but he also demanded the speedy application of these methods (Crime against paragraph 86 of the Criminal Code, in connection with paragraph 81, No. 2, paragraph 82 of the Criminal Code.)

"The accused is found guilty of having set on foot a treasonable undertaking, and is condemned to incarceration in a fortress for eighteen months. The costs of the prosecution are to be paid by the accused.

"All copies of the work 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism,' which has been put under the ban, in the possession of the author, printer, publisher, wholesale booksellers and retail booksellers, as well as all publicly exposed copies of this work, or those offered for sale, as well as the plates and forms for their production, are to be destroyed."

In this trial Liebknecht was defended by a number of able lawyers. He completely smashed the argument of the prosecuting counsel by quoting that person's books against himself. His defence was as bold as it was thrilling. So much interest was manifested in the case throughout

Germany that even the trembling Kaiser, so it is said, was connected to the court by a secret wire. Shortly afterwards the workers of Berlin elected the imprisoned champion of Socialist anti-militarism to represent them in the Prussian Landtag. In 1912 he was returned for the Kaiser's constituency of Potsdam to represent revolutionary Socialism in the Reichstag. This victory of Liebknecht's in the political field coincided with his systematic investigations into the roots of imperialism. His revelations astounded Germany. He proved that munition and armament industries were internationally related. He demonstrated that these industries made arms for any nation which was prepared to yield them good profit. He proved that the jingo press was dominated by the armament companies, and that these firms even provoked "scars" in foreign countries in order to obtain orders, and incidentally profits, from other nations. Liebknecht showed that German munition firms had capital invested in British armament companies and that, on the other hand, there was the closest financial relationship existing between British patriots and German jingoes. These exposures were fully vindicated during the recent war when Austrian firms, controlled by British capital, launched submarines to attack British ships and drown British seamen. When Liebknecht dragged aside the veil of patriotism which hid international imperialism and showed it in all its hideous reality, he struck terror into the hearts of the world's jinkers. He was unable, however, to arouse the Socialist movement to a realisation of its international responsibilities regarding the imminence of war and the organised means to stop it.

The curse of the Socialist movement has ever been its readiness to pass resolutions without devising and organising methods to enforce them. It has been content to dream that words can do the work of actions. There was no intelligent foresight brought to bear upon the importance of building up some kind of organised revolutionary resistance to the projected war of the international imperialists. In addition to Liebknecht's revelations regarding the possibility of a world war, there was the admission made by the German Socialist Democratic Party when it passed the famous resolution on imperialism at its 1912 Conference, held at Chemnitz. In the same year the International Socialist Congress at Basel passed a brave resolution which showed how capitalism, in its imperialistic stage, automatically provoked war. "These words," says Lenin, "were forgotten by the Socialists when the expected war burst forth in all its world wrath in 1914."

While the National-Socialists were helping the Government to solve several difficult industrial problems which arose in connection with the war, while the Trade Union leaders, as in Britain, were shackling their members so that they could neither rebel nor strike, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Mehring and Liebknecht started a revolutionary journal in opposition to the war, entitled "The International." This paper was suppressed by the Government. The dauntless war accomplished on behalf of revolutionary Socialism by Luxemburg, Zetkin and Mehring cannot be ignored. Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin were both imprisoned for their agitation. But Liebknecht's revolutionary activity was most conspicuous because he conducted a virulent campaign in the Reichstag and Landtag against the very statesmen who plunged Germany into the war. He was not one who sneered at political action. He said that the political struggle is nothing more or less than the class struggle in its most concentrated form. To him, of course, revolutionary political action did not mean being a human automaton servilely voting in Parliament or the Reichstag, according to the instructions of a party caucus. The political struggle, to him, meant waging the class war outside and inside the political chamber. Wherever there was an opportunity of denouncing capitalism, there must the revolutionary Socialist plant himself. Every weapon must be used and every avenue of social activity utilised. Liebknecht carried on his revolutionary agitation on the floor of the Reichstag. He not merely made speeches, he not only demonstrated there, he even utilised the opportunities afforded him as a member of the Reichstag to ask questions and demand answers from the servants of the Prussian State. We have already seen how earnestly he worked in the Young Workers Socialist League. He carried on a literature campaign against imperialism during the war—at a time when it was impossible to print

Liebknecht and the War.

There is probably nothing so pitiful in the history of the Labour movement than to read the bombastic statements made by the German Social Democratic Party a few days prior to the war, on its platform and in its press. The bold "talk" about mobilising the proletariat against the war were only mere words in the absence of a well-balanced industrial organisation to enforce these words. If the Socialists in Germany, as elsewhere, had no organised plans to stop the war, it soon became apparent that the ruling class had organised its forces to stampede the workers into the war. By a series of lying statements, backed up by the press of the country, the German Statesmen speedily demoralised the influence of the German Social Democratic Party over the masses. The Trade Unions in Germany were dominated by reactionaries such as Carl Legien, who was as jingoistic as our own Messrs. Henderson and Thomas. We now know that there were thousands of German workers ready to make any

sacrifice to stop the war. But these workers were deserted by their Parliamentary leaders and betrayed by their Trade Union officials. In such a crisis, when the country was turned into a vast military workshop and when the State stood over everyone, ready to strike down any rebel, it was impossible to improvise or spontaneously create an effective revolutionary anti-militarist organisation. Nevertheless, there was a small band of determined anti-militarists, who at once commenced an heroic agitation against the war. This band was headed by Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, and Rosa Luxemburg. Of these four Liebknecht was the only one who was a member of the Reichstag.

