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GOV'T WILL CRUSH LABOR; DRASTIC INJUNCTION AND OVER 5,000 U. S. DEPUTIES TO FILL JAILS

500 SUBPOENAS PREPARED 250 NAMED FOR ARREST

Chicago. — The Government was speedy in following up the injunction action in which United States Attorney General Daugherty attempts to prohibit all union activity.

Notice of the temporary enjoining order and the pending hearing Sept. 11 in Federal district court here, were served Sept. 2, on John Scott, secretary-treasurer of the railway employees' department of the American Federation of Labor.

B. M. Jewell, head of the railway employees' department and acknowledged leader of the strike could not be found by deputy United States marshals who sought to arrest him. Five hundred subpoenas, or notices of the temporary order and hearing were printed and were to be received at the Federal building Saturday. More than 250 individuals, officers and aides of leaders of six shopmen's unions whose 300,000 members went on strike July 1, the railway employees' department and 120 system federations throughout the country were named.

Some 5,500 deputy United States marshals throughout the country are ready to receive the subpoenas and serve them on local federation officers and other individual union leaders named in the injunction suit.

Fifty additional deputy marshals were sworn in at Chicago to aid in serving the injunction notice upon the union leaders.

Brotherhoods Will Give \$2,000,000 To Shopmen

The five train service unions, comprising the four brotherhoods and the switchmen's union, have contributed a voluntary assessment of one day's pay from a membership of approximately 500,000 men, it was said in labor circles. At least \$2,000,000 will be realized from this gift, perhaps more, according to estimates made by strike leaders.

CONFESSIONS SECURED BY TORTURE; MEN SHOW BRUISES AND WELTS

(By The Federated Press)

GARY, Ind.—"The alleged confessions in the Michigan Central wreck at Gary were extorted by torture in the police station where the accused were held and are repudiated by the prisoners," said Paul P. Glaser, attorney for the men who were arrested ten days after the wreck on information of a railroad detective masquerading as a union man. The shopmen's unions have special representatives on the scene to fight the frameup.

The wreck caused the death of the engineer and fireman. Attempts to connect William Z. Foster with the affair failed. Then Albino Alessio is said by the police to have told of a plot by members of a shopmen's union to derail the passenger train. Three other men, John Petrowski, Charles Uselis, and Joseph Popovich were arrested with Alessio on charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

Alessio later said he had been employed for almost ten years as a secret service man but had belonged to radical organizations all that time. He further said that he did not actually know anything directly of the alleged plot but had picked up some hearsay about it. He is being held for murder, nevertheless.

In the presence of reporters Uselis told Attorney Glaser that he had made the confession because of beatings with rubber hose and continual kicking by police. He opened his shirt and revealed a chest terribly welled, bruised and discolored.

"The confessions were procured simply to discredit the orderly conduct of the shopmen's strike and to put a bad name on union labor," Glaser said. "The men have been tortured on the lying words of an agent provocateur who now says that he was not even implicated in the alleged crime."

Officials of the shop unions have pointed out that the evidence in the wreck pointed to derailment because of a sharp flange, due to negligence of the railroad in using defective equipment that was in a dangerous state.

ANOTHER SHADY DEAL EXPOSED; \$1,300 PAID FOR DEATH VERDICT

SAN FRANCISCO.—That the verdict that was to send Tom Mooney to his death upon the gallows for his activities in behalf of organized labor in San Francisco was in part paid for, is the substance of a charge made by C. Vincent Riccardi, ex-jury fixer, and member of San Francisco's frameup ring.

Riccardi charges that two of the jurors were paid and that the price was in the neighborhood of \$1,300.

The two jurors charged by Riccardi with having accepted a bribe to guarantee a death sentence for Tom Mooney were John Bazzini, retired vegetable dealer, and William O. Banks, architect.

Riccardi states that during the trial of Tom Mooney he approached Bazzini, then a member of the Mooney jury, in behalf of one of his clients, and requested that Bazzini settle a claim due his client. The claim in question was the result of a shady transaction between Riccardi's client and Bazzini. Bazzini claimed that he could not pay the claim and Riccardi threatened to expose the shady deal while Bazzini was on the Mooney jury, which would have disqualified him as a juror.

As a result of this threat Bazzini reluctantly agreed to pay the sum involved at the conclusion of the trial.

The sum due Riccardi's client was \$1,300 and it was paid as soon as the death verdict was rendered in Tom Mooney's case.

