

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

THE TRUTH



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FIVE CENTS.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA

THE SILENCE OF THE CAPITALIST PRESS IS POSITIVE PROOF OF THE TELLING EFFECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL STRIKE

CLASSCONSCIOUS WORKER JAILED

A STORY OF A REAL FIGHTER

Cases like Eugene Victor Debs are so rare that when we come across one we feel refreshed. It gives us great pleasure to let our readers know of the story of a real rebel, from "Down Under."

For distributing the following leaflets, fellow-worker Parker was arrested and sent to prison for twelve months. Parker is an old man, but possessed of a youthful enthusiasm. Read these leaflets, as reprinted from the New Zealand capitalist press:

THE LOCKOUT

Labor is awakening, and making a study of the best means to take back that which has been stolen from them.

The most intelligent have adopted the policy of going slow, both as a tactic for immediate demands, and eventually the Lockout of our oppressors the Shareholder.

Labor is in possession of means of production and distribution, and when efficiently organized can carry on without paying useless drones. By the Strike on the work, at the point of production, where the robbery takes place, Labor can and must emancipate itself. The slogan must be, go dead Slow, create no Surplus, be prepared to work for exchange only, between the Toilers of different Industries.

The new Society thus breaking through the shell of the old. The parasites then would be compelled to do useful work or die of starvation the same old whip with which they have ever persecuted the useful Worker in the past.

LABOUR UNREST

Professors and other interested people are wondering what it all portends.

To some of us workers it seems quite clear.

We have learnt that Labour gets one-fifth of that which it produces: we are out for the other four-fifths and know how to get it. But our mates must know too. Hence this leaflet.

With the Dividend stolen from the Toilers the shareholders pay all the organized tyrants in the shape of Politicians to fuddle your brains; Lawyers to bamboozle you; Judges to sentence you; Police to baton you; Soldiers to shoot you; Parsons to hypnotise you; Editors to mislead you. Stop that dividend and you compel those Tyrants to work honestly.

The World for the Workers, it is yours if you go dead slow. STOP THAT DIV.

In these days when radicals are advising us to be cautious and in no way "wilfully mislead the workers," "social abortion," etc., it is good to read the following extract from the report of the trial of fellow-worker Parker.

An elderly waterside worker, named William Parker, bumped up against New Zealand's famous War

Regulations in Magistrate Frazer's Court, at Wellington, when he was charged that, on April 7, at Wellington, he did have in his possession for distribution a certain document headed "The Lockout," which document, it was alleged, invited, encouraged,

ADVISED AND ADVOCATED LAWLESSNESS, contrary to the War Regulations.

The Lockout

Labor is awakening, and making a study of the best means to take back that which has been stolen from them. The most intelligent have adopted the policy of going slow, both as a tactic for immediate demands, and eventually the Lockout of our oppressors, the Shareholder. Labor is in possession of means of production and distribution, and when efficiently organized can carry on without paying useless drones. By the Strike on the work, at the point of production, where the robbery takes place, Labor can and must emancipate itself. The slogan must be, go dead Slow, create no Surplus, be prepared to work for exchange only, between the Toilers of different Industries. The new Society thus breaking through the shell of the old. The parasites then would be compelled to do useful work or die of starvation the same old whip with which they have ever persecuted the useful Worker in the past.

"I don't know that it's seditious," said accused, "though, from the point of view of the master class, may be it is. We have to go outside the law. The master class and the parasites who live on them may think it is seditious, and I admit they're seditious from their way of looking at things." Referring specifically to the words on the pink pamphlet, Parker added, "The only place where we have any power is where we produce the dividends, and I know the master class recognize it, too. I cannot expect you to think that though. I have had to carry the likes of you on my back all my life."

His Honor (patiently): You may know more about economics than I do, Parker, but just for your own information, I may say that I have taken University honors in Economics. You seem to think that the only work that is work is manual work. Some men have corns on their hands, you know, and others have corns on their brains.

Parker (with extreme scorn): I don't think you're likely to develop any (laughter).

His Worship: Well, have you any legal excuse for your actions?

Parker: No, I've no legal excuse, as you call it.

His Worship: You know these documents are seditious?—Maybe they are seditious from the point of view of the law. I thought it was time to start something stronger. Crowns are now in the melting pot and the other fellows may as well

(Continued on page 5.)

ON WITH THE FIGHT! DIRECT ACTION IS THE WAY

By ARTHUR McMANUS.