Within a few days of the commencement of the war, the German Socialists had to decide their attitude towards the war credits. The Social Democratic Group, representing the Reichstag members, decided by seventy-eight votes to fourteen to vote in favour of the war credits. Liebknecht and three other members repudiated the idea that the workers had a Fatherland to defend. They argued that the International revolutionary movement was the only Fatherland which the workers should fight for and defend. Although there were fourteen votes cast against supporting the war credits, it was argued that the minority should vote with the majority. The reason for this was due to an old custom in the Social Democratic Group that its members should always act unitedly in the Reichstag. Liebknecht reluctantly accepted the discipline of the Party and voted for the war credits. He no sooner voted than he rebelled against the discipline of a party which made men act against their principles. He thus denounced his own action, and afterwards became his own inspiring agitator. He speedily threw himself into the fight against the war, and found himself continually in opposition to the Social Democratic Party which was seeking to show that there were no divisions in its ranks over the war policy. Liebknecht at once wrote to the "Burger Zeitung," and show that there were divisions in the party regarding its official attitude towards the war. On every occasion afterwards Liebknecht voted against the war credits, and declared that neither a man nor a penny would he subscribe for such a war.

When the second War Session of the Reichstag took place (December 1914) Liebknecht refused to accept the discipline of the Social Democratic Group, voted against the war credits and handed a statement to the President of the Reichstag to read to show why Socialists should oppose the war. Although the statement was neither read in the Reichstag nor printed in the press, it was distributed throughout Germany as a pamphlet, and was afterwards published in Switzerland. For his attitude in voting against the war credits, Liebknecht was censured by the Social Democratic Group. He, however, replied to this in a spirited letter which showed that he at least had remained true to the international principles of Socialism. A few days later he again incurred the wrath of his colleagues by sending a New-Year's greeting to the English working-class. This message was addressed to the I. L. P., which has neither been able to emulate the revolutionary anti-militarism nor the virile class-war tactics advocated by Liebknecht. On March 2 Liebknecht also spoke in the Prussian Assembly at its war meeting. In this speech, in criticism of the ruling class for its murderous neglect of the working class, he said:

The class struggle alone is the salvation of the proletariat, and we hope that we will carry on very soon the class struggle in open international intercourse with the proletariat of all countries, even with those with whom we are at war. In this international struggle rests not only hope for the democratisation, for the political and economic emancipation, of the working class, but also the one hope for the mass of the people concerned even during the war. ... Away with the hypocrisy of the civil truce. Forward to the class struggle! Forward to the international class struggle for the emancipation of the working class and against the war.

—(Quoted from "The Future Belongs to the People," by K. Liebknecht.)

In the same speech Liebknecht made a sneering reference to the war aims of German finance by saying:

Gentlemen, the mine fields of Briey and Longwy, the mine fields of West Poland, the colonies (which promise important profits), and some other nice things, are really not bad investments for German capital.

The reference to the mine fields of Briey and Longwy

War Speeches in the Reichstag and Assembly.

must have enraged the financiers present in the Prussian Assembly. Because it was just at that time that a secret petition—drawn up by six large associations in which the interests of the ironmasters of the Rhenish-Westphalian country were well represented, demanded the French iron districts of Briey and Longwy—had been presented by them to the Government. These minefields were defended by the Verdun fortress. We see, thus, how the great offences and defences at Verdun were merely moves determined by the economic interests of financial groups in France and Germany. There is much more behind Liebknecht's taunt regarding the minefields of Briey and Longwy than meets the eye. It is well known that there was some communication between the French and German Governments in reference to that district on the eve of the war. Many people who have studied military tactics are not all satisfied regarding the tactics pursued by the Allied armies in this region. And a few months ago a French Socialist in the House of Deputies made a startling statement against the French Government in reference to their military conduct regarding the Briey and Longwy minefields. Some day, no doubt, the full sordid story will be told.

A few days after his defiant oration in the Prussian Assembly, Liebknecht made another brave speech, this time on behalf of Rosa Luxemburg, who had been imprisoned. And on March 20, 1915, Liebknecht, for the second time, cast his vote in the Reichstag against the war credits. On this occasion Otto Ruhle voted with him. It was at this session that George Ledebour delivered a telling speech against the war, which was replied to and criticised by the now notorious Scheidemann, who spoke on behalf of the Socialist jingoes.

The revolutionary activity of Liebknecht outside and inside the national political chambers was causing the Government a great deal of trouble, so he was called to the army. This did not worry him very much, because it simply changed the scene of his revolutionary activities. Even though in the army, he still had the right to speak in the Reichstag and Prussian Assembly. He never missed an opportunity in either of these Chambers to scathingly attack the capitalist class and the tame Socialists who repudiated the class war. So successful was his campaign of questions in the Reichstag that he was expelled from the Social Democrat Party for having caused the Government great trouble, for having disobeyed the instructions of the Party, and for having refused to accept its discipline. But while the moderate, weak-kneed section of the Social Democratic Party had expelled Liebknecht, he was then the centre of a band of determined revolutionary communists whose numbers rapidly grew in the same measure that the half-baked Socialist elements moved to the Right wing towards the middle class. We may notice a similar tendency throughout every capitalist country. In Russia the masses moved away from the middle-class representative—Kerensky—and rapidly acclaimed the Bolsheviks. In Germany to-day the masses are deserting Scheidemann and Ebert, and travelling in the direction of the Spartacists. The same thing is noticeable in France, Spain, Italy and America. And in Britain the transition is decidedly towards the S. L. P. This does not mean that organisation like the I. L. P. are decreasing in membership, it rather means that while the bona fide Socialist elements in that body are leaving, their places are taken with large detachments of middle-class sentimentalists, who see in the I. L. P. a bitter antagonist against revolutionary agitation and class war action, who see in it the resurrected ghost of the Liberal Party. The policy of the I. L. P. in its attempt to attract non-revolutionary middle-class elements was never better revealed than when its leader, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, said, at the Party Conference, that—"The first Soviet ever known was the Soviet of the British House of Lords!" ("Daily Herald," 23-4-19.) This nonsensical and rearherous statement was made when, in addition to Russia, the Limerick and Hungarian workers were fighting to establish their Soviets.

On March 3, 1916, Liebknecht delivered a long and impassioned speech on capitalistic justice in

the Prussian Assembly. In this attack upon capitalism, Liebknecht proved himself to be a thoroughgoing student of Marxian Socialist science. He not only denounced the hypocrisy of capitalist justice, but showed how revolutionaries like Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, and Rosa Luxemburg had been persecuted for attempting to publish the "International."