Riccardi further charged that he asked Bazzini if any of the other jurors were bribed and Bazzini replied that he knew of but one other, William O. Banks, who, as a former member of the State Senate, had been a tool of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

At the time of the Mooney trial, Riccardi was a bright and shining light in the frameup ring and was in the confidence of the tools of the ring, such as the men who, under the San Francisco system, work as jurors, day by day throughout the year. As an attorney in the confidence of the ring, Riccardi daily dealt with these jurors.

The above story was related to two of Mooney's attorneys by Riccardi himself.

Later, Riccardi, having studied the methods of the frameup ring, began to use these same methods without paying tribute to the organized purveyors of justice and injustice in San Francisco's underworld. As a result, the ring turned on Riccardi, framed him, and he was sent to San Quentin Prison.

While he was in San Quentin, Riccardi was confronted by Tom Mooney with the above statement of the bribery of the two jurors and he stated that he was just about to get the story in shape for Mooney's attorneys when he was sent to prison.

Riccardi claimed that he knew much more than he had told and that if he was not released he would bring some big men in with him to share prison life. Riccardi served but ten scant weeks of his ten year sentence in prison. Governor Stephens commuted his sentence to "time served."

FIFTEEN RADICAL PAPERS SUPPRESSED

Chicago. — Fifteen radical papers have been suppressed since 1919 by the Lithuanian government, according to Kova (The Struggle), official organ of the Lithuanian Trade unions, published in Shauliai, Lithuania. Two editors of these suppressed papers, Kurauskas and Eidukeviciene, were imprisoned and are still serving in Kovno. The radical movement and press are prosecuted under the code of czarist Russia, by which Lithuania's people are still ruled. The Lithuanian Communist party is illegal and forced to function underground. Many communists are in jail. In order to prevent the workers from joining Lithuanian trade unions (Lietuvos Profesines Sajungas), the clericals organized their own Lithuanian Federation of Labor.

German Communists Win in Election of Convention Delegates

By The Federated Press.

Berlin. — A victory has been won by the communists in the election of Berlin delegates to the coming national convention of Employees in Municipal and State Undertakings. Of 25 delegates to be elected, 20 are members of the communist party. The swing to the left is said to be due, in part, to the fact that municipal and state employees are badly paid. There is also considerable dissatisfaction with the socialists for not having supported the strike of the electric and gas workers last February. The party joined hands then with other factions in the coalition to suppress strike.

Tag Day To Aid Rail Shopmen Is Planned

Minneapolis. — A tag day to aid the striking shopmen will be conducted in Minneapolis Saturday by the Trades Union Educational league. A meeting of the committee to complete the plans was held in the World War Veterans' headquarters, 401 Star building.

Members of the Housewives' union, wives of shopmen and others who will assist in selling tags will meet at 7 o'clock Saturday morning at Richmond halls, 225 Fifth Street S.

Blast Heard From Trapped Argonaut Men

Jackson, Cal., Sept. 4. — Jackson was thrilled tonight with the report that explosions had been heard which apparently were answering signals from the 46 miners who have been entombed in the Argonaut mine for a week, although officials in charge of the work declined to discuss the matter and insisted Thursday was the earliest date on which the men could be reached.

'Mother' Jones Wins Against Pneumonia

By International News Service
Washington, Sept. 5. — "Mother" Jones, 93 years old, labor leader, today is recovering from an attack of pneumonia that for a time caused her life to be despaired of.

While "her boys" of the United Mine Workers of America fought the battle that has just ended, the old lady lay at death's door in complete ignorance of the details of the struggle. Only when victory

Australians In Key Industries Fighting Wage Cuts

By WM. FRANCIS AHERN.
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent.)

Sydney, N. S. Wales. — Key industries in Australia are experiencing a savage drive for a wage cut.

In the pastoral wages have been reduced to the level of the 1917 wages and 40,000 pastoral workers have refused to work at the lower rates laid down by the employers.

A bitter fight is expected as the pastoral workers are militants and not likely to tolerate the introduction of nonunion labor. They are members of the Australasian Workers' union — the largest union in Australia — which has recently merged into the One Big Union.

There has been a complete shutdown in the steel industry because of a wage cut of 25 per cent. Many other manufacturing industries have been forced to close owing to the shortage of raw materials.