In a previous article we attempted to explain the real character of Parliament by examining its historic growth, studying the functions it was inaugurated to perform, thereby proclaiming the limit of its scope and the area of its effective action as an institution of social progress. Having done this, the prime point to be nailed down was the fact that Parliament, as we know it to-day, was the political outcome of the economic clash between the newly developed material forces of capitalism and the restraining conditions of feudalism. During that period of capitalist ascendancy, and to the extent of its progress—and only to that extent—could Parliament function effectively, administering to the social needs and requirements of the people. But, and this fact is invariably either ignored or overlooked by most of our present-day zealous Parliamentarians, the scope of Parliament was limited by the law of its own existence. The political child of capitalist economic supremacy, its entire existence was determined by the material factors which gave it birth, and consequently its function was to act in harmony with these factors, ensuring scope for their fullest development and nurturing all that was latent within them.

From this it is obvious, therefore, that to speak of Parliament legislating Socialism into existence is to demonstrate a crass ignorance of the laws of social progression, to make the sound produce the collision and anoint the infant the mother of the parent. It cannot be done unless in the "sophistic" minds of our modern politicians. Society does not evolve that way, at least, has not done so in the past, and we have no indication that it is likely to be influenced otherwise by the moral suasion of even Labour Parliamentarians. In the past the birth of new tools was the signal for the appearance of a new political force, the pre-eminence of the one being the predominance of the other.

The development of these tools up to the point where they clashed with the conditions of the old order of production, the old system, was the advent of revolution. Either the old system suppressed the development of the new method and made it to conform with the *status quo*, or the new tools or method of production emerged successfully out of the conflict and created its own conditions, its own social relations, its own society. Conformity with these economic factors was the law of the existence of all institutions—political, juridical, social—i. e., the law of society.

It is idle, therefore, to insistently present demands for remedy to Parliament, which demands are in themselves a violation of that law of existence. The evil done by such actions, if done with belief in its possible accomplishment, is mainly twofold: it fritters away uselessly the time, energy and fervent enthusiasm of those who hold this opinion, and creates a false philosophy of action of engendering the belief in the mind of the mass of the people that such can be achieved.

Obviously then, those who are out for the establishment of a new social order must begin by having in existence a new economic method or system. *They who control the tools dictate the politics*, and from that we must take our key.

The forces of revolution are there ready to hand, for who will deny that the clash between material forces and social conditions has not been reached? Social production and private control are incompatible, and constitute the elements of the conflict. With social production has grown up a class of social producers who control the forces of production, but who do not control that which is produced, hence the class struggle—the struggle between social production and individual control, between working class and employing class. This struggle is deeply inherent in the very vitals of the system itself, and in its intensity may be eased or in appearance may be somewhat obscure, but which must continue, must go on until that anomaly is wiped out and social control is established.

To anyone versed in economics or sociology, a revolution is therefore absolutely essential before such a consummation can be achieved, before Socialism can be established. This untoward fact must be faced, however distasteful it may be to the palate, nurtured and cultivated in the hot-house of capitalist morality, ethics and culture; and the longer we stand aside, timid and cowering, afraid to soil ourselves in contact with the "beast," the more aggressive it becomes, taking advantage of our timidity by dealing a blow there by "locking us out," another here by "reducing our wages," and a gentle tap all round by putting our men and women into jail—the result of which is to prolong its own existence by keeping us busy on the things that do not matter, thus tiding over its own weak periods, which are, in fact, opportunities for social revolution.

Our road is clear. At every opportunity, to the measure of the strength we can muster at the time, our policy should be that of a constant challenge to capitalism.

In no action of ours should we admit of its right to rule other than by, and because of, our own weaknesses. Revolt is the food the working class army thrives on, and we should stimulate discontent, foment revolt, fan the flames of strife against capitalism, transform every agitation into a challenge to capitalism—along these lines are revolutionary situations created. This way lies the hope of working class emancipation, lies success.

Continually fight at the top of your strength, always remembering that every defeat creates for you your own army of reserves, who overcome the temporary set-back and render the next clash of arms a tussle on an ever increasing scale. Soon in your march forward you will encounter capitalism at its top strength, and on that day its greatest strength will turn out to be its greatest weakness.

Take courage in the fight, be bold in your demands, be dogged in your insistence, determined in your object, and naught can withstand you.

The very character of the struggle, the nature of the issue around which you fight, will beget the machinery of its accomplishment, and once secure in economic freedom you need have no worry about Parliament. The new social relations will determine the superstructure of the new society, and a new code of morality, a new ethics, a new psychology will be born to which you can safely leave the conduct of the future. YOUR TASK IS TO FIGHT, GET ON WITH IT!!!