He proved that German soldiers had been shot down by cannons sold by Krupp to Belgium. He demonstrated that "crime is a constitutional disease of bourgeois society." He analysed the roots of modern warfare, and proved that imperialism flourishes through loosening the social impulses of the masses and by perverting their minds with a false notion of education. He was frequently insulted and interrupted. But he insisted upon addressing the Chamber. During one of the scenes he cried out:

If defending the peace idea, if the proclamation of the international proletariat class struggle against war, is treason, then it is an honour to be reproached as a traitor.

Two weeks later we find Liebknecht again hurling his barbed arguments at the sophistries of capitalism. This time (March 16, 1916) he challenged the whole bourgeois system of education. This speech is a splendid vindication of the S. L. P. criticism of modern education. Liebknecht, in the following passage, also clinches the Marxian contention regarding the class bias of modern education, and thus corroborates the position of the Plebs League in its plea for independent working class education. He said, among other things:—

The educational system cannot be separated from social conditions. ... Education in the capitalistic order is not an aim in itself. ... The higher schools serve as preparatory institutes for higher official positions, whereas the primary schools teach the fundamentals which serve to make tools for capitalistic society. ... But more than ever before the primary school is used to-day in order to make firm the position of the ruling classes, to capture the souls of the young proletariat for the ruling class, for militarism. ... By these amendments you try to give an impression of wishing to throw open the road to education to the people also, but that is because capitalism requires educated soldiers.

Instruction in history has been for a long time systematically used to inculcate certain political sentiments in the pupils. The higher schools especially have been for years places to exercise this practice, and in these higher schools hatred against England was systematically developed which seed has now sprouted in such glorious fashion. ... The world's history has been an usum delphini turned into a political fiction. Not political truth, not objective knowledge, but the opposite, are the main features of what you teach. In German teaching the soul of youth should have a chance to develop freely. But what are the themes put to our children? They are set to write patriotic editorials; and certain phases of war patriotism are taught them. In that way we sow the seeds of falsehood. (Quoted from "The Future Belongs to the People.")

In this speech Liebknecht also showed how religion is used by the ruling class as an educational force to mould the minds of the workers' children against other nations and races and to accept their poverty without protest. The speaker was incessantly interrupted during this daring assault upon the false educational principles enforced under capitalism. But Liebknecht continued undismayed, and said, in reply to the President, who contended that he was wandering from the point under discussion:

I speak about the motion, about the chance of those who are (not) well off to attend high schools and colleges. This spiritual liberation can also be the deed of the working class, and it is our duty to say to the working class on this occasion: To action! Those in the trenches, as well as those here at home, should put down their arms and turn against the common enemy, which takes from them light and air. ("The Future Belongs to the People.")

(To be Continued.)

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

UNITY RESOLUTION

Adopted by UNANIMOUS vote of the Communist Labor Party Convention.

"Be it resolved, that the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in Unity Conference, and

"That we hereby instruct our National Officials and Committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party, or from any other revolutionary workingclass organization."

This is the position of the Communist Labor Party on the question of Unity. Obedient to this instruction the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party has extended official invitation for Unity Conference.

**Members of the Communist Party—
Compel your officials to answer**

ANOTHER UNITY RESOLUTION

Communist Labor Party Once More Invites Communist Party to Unity Conference.

The following letter has been sent by the Communist Labor Party to the Communist Party under date of October 13th.

Central Executive Committee
Communist Party, Chicago, Ill.

Comrades:—Upon Friday, September 6th we sent your convention the following communication:—

"Be it resolved, that the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in Unity Conference, and

"That we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or from any other revolutionary workingclass organization."

No answer has, to date, been received to this resolution, officially addressed to your Party.

By motion, just carried in the Communist Labor Party National Executive Committee, I am instructed to forward to you the following communication:

Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party,

Comrades:—The National executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party invites the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to meet with it on November 1st 1919, or as near that date as possible in Chicago or some other place agreed upon—

First—For an informal conference to discuss a basis for a formal Unity Conference and a mode of procedure for such a conference.

Second—If a basis is agreed upon, to then and there hold answer, and remain.

For a United Communist Movement,

A Bilan, Max Bedacht, Jack Carney,

Edward Lindgren, L. E. Katterfeld.

National Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party.

Fraternally Submitted, A. Wagenknecht,

Executive Secretary.

The sentiment for Unity among the rank and file of the Communist Party is growing fast and it is thought that the officialdom of the Party will not be able to suppress it much longer. It is now up to all members of the Communist Party who want unity of the Communist forces of the United States to compel their officials to accept this invitation from the Communist Labor Party to meet in Unity Conference on November 1st and make Communist Unity a fact

reform, or with the Liebknechts and social revolution. Comrades! The Revolution calls you! Will you give heed? AFFILIATE WITH THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

The Convention passed the following resolutions:—

Resolutions.

No. 1. On Class War Prisoners.

Whereas, there are thousands of political and class war prisoners in the jails of the United States for being true to their convictions; Be it resolved, That the State Convention of the Communist Labor Party recommends to all locals and branches to help organize the Prison Comfort Clubs into one Revolutionary Red Cross; that this organization shall not be controlled by any particular party or organization, and that aid to the political and class war prisoners and their families be given regardless of their political or organizational affiliations. Resolution adopted unanimously.

No. 2. On Unity between the Communist Labor, and the Communist Parties.

Taking into consideration that the convention of Communist Labor Party, and the Executive Committee of the C. L. P. have made every effort to unite with the Communist Party, and that all such efforts have been rejected by the officials of the Communist Party.

Be it resolved, by the Convention of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois that we endorse the action of the National Executive Committee of the C. L. P. and pledge our aid in organizing a strong state organization with the purpose of bringing about a recognition and a union with the Communist Party. We recognize that those who stand in the way of a union between the two parties are acting in the interests of the enemies of the International Communist Movement in the United States and the whole world. Adopted unanimously.

No. 3. Resolution on "Soviet Russia." Official organ of Soviet Bureau.