In the coal mining industry the operators are demanding a 33 per cent cut in wages, longer hours and a breaking down of the present working conditions. The men have refused the operators' demands, and are compelling the operators to take the initiative of declaring a lock-out. A nationwide stoppage is pending.

In most of the secondary industries unemployment is growing wholesale. The opening of trade with Germany is likely to make the position more critical for the workers.

The economic crash that hit the old world in 1920-21, and America in mid-1921 is now in full swing in Australia.

According to an official statement issued by the New Zealand Labor party, wages in that country are now actually 20 per cent below 1914 rates, measured in purchasing power.

In the case of skilled workers the present day wage is 47 per cent above the wage of 1914, whereas the cost of living today is 67 per cent higher than in the first year of the war.

In the case of semi-skilled labor, the wage increase since 1914 is 48 per cent, as against a cost of living increase of 67 per cent. In the case of unskilled labor the wage increase is 53½ per cent as against a cost of living increase of 67 per cent.

In the skilled trades the present day normal wage of 53 cents per hour, after making allowance for the increase in the cost of living is only equal to an effective wage of 26 cents in 1901 — 22 years ago — whereas in 1900 the ruling wage for skilled labor was 30 cents per hour.

Trade union officials in New Zealand are of the opinion that there should be an immediate increase of \$1.25 per week in all wages, and no further reduction in wages until prices fall to an average of only 50 per cent above 1914 prices, and then only a reduction of 72 cents per week in the wage rate.

A new wage-price index number should then be struck and for every rise or fall in the index number wages should be automatically adjusted. This, it is claimed by the unions, would secure to the workers the 1914 standard of comfort and open the way for eventually securing a wage sufficient to maintain "a fair living standard."

had been won at Cleveland did Terence V. Powderly, leader of the knights of labor, almost two generations ago, whose guest she is, dare tell her anything. And then "Mother Jones" began to improve.

RESTRAINING ORDER FORBIDS WORKERS TO JEER OR TAUNT

TO SUGGEST DANGER IS ALSO FORBIDDEN. BEWARE! DO NOT TELL SCABS THAT EMPLOYERS WILL STARVE THEM AND SHOOT THEM TOMORROW. THAT IS CONSPIRACY!

CHICAGO.—The United States government on Sept. 1 was granted a temporary restraining order against the striking railroad shopcrafts unions, their officials and members from interfering in any way with the operation of the railroads and their properties.

The order was granted by Federal District Judge James H. Wilkerson on application of United States Attorney General Daugherty and District Attorney Charles F. Clyne. The order will remain in force until Sept. 11, pending hearing on the government's application for a permanent writ of injunction.

The plea for injunction named the railway employees' department of the A. F. of L., the six striking shopcrafts and 120 system federations.

Besides the railway employees' department the six international unions, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, International Association of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as well as 120 system federations, were named as the objectives of the injunction.

SWEEPING IN CHARGE

The application was sweeping in charge and sought to prevent all interference with operations of trains or with railroad property in any way.

The application for injunction specifically named the presidents of the various union organizations involved in the present strike, which started July 1, last, following a wage decision of the railroad labor board reducing wages of the railway employees throughout the country.

The suit seeks to enjoin all railway employees, attorneys, servants, agents, associates and members and all persons acting in aid or in conjunction with them, primarily until final hearing and permanently thereafter from in any manner interfering with, hindering or obstructing railway companies, their agents, servants or employees in the operation of their respective railroads and systems of transportation or the performance of their public duties and obligations in the transportation of passengers and property in interstate commerce and the carriage of the mails, and from in any manner interfering with, hindering or obstructing the agents, servants and employees of said railway companies, or any of them, engaged in inspection, repair, operation or use of trains, locomotives, cars and other equipment of said railway companies, or any of them, and from preventing or attempting to prevent any person or persons from freely entering into or from continuing in the employ of said railway companies for the purpose of inspection and repairing of locomotives and cars, or otherwise.

AGAINST CONSPIRACY

The suit also enjoined against conspiring, combining, confederating, agreeing and arranging with each other or with any other person or persons, organizations or associations to interfere with or hinder said railway companies in the conduct of their lawful business of transportation of passengers and property in interstate commerce and the carriage of the mails; or to injure, interfere with, hinder or annoy any employee of said railway companies in connection with the performance of their duties as such employees or while going to or returning from the premises of said railway companies in connection with their said employment, or at any time or place by displays of force of numbers or any intimidations, acts of violence, jeers, suggestions of danger, taunts, entreaties or other unlawful acts of conduct toward any employee or employees or officers of said railway companies or toward any persons desirous or contemplating entering into such employment.