Whereas, The Communist Labor Party has affiliated with the Third International, and has endorsed the Russian Soviet Government; Be it resolved, That the State Convention of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois endorses the weekly bulletin "Soviet Russia" published by the bureau of the Russian Soviet Government in New York, and recommends to all local and branch organizations that they help circulate to this weekly in this state. Adopted unanimously.

No. 4. Resolution proposed by Ways and Means Committee.

Taking into consideration that the State of Illinois has begun to organize the Communist Labor Party in this State and the funds are necessary to carry on this work successfully, the Ways and Means Committee recommends that all locals and branches of the Communist Labor Party in Illinois contribute not less than \$5.00 and as much more as they can afford to carry on this work, as soon as possible.

Adopted unanimously.

Edgar Owens was elected State Secretary. Comrade Owens is an old member of the Socialist movement and although he has not figured in the limelight, yet nevertheless he has done remarkable fine work. With Comrade Owens, as State Secretary, the Communist Labor Party in Illinois will forge ahead.

The following comrades constitute the State Executive Board, Proctor, Stolar, England, Doering and Shipman.

The delegates came enthused over the work of the Convention and Illinois will in the next few weeks be possessed of one of the largest State organizations in the country. With the lining up of Illinois, in the Communist Labor Party, one more foolish lie is exploded and the Communist Labor Party goes on its way, with an added strength.

**John Hainy's
PHOTO STUDIO
26 N. 6th Ave. N.
Duluth, Minn.**

OFFICIAL BULLETIN — COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

TELEGRAM:—Local Oakland, Cal., a local of 500 members and the largest in the state, joins Communist Labor Party. "Oakland World," our weekly paper, taken over into C. L. P. with us. Only 50 out of the 500 members will stay with the reactionaries.

The "Oakland World" is one of the largest party weeklies in the country. Its circulation of 10,000 per week will make it a power for the Communist Labor Party.

The Socialist Parties are commercializing the name of Debs by attempting to retain membership and collect dues by claiming that Debs will remain a member of the Socialist Party. Debs has not yet spoken, and when he does, a surprise awaits all American Scheidemanns.

Adolph Germer, now national organizer for the Socialist Party, held a "rousing" meeting in Kansas City Missouri the other day. All of 19 people were present to hear him orate, and 12 of these were members of the C. L. P.

N. Juel Christensen, translator secretary of the Scandinavian Federation, has joined the C. L. P.

"Long live the Socialist Party! Long live the Internationale!" This is the new slogan of the reactionary Socialist Party. But, allow us a question, please? Long live WHICH Internationale? As usual, the S. P. officials are "putting it over" on their pulble membership.

NEW LOCAL OF 80 AT BREEZY HILL

J. L. Creviston and J. P. Cannon are invading the Kansas coal fields. A meeting held at Breezy Hill, Crawford county resulted in the affiliation of 80 members, mostly Jugo-Slavs. Max Bedacht will also spend a week in that same territory and Cannon assures us five more locals before Bedacht leaves.

WORCESTER JOINS C. L. P.

Local Worcester, Mass., (English) has joined the Communist Labor Party. Other locals in Massachusetts are making inquiries as to the reason for the split in the left wing movement and as they learn the truth, will affiliate with the C. L. P. Massachusetts is considered a Communist Party stronghold.

WORKERS WANTED

The Communist Labor Party wants workers, comrades who are ready and willing to take the field and do real Jimmy Higgins organization work. The lecture platform and the editors chair seem to be the magnets which attract too many of the comrades, whereas the most essential work, that of plodding along in the work of making personal canvasses from house to house, is overlooked and neglected. The C. L. P. wants WORKERS. Let us repeat—WORKERS. If you are willing to WORK for the C. L. P., send in your name and address, as well as qualifications. Address National Office, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

SAN FRANCISCO AFFILIATES

A communication from J. A. Ragsdale, secretary of Local San Francisco, contains the Encouraging news that his local has joined the Communist Labor Party. Local San Francisco, together with Local Oakland, are the two largest local on the Pacific coast.

The C. L. P. can hardly be said to be a month old, yet for the month past, dues stamp orders totalling 14,897 have been received.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THIRD INTERNATIONAL HEARD FROM

A communication has been received by the Soviet Bureau in New York City from the executive committee of the Third International, which commands the Russian Federation of the Communist Party to cease their ruthless attacks upon the Soviet Bureau.

The Russian Federation of the Communist Party has for months made war upon Martens, head of the Soviet Bureau in the United States. The object was control of the bureau by the federation. The constant attack upon the Soviet Bureau has caused a serious split in the Russian Federation of the Communist Party, 18 branches having either seceded or been suspended for objecting to criticism of the affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

LOCAL BOSTON COMMUNIST PARTY PASSES UNITY RESOLUTION

One of the largest local of the Communist Party, that at Boston, Mass., has gone on record for unity between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The resolutions passed are significant in that they show that Local Boston recognizes the sincere attempt for unity which is being made by Communist Party national officials, the demand for unity is permeating the rank and life of that party and its officials will have to obey or lose their positions, dignity and all.

The resolutions passed by Local Boston follow:—
"Whereas the existence of two communist parties, both standing upon the platform of the Third International, organized at Moscow, is a crime and only tends to split the revolutionary forces of the American proletariat, and

"Whereas there is no difference in principle nor yet in tactics between the platform and program of the Communist Party and that of the Communist Labor Party, and

"Whereas the chief cause for launching two communist parties appears to rest in the shallow personal strivings and mutual hatred between so-called leaders of the communist movement of America, and

"Whereas a division of communist forces leads to useless expense of means, all of which are contributed by the rank and file, and in baseless internal strike between communists, thereby weakening the propaganda among the working class as well as disorganizing the communist forces in America, all of which will reflect badly upon the International Communist movement, and

"Whereas the Communist Labor Party has declared its readiness to at any time to unite with the Communist Party on the basis of equality,

"Therefore, taking all this into consideration, be it resolved by the Communist Party of Boston, representing 2,000 members in joint meeting assembled, October 12, 1919, that we demand immediate unification of the Communist Party with the Communist Labor Party."

Local Boston, Communist Party.

J. Pallo, Secretary P. T.

GARY COMRADES HELD FOR DEPORTATION

Members of the Communist Labor Party, Russian Branches, at Gary, Indiana, are being held for deportation because of their activity in the steel strike. Party members homes have been ransacked by the military, wholesale arrests have been made, and the intimidation of strikers continues the program of King Gary.

The German Hungarian branch; the Northwest Side German branch; the Forest Hill German branch, all of Chicago, have affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

State Convention November 2nd 1919

The first Sunday in November, a State Convention of the Communist Labor Party will be held in Duluth. All locals desiring to send delegates can do so. Each local will be allowed one member for every fifty or part of fifty members. At your next meeting elect your delegate. Send your vote with definite instructions regarding joining the Communist Labor Party. In the next few days a call will be sent out to each and every local in the State. Address all communications to Jack Carney, Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn.

ILLINOIS COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

The State Convention of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois, was held on Sunday, October 12th., at Rock Island. In a communication sent out to the branches, the State Secretary, Edgar Owens, an old time member of the Socialist Party, states:—

With the holding of the State Convention the Communist Labor Party becomes a mighty factor in revolutionary progress here in Illinois. We stand four square by the Manifesto of the Third International, and will bend every effort towards establishing the program of the Communist Labor Party adopted at the recent National Convention.

You want to be a part of this work. You want the satisfaction of knowing that when our struggling Comrades of SOVIET RUSSIA sent for the Call to all revolutionary elements the world over, to unite in the magnificent

struggle — perhaps the final struggle — to abolish Capitalism, and capture the world for the workers — you want to know that you were among those present.

The old Socialist Party failed to measure up to its historic task. At the Emergency Convention it repudiated the Third International by a vote of 61 to 33. It speaks the language of the present governing Social Democracy of Germany the government that assassinated Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Its program is the embodiment of social reform. In a recent official communication issued by its Executive Committee it boasts that "THE SOCIALIST PARTY BELIEVES IN IMMEDIATE DEMANDS." This in the face of the collapse of reformist socialism from the impact of the World War. Even from such a gruelling experience, the Socialist Party has failed to learn.

The Communist Labor Party maintains that the "emancipation of the working class must be an act of the workers." They must organize their class power; they must abolish the Capitalist political state; they must make themselves the ruling class, and under their own dictatorship they must develop the instruments with which to build the New Society — the Industrial Democracy. Such is the lesson of the Russian Revolution.

Petty personalities do not enter. It is a matter of basic principles. Socialists of this country must make their stand on one of these two fundamentally opposed viewpoints. And when the crisis comes — as come it will — then it will be well to look back to this moment of decision to see whether our lot has been cast with the Scheidemanns and social

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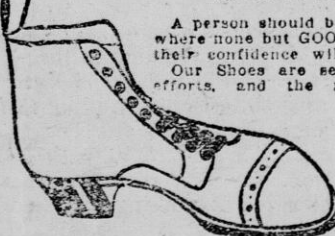
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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The international news that is published in TRUTH is received from the Socialist Press of Great Britain and Ireland. If you care to subscribe to any of these papers, and if you can afford you should most certainly do so, below you will find their names, addresses and subscription price.

"The Voice of Labour"
Liberty Hall.
DUBLIN, IRELAND

"Workers'
Dreadnought"
Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst
152leet Street, London E. C. 4

"The Call."
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Shall Prison be Debs' Tomb?

The Organized Power of Workers can prevent it

Prisons have always been notorious for cruelty and unspeakable injustice. Established upon the concept that the prevention of crime could be brought about by unusual cruelties practiced upon the inmates, prisons have continued thru the centuries down to the present day as schools for crime instead of institutions of reform and betterment. While claiming to be the most advanced of all nations the penal institutions of this country continue the practices and the punishments that have made European bastilles famous for inhumanity and injustice.

The dungeon, ball and chain, manacling of the wrists; days, weeks, even months on a bread and water diet; the suspension in mid air by the wrists with iron chains are only a few of the inhumanities practiced with very, very few exceptions in all our prisons. They are practiced in the federal prison at Atlanta, Ga., where Eugene V. Debs is condemned to spend ten years of his life if he shall live that long in a place where such inhumanity occurs daily. Many political prisoners have died under such treatment. Many more have contracted diseases which will shorten their lives. Many have gone insane. Political prisoners are, as a rule, treated with less consideration than any other class of prisoners. A murderer is treated with respect compared to the treatment that is accorded those of our comrades who have been jailed for their opinions which did not happen to jibe with those of the official family of the present administration at Washington.

That the United States Government, meaning the administration as represented by Woodrow Wilson is determined to kill Debs is but a logical deduction to be drawn from the facts. Debs is a course of danger to the Wilson administration; dangerous to the economic masters it serves. This fact the administration is well aware of. But it believes he is less dangerous to it in prison than outside. He is still less dangerous in his grave than alive, tho behind prison bars. Therefore, Debs will remain where he is, he will die where he is unless the workers by their organized might force open the prison doors.

Debs might have had his freedom, if he had cared more for himself than for his class. If he had been less sensible of his own welfare, less thoughtful of the thousands of other political prisoners. But Debs chose a life sentence in jail rather than to seek freedom for himself only, while his comrades were condemned to years in prison.

And is Debs bearing up under the strain of prison life? Debs is different from most of us. He thinks in flowers and souls; he feels and cries and suffers with those in pain. Prison is all pain and so Debs suffers daily the tortures inflicted upon the lowliest of inmates.

A letter has just been received from Liberator Attorney Castleton. It's another call to action. Read it. Then sit down for five minutes and THINK IT OVER. And then get up and DO SOMETHING. AND right now the best thing you can do is to gather Liberation Funds so that we will have the where-withall to do something with.

GET INTO ACTION—and you will if you READ THE FOLLOWING LETTER.

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 4th, 1919.