L. W. W.'S STATE REASON FOR REFUSING INDIVIDUAL CLEMENCY

By STEPHEN CARLETON

(Defense News Service Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In an open letter, delivered by registered mail to President Harding today, 52 members of the L. W. W., serving sentence in Leavenworth penitentiary on war-opinion charges, made it clear why they had refused to file application for individual clemency and why they would continue so to refuse.

This letter, which comprises 7,500 words, was drafted in answer to a question raised by the Chief Executive when he received the amnesty delegation bearing the 300,000-signature petition from the General Defense Committee of Chicago on July 19. Mr. Harding, while agreeing to review the cases of all the remaining political prisoners (now numbering 76), expressed wonder that any man should be unwilling to fill out the application for individual consideration demanded by the Department of Justice.

Copies of the communication to the Chief Executive were dispatched in the same mail, at the request of the 52 prisoners, to all members of the Cabinet and of Congress, to many other Washington officials, to the 48 Governors, to the heads of every labor union in the United States, to hundreds of editors, lawyers, mayors, public speakers, clergymen, educators, and officers of civic organizations.

Reasons for the refusal of the 52 to apply individually for clemency include these contentions: that they were convicted as a group for alleged conspiracy, and not as individuals; that they are equally innocent or equally guilty; that individual applications would give the Attorney general's office an opportunity to single out certain men to go free and others to serve out barbaric sentences; that the Attorney General and his staff have repeatedly broken faith with them, and have given out flagrantly false information about them.

They contend that they are now serving sentence solely for opinion, as Debs did; that they will not recant their beliefs about the class struggle, because those beliefs, which they have every legal right to hold, remain unchanged. They point out also that all the German spies have been released, without making application for clemency.

Seven of the signers of the letter to the President are serving twenty-year sentences; 32 are in for 10 years; and 13 are serving from five to nine years.

executioners, and proudly maintained his allegiance to the World Revolution. On the day when he was condemned to death, nothing could be heard in the factories of Budapest, but "Long live Bokanyi, leader of the Revolution!"

The helping hand of Soviet Russia saved him from the heel of the Hungarian counter-revolution. He now appears before the court, draws for the S.R.'s a picture of the fall of the Hungarian Soviets and the ensuing carnage, and asks the S.R.'s: "Do you not realize, that had you been able to overthrow the Soviet power in Russia, you yourselves would then have been overthrown by the White Guards, who have instituted a dreadful reign of terror?"

The S.R.'s did not understand this,—for they did not want to understand. The most upright among them declare, that they prefer the dictatorship of capital and the large landed proprietorship to that of the proletariat. Zenzinov says: "Let Koltchak win, and I will pardon him, however he may treat us S.R.'s".

In the name of the Hungarian proletariat, which has suffered all the pains and difficulties of the revolutionary struggle; which now, under the yoke of the White Dictatorship, raises to us its bleeding hands to swear that it will continue the struggle until the Red Flag of Communism again flies over Budapest; in its name, Bokanyi demands that the S. R.'s should answer for their crimes against the Proletarian Revolution. They are responsible for those who have betrayed the Hungarian proletariat.

The indictments pronounced by the representatives of the Communist International are the voice of the international proletariat, de-

manding the punishment of the S.R.'s. They should not seek satisfaction in the fact that the Communist International does not as yet represent the majority of the workers. True, it has not the majority of the working-class behind it yet. But when Karl Marx sounded his great call in 1847: "Workers of the World, Unite!" only a handful of revolutionary workers stood at his side.

He had nevertheless the right to speak in the name of the whole world proletariat, for he represented its interests and its future. Millions of workers are still attached to the traitors, millions of workers have not yet broken away from the bourgeoisie, millions of workers have not yet found the courage for a war to the death with capital. They are still the dumb slaves of the bourgeoisie. On that account only, could Vandervelde and Henderson, Renaudel and Scheidemann have defended the S.R.'s in their name. All those workers who fought during the war for the maintenance of the International, all those workers who have languished in prison for its restoration, all those workers of all countries who have given their lives for the Proletarian Revolution, from the 20,000 Germans whom Noske shot down, to the workers in the South African gold mines, whom English capital, Henderson's patron, murdered,—all the living elements of the international proletariat which represents the future of the working-class are behind us in our fight against the S.R.'s.