To All Comrades:—

My heart is sad to-day, for the slim and slender Gene is but the shadows the mere ghost of his former self. Wednesday I arranged to have him bid Alex. Berkman "Good-bye", and when he came into the warden's office I was frightened for I saw before me our beloved Gene looking gravely ill. He had a gray stubble of two days growth upon his fallow face. His eyes seemed to have lost their flashing sparkle of life, his face was taught and worn and his throat bagged. The physical Debs looked almost dead—and all our hearts were sad—in spite of Gene's inspiring, fighting spirit which he will keep until the very end. Debs will die fighting for the proletariat, with words of love for the workers on his lips. If Debs is not released from here at once he federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., will be his tomb. It is a physical impossibility for him to hold out much longer.

Debs senses that his end is near. But he is consoled with his faith in the rank and file of his comrades now triumphantly winning the world, so that emancipated proletarians may work out their destiny together.

How Debs wishes he could meet his comrades face to face—talk to them once more before he leaves this world! How he loves life, his comrades, the Great Cause.

No matter what happens—Gene will remain true red to the very end. And it is the spirit of Debs that will conquer the world. Gene feels that there are millions of comrades the world over working for the new day, where there were but thousands before and he is happy because our great cause is meeting with victory.

The personality of Debs has created a spiritual and mental revolution at the Atlanta prison. Not only have the political prisoners learned to love him more than ever before, but there are men who are braving the "HOLE" and other prison punishment to show him a little kindness, a token of good will and comradeship. There are prisoners there who would gladly serve Debs' ten years term in prison if that were possible.

I shall see Gene in the next days and write again.
He sends his love to all the comrades.
Sincerely yours
SAMUEL M. CASTLETON.

Debs is being slowly tortured to death at Atlanta. His health is giving way under the life destroying prison existence. Unless the workers act quickly, there will be no reason to act, for there will be but a memory of our great comrade left us.

But while Debs breaks under prison rules, he is fighting for the principle upon which our emancipation must be secured. Debs has said "altogether or none". And upon that principle we can win. Upon that principle we can prisoners.

Every wage worker is urged to join in this fight for freedom. Take up the case of Debs in your union meetings.

Talk of it to EVERY ONE. PREPARE FOR SUCH ACTION AS A UNITED WORKING CLASS CAN AND WILL TAKE, ONCE IT UNDERSTANDS ITS MISSION.

(Reprinted from Ohio Socialist)

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Speaker Coming

Fellow-worker Charles Plahn will speak at the Workers Opera 314—6th Avenue East, Duluth, Minn., Sunday evening at 8 o'clock Nov. 2. He is one of the I. W. W. prisoners, recently released from Leavenworth.

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EDITORIALS

IF YOU AGREE WITH THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN "TRUTH"

then join the Communist Labor Party

For further particulars apply to the National Secretary, Alfred Wagenknecht, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY AND THE I. W. W.

It is unfortunate that such a virile organization as the Industrial Workers of the World should fail to appreciate the necessity of new tactics to meet new conditions. To continually criticize the Left Wing as a parliamentary organization, shews a lack of understanding as to the cause of the split between the Right and Left Wings of Communist Labor Party.

We want to call to the attention of the members of the I. W. W., extracts from the Platform and Program of the the Socialist Party.

Part 1, Section 6

"The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only SECONDARY."

Part 2, Section 2.

"Although the United States is called a political democracy there is no opportunity whatever for the workingclass through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class."

Part 2, Section 6

"Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot."

Part 3, Section 1-2-3

1. In America, the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in the development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education, the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

2. Moreover in America there is a highly-developed Labor movement. This makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism except through the agency of the organized workers.

Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only by a centralized economic organization of the workers.

3. The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the industrial field with a political aim—the overthrow of capitalism.

5. It is our duty as Communists to help this process, to hasten it, by supporting all efforts of the workers to create a centralized revolutionary industrial organization. It is our duty as Communists, who understand the class struggle, to point out to the workers alone depends their own emancipation and that it is impossible to accomplish this through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

The Communist Labor Party does not believe in simply issuing a platform, just for window-show purposes, but it has also issued a program, in order to guide the workers in their everyday struggle. In reviewing the program of the C. L. P. you will find running all through it the absolute necessity of voting on the job, as a more effective means of obtaining demands.

Program-Part 1, Section 5-6 and 7

5. We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class conscious industrial unions, in order to unite industrial and political class conscious propaganda and action. Locals and Branches shall organize shop branches, to conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in One Big Union.

6. The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

We defy any member of the I. W. W. to shew us where the Communist Labor Party can be said to have taken on exactly the same character as the old Socialist Party, from whence it split. The Communist Labor Party split on fundamental principles and a recognition of the new social conditions, which created the necessity of adopting new tactics.

The old Socialist Party was always stating that there were two arms, the industrial and the political. The Socialist speaker would electify the audience by pulling out two cards and calling them two guns—his union card and his party card. We misled the American workers by refusing to recognise the change in conditions. We ignored the unskilled worker, in order that we might be able to catch the vote of the skilled worker, that is why

we allowed Compers to jump on us and spit in our face. We failed to recognise that within the ranks of the workingclass there was a struggle going on. The development of the machine had destroyed the skill of the craftsman and so the dominant element in the labor movement was the unskilled. If we had understand the changes that were taking place, we would have rallied to the side of the I. W. W. and thrown on their side all the energy and power we possessed. By so doing, we would have carried on extensive propaganda of industrial unionism and made the labor movement learn the truth and understand how its present craft unionism was worn-out. The failure of the Socialist Party to recognise these changes was the means of driving out of the party the red elements that had borne the brunt of the fight. It also created that rangling in the breasts of the I. W. W. that is so hard to overcome and is the means of dividing the workers, instead of bringing them together. The Communist Labor Party has set out, free from those elements that ruined the old party and were responsible for the split. We have eliminated from our ranks the opportunist and the politician. The man or woman who seeks political office, for their own aggrandisement, must find some other party, because there is no chance for them in the Communist Labor Party. Our fight is with the workingclass. We call upon the workingclass to learn the lessons of the world-events of today. We ask them to study the Russian, German and Hungarian revolutions and from these revolutions learn the lessons they explain to us by their actions and experiences.

We have lately witnessed spontaneous strikes taking place in England and America. They have arisen not only without the leadership and advice of the labor leaders, so-called, but in direct opposition to the wishes of these leaders. The strike of the railroad men in England was in opposition to the wishes of the Executive Council of the National Union of Railwaymen. The strike of the American railroad shopmen was also in opposition to the wishes of the International officers. We have also seen the Labor Party of England, old apostles of parliamentarism and long avowed opponents of "direct action", forced to take their stand with the rank and file and prepare for the calling of a general strike for the removal of the Blockade around Russia and the release of class-war prisoners. We have also seen the strike of the printers against the orders of their international offices. These strikes are but manifestations of the change in tactics that is being brought by the new conditions we find ourselves in. It means that the mass of the workers are not going to allow the leaders, whether they are politicians or international officers, to lead them astray. They are beginning to feel the necessity of doing things for themselves and putting their trusts in their own efforts. Tired of voting and waiting for reforms, tired of sending in resolutions and appeals, the masses are now striking for what they want. In one place they strike for an eight-hour day and force Congress to make it a law. In another place they strike to obtain release of class-war prisoners. The Communist Labor Party recognises the necessity of the new tactics and that is why they split away from the old Socialist Party.

The old Socialist Party is composed of such diverse elements that it cannot effectively function as a working-class party. How is it possible for a party to function that contains within itself, such diverse elements as the revolutionary workers of Seattle and the West and the opportunists of New York? If it comes to a question of action, how are we going to bring together the West and the East? It is an impossible task. Therefore the only party that can function, is the party that is of the workingclass and has a program that is in conformity with the new conditions that have been produced by the world-war. The workingclass must not fool itself with the ballot and so hoping thereby to gain its freedom. The steel Strike is but one illustration of what the capitalist class will do, when they see their privileges in danger and their control of industry slipping away from their fingers. We must learn a lesson from the Steel Strike and that is, that we cannot hope to achieve our freedom so long as we allow the capitalist class to possess the power to drive us back to work. The capitalist class have the use of all the resources of the State and if we want to win out we must deprive them of those resources. We shall do that by the mass action of the workingclass. We shall go into every strike and urge the workers to come together by the use of the combined power, wrest from the hands of the capitalist the power they possess to defeat us.

Pannekoek gives the best definition of mass action when he says:—

"When we speak of mass-action we mean an extra-parliamentary political act of the organized working class, by which it operates directly and not through the medium of political delegates. The organized labor fights in which the masses have hitherto engaged, as soon as they come to have political significance develop into political mass-action. In the question of mass-action there is, therefore, also involved simply a broadening of the field of action of the proletarian organization."

Austin Lewis, in an article entitled "Syndicalism and Mass Action", has this to say regarding the definition of mass action, as given by Pannekoek.

These words sum up admirably the present contention of the revolutionary Socialist wing of the labor movement in this country. They embrace practically the entire category of statements with which the industrial Socialist meets the contentions of the bourgeois and reform wing of the Socialist party. Real mass action is outside the sphere of parliamentary action. It has nothing to do with the election of men to political positions and yet it is in the highest degree political.

The fundamental Marxian thesis, as further developed and interpreted by Engels, leads straight to this end. The psychology of the workers, produced by their conditions of employment, becomes expressed in mass action direct-

ed towards a concrete and determined economic end. This action must of necessity result in political expression or, as the phrase runs, in a political reflex of the actual economic fact.

In view of this the resolution of the Socialist party convention, which tried to define political simply in terms of parliamentary action, becomes absurd and marks a degree of practical ineptitude seldom equalled in a body presumably possessed of some historic knowledge and philosophic grasp. It is, in effect, a repudiation of the fundamental Marxian idea, a deliberate turning of the back upon the most pregnant and profound doctrine of the whole Socialist movement. Without the Marxian doctrine, Socialism is a resting place for sentimentalists and reformers, adventurers and hucksters, a mere protestant sect. To confine the term "political" merely to those manifestations which are directed towards the election of individuals and the acts of such elected individuals, is to place the Socialist movement absolutely in the grasp of the political adventurer.

Mass action is not "action of the streets," nor is it the turbulence of political mobs directed against established government and marked by rioting. It is the action of the organized working class.

We therefore invite the I. W. W. to co-operate with us, so that we may receive added strength to carry on our work. This is no time to engage in foolish discussions that do not carry any weight, but only serve to keep us apart. If we can obtain the co-operation of the I. W. W., we will bring the radical elements of the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. together, both working towards the same aim—the control of industry. So let us unite and let our slogan be: "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS". Let us be tolerant and not remain aloof due to our long associations with an element that has taken up an anti-political position and has refused to recognise that there has been a change in society. We must have solidarity and we can have that solidarity if we will but come together and even though we may disagree on certain things, we can act together and by continually fighting side by side, we will straighten out our differences and march together along the road that leads to industrial freedom.

TRUE CONCEPTION OF REVOLUTION

The conception of revolution held by many is that it is bloody, with slaughter and executions, barricades and fighting, brutalities and outrages, "Red Terrorism" as was untruthfully reported as the result of revolution in Russia and Hungary. This concept of revolution is being fostered by the epologists of the present system, whether they are labor leader reformists or capitalist politicians.

These opponents of revolution are great sticklers for revolution as opposed to evolution. The step by step process is a mania with them. They attempt to draw an analogy between natural and social laws, but in doing so transformations or revolutions, the most marked being they ignore the fact that in nature we have sudden transformations or revolutions, the most marked being in the animal world when the foetus leaves the mother's womb, where it has shared her circulation and been nourished by her, to become an independent being with its own circulatory organs for breathing, taking nourishment and exercising its own digestive powers.