In the name of the Communist International, that is, in the name of the future of the international proletariat, comrades Zetkin, Muna, and Bokanyi demanded a pitiless judgment of the past, present and future of the S.R. Party.

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

By KARL RADEK.

The Conference of the C. P. R. which met a few days ago will, without doubt, devote a great part of its time to the report of Comrade Zinoviev, dealing with "the new methods of organization employed by the forces and elements hostile to Soviet Russia". This long title is but a roundabout way of defining the attitude of the proletarian dictatorship towards the political effects of the new economic policy today,—the most important problem before the C. P. R.

The Mensheviks of all shades (from Martov and Dan to Paul Levi) stoutly maintained that, once the economic structure at home and the situation abroad had compelled the Soviet Power to grant the bourgeoisie economic concessions, political concessions, would, according to all the rules of Marxism, follow in due course. The S. R.'s demand as a matter of course that the Constituent Assembly be convened. The Mensheviks are somewhat more modest; for the time being they do not mention the Assembly but would be satisfied with freedom of movement for the so-called labor parties, meaning the Mensheviks and the S. R.'s, in order to enable these "democratic parties" to prepare the road for the advent of a democratic regime, meaning the dictatorship of capitalism. When taking the first step towards the new economic policy, the Communist Party of Russia told these intellectual "diehards" in so many words: my dears, things will never get that far. Existence determines consciousness and economics determine politics. But there are a number of intermediary links between existence and consciousness. The economic basis creates for itself a superstructure corresponding to it, here is no saying, however, when it will do so. In many countries

the economic basis of capitalism existed underneath a feudalist superstructure. And even if the new economic policy in Russia were to bring forth a purely capitalist economic basis, that does not mean that this basis would within a short time produce a bourgeois political superstructure. It merely follows that a struggle will ensue between the capitalist economic basis upon which the bourgeoisie rests, and the political regime of the working-class. The outcome of this struggle depends on the development of the international political situation within the next few decades. The question is whether the bourgeoisie will prove victorious in Europe (and thus help the Russian bourgeoisie to attain a victory also) or whether the proletariat will gain the upper hand and thus assist the Russian working-class to build up its economy on a Socialist basis.

The question could be formulated in this way, even if the new economic policy would be merely a restoration of capitalism. But it is not! The free trade inaugurated by the new economic policy will facilitate the development of Russian agriculture, the basis of all industrial evolution. In the large scale industry the new economic policy does not restore the principle of private ownership of the means of production; it merely leases these means, and only in certain branches of industry. The most important branches of industry must remain in the hands of the proletarian state. From this it follows again, that the economic basis of Socialism is being strengthened simultaneously with the restoration of the bourgeoisie. This tends to heighten the prospects of the proletariat to maintain its power, even if the victory of the world proletariat fails to materialize soon. It is just this policy which will

produce the preliminary conditions for the real establishment of Socialism in the future. It goes without saying that programmatic declarations of party conferences avail nothing in this struggle, which must be fought to the end by the Soviet Government on the one side, and both Russian and foreign capital on the other. Victory will be ours in this battle, if we understand to defend ourselves against the attempts of foreign capital to compel Soviet Russia to restore capitalism and extort from it a gigantic tribute. Victory, I say, will be ours, if we understand, not in words only, but in deeds as well, to adopt commercial methods; if we can successfully complete with private industry in the struggle for raw material. To repeat: the Marxian principle that politics are determined by economics, far from demanding that the C. P., having inaugurated the new economic policy should renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat, brings home the fact that that dictatorship with the C. P. at its helm must, as heretofore, remain a weapon in the struggle for Socialism.

During the period of intervention and open civil war, when the bourgeoisie bore arms against us, we were compelled not only to suppress it, but to crush it. In order to do this, we had to dismember it economically and destroy its whole economic apparatus, even if we could have used it for our own economic ends. Every store where a bourgeois could have received visitors or could have gotten into communication with his fellow-bourgeois over the telephone, would have provided a stronghold for plotting white guards of all shades and creeds. And although this danger is not yet quite past, it has been considerably minimized. In the period of civil war, and intervention, the whole country was a source of supply for the front; its condition determined the fate of our army. Counter-revolutionary conspiracies are possible (and dangerous) even today, but they could never inflict upon us irreparable losses. Today it is only a question of the bourgeoisie trying to use the gradual political organizations. It follows that we must prevent the bourgeoisie from organizing its forces on the political field, in the same ratio as we give it some breath on the economic field. Under no circumstances, however, must we interfere with the process of economic reconstruction, although that process at times assumes capitalist forms. While in 1919, the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents was quite simple and could be carried on by the Teheka, it now confronts us with very complicated tasks. The economic process in the country necessitates expert administration which the Communists alone are not capable of providing. For this reason, the publication of non-Communist literature, if only dealing with economic mat-