This revolution that gives the foetus a separate existence is the result of a slow process of evolution. And it has to a great extent its counterpart (notwithstanding the denial of those interested opponents of revolution in human society. The economic method of production in society is a slow development, an evolutionary process requiring a transformation of the social superstructure, i.e., a revolution that will harmonize the political, juridical and social life generally with the stage to which the economic basis has evolved.

The economic basis has evolved from simple production during the capitalistic industrial era to the complex machine industry. This evolution has been forced by the competitive nature of the system. No thanks are due to the capitalists for fulfilling their historic mission of solving the problem of producing in abundance everything necessary to the needs of society as a whole. But the contradiction of social production, with the workers herded together producing socially the necessities for society at a profit to a diminishing number of parasites, requires readjustment. This can only be done by a social revolution. The superficial reformer in horror cries "no bloody revolution." In his ignorance of social science he hysterically calls for the application of various nostrums that are out of joint with the evolutionary process, and, as has been said, would be of as much use in reconstructing society as a porous plaster on an active volcano.

Capitalistic society has reached a point in its development when it can give no more concessions to the workers. The huge war debt owing to those good kind patriots who subscribed to the loans to save civilization has got to be paid. Enormous taxation is absorbing the surplus value extracted from the workers. The strangle hold by financial interests upon society cannot be shaken off by any scheme of reform. Chaos reigns supreme, and the rotten fabric needs but the final push that will send it into the abyss.

The capitalistic class through their henchmen has stated that the economic limit has been reached. They are quite truthful in such a statement; but the workers, having been told this whenever they have demanded a larger share in the product of their labor, do not believe it, and continue asking for crumbs when they should take the whole.

Revolution is necessary to readjust society. The revolution need not necessarily be violent or bloody. The March revolution in Russia was accomplished without the spilling of a drop of blood, and the revolution that placed the Bolsheviks in power was almost bloodless. Strikes have been more bloodshed than either the revolu-

tion in Russia or that in Germany. And to the extent that the workers are organized and educated will the revolution that must occur in all industrial countries in the very near future be peaceful or otherwise.—J. M. G. in The International, Johannesburg.

THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE

This article is written in Pittsburg, the heart of Pennsylvania, the most important industrial state in the United States, perhaps in the world, after four weeks of reporting the steel strike.

And if there has been any democracy, any justice or even common humanity toward the steel strikers, I have yet to see it.

That sounds extravagant, like many statements that appear in the labor press. Yet affidavits and testimony of witnesses have been laid before a Senatorial investigating committee of hundreds of atrocities committed in Allegheny, Westmoreland and Beaver counties of Pennsylvania in proof.

The brutality of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, the disregard for law by the municipal and county officials, the open warfare on defenseless men, women and children by all the departments of government in this part of the United States, are common knowledge.

Yet no blush of shame has appeared and no audible protest has yet been heard of any public official against the anarchy of the administrators of the law in Pennsylvania.

The public officials of this region are above the law, they can murder, pillage and club at will, and they glory in it in the sacred names of "democracy" and "Americanism".

They do not camouflage to any extent, they don't have to. The long arm of the Steel Trust protects them.

This arm reaches right up to the United States senate and turns what is to be an investigating committee into a cynical group of prosecutors.

It reaches the Governor of Indiana and sends the troops into Gary to help break the strike.

It makes the sheriff of Allegheny County issue a proclamation on the eye of the strike barring all meetings. It silences the voice of the press.

There are parts of the United States where a working man and a capitalist have equal standing before the law. But not in Pennsylvania's steel towns. The Man on Horseback, representing the Steel Trust, rules as brutally as any feudal hireling. It is a survival of that time.

Lenine was wrong, for Pennsylvania can give the old feudal barons and the Kaiser a few lessons.

It is true the steel workers do not have to wear a ring of brass around their necks nor a nose ring. Their chains are more real than apparent.

The steel worker toils 10 and 14 hours, day or night, alternately each week, but he cannot quit work without He can walk on the streets to work, but he can't walk being hunted like a wild beast by trained marksmen.

about when he quits work without being clubbed or dragged by state police into the company's lock-up and threatened with death. He must live in a shack or crowded house for lack of proper housing.

Every day his wife and children are exposed to death at the hands of company police, hired gunmen and state troops, who are within the law.

Oh! yes, he can move away, but never to find employment in any steel mill because of the black list.

Father Lenine, you overlooked King Gary.

Part of the propaganda that is being conducted by the Steel Trust has been conducted to create the impression that these acts are necessary to overawe the foreigner.

But American citizens, labor union officials, reporters, photographers or whoever they may be, are subject to the same brutality.

Men whose ancestry dates from the earliest days of this country have experienced Pennsylvania justice, which recognizes only one law—are you a friend or foe of the Steel Trust, if the latter, you are un-American, no matter where you were born.

A Riley, a Beaghan, a Patterson, a Murphy, is in the same class with a Kesenks, a Senilla, a Podio and a Mesrowitch.

It makes no difference that these now dangerous foreigners toiled unceasingly in the armour plant shops, the gun shops and the blast furnaces to make munitions of war.

The slogan "American all" on the Liberty Loan posters which bore the names of a Frenchman, an Englishman, an Irishman, a Bulgarian, a German, a Greek, a Rumanian, an Italian, a Jew, a Croatian, a Pole, a Czech-Slovak, a Swede and a Spaniard, who died in the war for democracy in American divisions, is a forgotten head line on a scrap of paper.

The question is: Are you for the Steel Trust or against it? If you are against it and for labor you are an outlaw.

That is why this battle against the most powerful corporation in the world is also a battle for civil liberty to make fundamental American law a real thing and not a mockery.

As for anything revolutionary coming out of the present situation, let any perfervid radical disabuse himself of the thought. When thousands of men are hunted until they run like rats to their hole, nothing more serious than the trampling under foot of all the traditions of real Americanism has happened.

Union men and women realize what it means to have a strike without the strikers being able to meet anywhere. Then think what it means to be forced into a strike when not even organization meetings have been permitted for over a year.

And yet these despised foreigners stand a good chance of winning their strike. Steel, the basis of modern industry, is running very low.

Four weeks more will tell

—Call—