ters, must be licensed. There can, however, be no doubt that in the course of development the bourgeoisie will try to concentrate all its ideological forces on that field and establish capitalist propaganda organs with 5 columns of bourgeois political propaganda to every column of abstract and scientific matter. This will be done not only by the Mensheviks in the trade unions, the S. P.'s and the Cadets in the cooperatives, but even by the dyed-in-the-wool Octobrists, in our trusts and other economic institutions. A perusal of the numerous non-Communist organs published lately is rather interesting. All of them carry the announcements of our trusts and of the government bank, thus bearing witness to the methods by which the bourgeois experts in our economic institutions attempt to give material assistance to the various ideological and political groups. Intelligence, quick perception and a sound sense of judgement constitute the necessary experience of the proletarians carrying on the struggle against all these new features. There should be no hasty interference, no wholesale prohibitions. That which is useful must be supported, and that which is harmful, eliminated. Apart from these tasks of the juridical executive or of the state political administration, the former Teheka, we must launch a vigorous ideological campaign against the new concrete aspects of the bourgeois ideology. As we must complete with private capital in the economic field, we are compelled to compete with it in the ideological domain as well, and not merely rely on the possibility of prohibiting these features. That is just the point; we cannot prohibit everything.

It is to the credit of Comrade Zinoviev that he drew the attention of the Party to these problems which render fresh efforts essential. No time should be lost in concentrating large forces on the new ideological front and in training new intellectual forces for the forthcoming struggles. It will, no doubt, be difficult, and necessitate tremendous efforts, but it will be worth our while, tending as it does to steel the frame of the Party and harden its intellectual forces. The struggle must be fought on the offensive from the very beginning. Everything that has so far been done in this direction was to point out the danger and even retreat before it. We must organize our intellectual forces and provide scientific literature together with corresponding militant organs. This ideological offensive is quite feasible, because even if we were compelled in Russia to call a temporary economic retreat (thus providing our antagonists with occasion to babble about the failure of Communism) the fact remains that, on an international scale, the bourgeoisie is nearing its complete economic and ideological collapse.

PROLETARIAN CLASS JUSTICE

By P. STUTSCHKE.

We often find even in Communist papers, protests against class justice in general, and not against bourgeois or feudal class-justice. And we often speak of Right in general instead of speaking of Class Right. "Advance, you who honor Right and Truth," we hear enthusiastically sung without properly considering what this Right actually means.

It required a political trial to bring all these questions to the fore. I refer to the trial of the Social Revolutionaries. A Tribunal whose president openly declared that it exercised class justice, proletarian class justice! A tribunal before which deputations of revolutionary workers appeared and pronounced their opinion, not upon the defendants as persons but upon the political party seated in the dock, upon the party calling itself Socialism! An undisguised class justice whose class character was further intensified by the direct pressure of the proletarian masses. One group of defenders after the other forsook their posts; first the "Socialists" (Vandervelde and Co.), then the one-time Socialists, Muraviev and his like.

From the lawyers nothing else was to be expected. Legal ideology is bourgeois ideology par excellence. This has been clearly demonstrated by no one less than Fr. Engels (in 1887 in the Neue Zeit in a joint article with K. Kautsky: "When the Christian Weltanschauung was obliged to depart, the legal or bourgeois Weltanschauung stepped into its place. And this Weltanschauung dominates not only the lawyers, Socialists and even Communists not excepted, it prevails also in the heads of laymen and even of broad proletarian masses.

What is Right? Consult the mass

of legal writings, search the dictionaries, etc., and you will find the short and concise answer, that there is as yet no general conception of Right, that the legal authorities seek for it in vain. And I tell you that there cannot be such a conception as long as jurisprudence prates of eternal right and eternal justice, instead of accepting the class standpoint and recognizing Class Right, "a system, an order of social relations which correspond to the interests of the ruling class and will therefore be maintained by the organized power of this class, the state." Can bourgeois society openly acknowledge this class right? No, it cannot do it, for it would be a recognition, a legalization of the proletarian revolution. The working class and its ideologists must openly proclaim this, for that is their vital interest.

From this, and this standpoint only, can we comprehend how it comes that the bourgeois lawyers glorify the murder of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and other comrades, or are able to treat even the murderers of Ministers, as for instance of Erzberger or Rathenau, with great indulgence, and on the other hand speak of judicial murder when the Soviet government bring to trial the political assassins who kill proletarian leaders and proletarian state functionaries. And we will then be able to appreciate the same views within the ranks of the social-treachorous defenders or perverters of Right.

In one of his early writings, Karl Marx proves that it would be a logical absurdity to speak of impartial judges, because right and law are themselves partial. To the opposing class all class justice will appear unjust; there is no common understanding. And it is mere hypocrisy to estimate the justice of a

sentence according to the outward formalities of the trial. But the whole of bourgeois justice swears by these formalities. These formalities are even in the best instances technical regulations for getting at the evidence and clearing up the question of guilt.

It is not these formalities which will determine whether a sentence is just or unjust, but the true facts and the class conception of Right. And particularly in the case of the trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries it is not a question of such formalities. It is an unprecedented historical trial, in which it is not a question of person but of classes and class groups.

Revolutionary proletarian class justice is not to be comprehended from the bourgeois conception of Right. But that does not by any means imply that this justice is quite undefined, that no law exists for it, but only personal arbitrariness. No, like every right, proletarian right also finds expression in law, in revolutionary decrees. It is true that the proletarian revolution abolishes all previous laws so far as they are not embodied in the new decrees. But that does not mean a sudden revolution of the consciousness of right in the people. This revolution is a protracted and difficult process. The retreat to the new economic policy which is naturally also a retreat on the legal field, has hampered it very considerably.

Proletarian class justice also means lawfulness, but only revolutionary lawfulness. It will hear nothing of formal objections on the part of juridical representatives who appeal to the law books of the overthrown bourgeois government and to the bourgeois legal authorities. And if (what has occurred nowhere else) foreign lawyers as Vandervelde and Liebknecht conferred in French or maintained silence in German, it was not because of linguistic reasons that they failed to be understood, but because they used the language of another class, the bourgeoisie. It was not class justice that was the objection here, but the fact that so-called proletarian representatives defended anti-proletarian class interests. It is not a question of a simple legal trial, but of a class struggle before the eyes of the working-class of the whole world. And these labor leaders lend themselves, not to clearing the minds of the workers but to befogging them with bourgeois legal trickery.

Apart from the great importance of this trial for the cause of the world revolution, it will play an important part in enlightening the working class on the question of class right and class justice. Up to now we had no Marxist revolutionary conception of right and justice, and jurists, and non-jurists repeated the same old wisdoms of lawyer Socialists, which Engels censured as early as 1887. With us in Russia, the revolution introduced a certain change in this respect, but it would have been very desirable if this breach should have occurred outside of Russia before the revolution. The proletarian slogan is not "against class right and class justice", but for proletarian right and proletarian justice! It would be more correct perhaps if the working class of Germany would oppose the bourgeois Supreme Court for the protection of the republic, with the slogan of a Workers' Tribunal.

BOOKS!

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Arthur Morrow Lewis Noted Lecturer, Dead

Arthur Morrow Lewis, for fifteen years lecturer at the Garrick Theatre, Chicago, Illinois, died suddenly on Tuesday morning, Aug. 22.

His death removes a powerful factor from the sphere of working class education. The organization of which he was the head and under whose auspices he lectured was known as the Workers' University and it is not likely that the organization will continue to exist, now that Lewis is gone.

Beginning his work in 1907, while a lecturer on Socialism, Lewis discovered that he could not deliver scientific lectures under the auspices of that reactionary mass of middleheads, controlled by a gang of sloppy sentimentalists and expulsi-pounders, hence the organization of the Workers' University. For many years his platform was the one place in the entire Middle West from which was expounded the best in Socialism and Science. Without exaggeration it can be said that Arthur Morrow-Lewis did more for the popularization of science than any man who has lived since Thomas Henry Huxley. He lifted the veil of darkness and ignorance from the brains of thousands of workers and showed them new vistas of life in the realms of all the sciences known to man.

H. M. W.

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