—Reprinted from Glasgow "Socialist."

"London Daily Herald Correspondence.

Manchester.—Manchester definitely launched a movement for putting an end to British intervention in Russia with its corollary of military and industrial conscription in Britain.

The step was taken with deliberation and enthusiasm, and as the decision of a representative conference, convened by the Manchester and District "Hands Off Russia" Committee, which was attended by Trade Union delegates and representatives of many workers' organizations.

It was vociferously endorsed by a crowded and memorable demonstration in the evening.

At the afternoon conference a resolution was passed demanding that the Government should cease armed intervention in all the Russias, recall the British troops there, raise the starvation blockade, and withhold assistance from any of the reactionaries.

Several speakers favoured immediate direct action, and one pessimist prophesied thus: "If we leave it to the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress, all the workers in Russia will be dead and all our brothers out there, too."

Robert Williams on the Betrayal

Robert Williams moved a second resolution condemning conscription, expressing loathing of the way in

Russians Ask the British Sailors to Stop the War

An interesting wireless proclamation addressed by the Russian Soviet forces to the English and French Fleets is published in "L'Humanite."

"Why do you threaten Kronstadt and Petrograd?" they are asked. "Why do you force your brothers to fight? Your Governments wish to make of you the executioners of the Russian people. They are deceiving you. They are inventing for your benefit endless fables about Petrograd and Soviet Russia.

"We and the Russian Government desire only one thing—that the English and French bourgeoisie should grant our country peace; that Russian land should belong to the peasants and not to the landlords, that the factories should be owned by the workers and not by the Capitalists. You should rather take heed of what is happening in your own country.

"The French and English Governments declare that they have abandoned all intervention in Russia, but they have sent you out to interfere in the affairs of our country. If you fight against us, if you help to stifle the workers' Russia, then White Russia will suffocate Finland and Estonia.

"We have offered you an honourable peace; we recognise your independence. In the name of solidarity and comradeship we now propose to you to end this war, which is desired only by the Capitalists. Enemy troops will only enter Petrograd and Kronstadt over our dead bodies."

which the Government had shamelessly betrayed those thousands, who sacrificed all to make the world safe for democracy, and calling on democracy to resist it by every possible means.

They might jibe at the Labour Party, he said, and complain about political action, but he could assure them that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the one body charged to represent the sovereign interests of Labour industrially, was more docile than even the Parliamentary Labour Party and more reactionary than Churchill.

It had resisted every attempt of Smillie and himself to get a national conference on these questions, and now, what course was open to that conference? Well, the Government had tricked the people into returning it by promising to remove conscription.

"If the Government can repudiate their political contracts," Mr. Williams asserted, amid loud cheers, "then the organised working-classes are warranted legally in repudiating their industrial contracts and entering upon a strike."

The revolution was carried, and the conference proceeded to discuss means. It was proposed to appoint a committee of 20 to arrange a series of simultaneous meetings leading up to a national conference to plan a 24-hour stoppage of industry "as a protest and as a pledge of further action when arrangements are fully complete."

"Go on making the Trade Unions the embryonic Soviets," was his advice, "and then get your National Convention in some central place like Manchester. Be prepared when you do move," was Mr. Williams' note of caution.

Eventually a committee of ten was chosen for the purpose mentioned, for propaganda and for arranging moral and material support to all persons refusing to engage in the production and transport of munitions or goods intended to be used against definitely working-class forms of Government.

Obavation for Bob Smillie
Robert Smillie's rising was a memorable occasion. Men and women leapt to their feet, waving handkerchiefs and hats, and cheering wildly. Someone hailed him "First President of the Republic of England."

He stigmatised British action in Russia as our greatest crime, and declared that any action was justifiable to end it.

The meeting broke up with the singing of "The Red Flag," and it was never so heartily sung before.

Concentration Camp Horrors

In Muding, an island off Achan-gel, which the French used as a concentration camp for suspected Bolsheviks, according to the "Populaire," conditions were horrible. The unfortunate inmates were grossly overcrowded, deprived of medical comforts and half starved. In February, 40 out of the 250 were dying and 80 seriously ill, and typhus had broken out. All were in excellent health when first imprisoned.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THE IRISH SOCIALIST

THE RED LINE OF THE IRISH PROLETARIAT

I. The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland has received its baptism. It has been in existence only a few months, and already the governing forces of the master-class have put it through the ritual of warriors. The arrests of two of the most active propagandists of the party is an obvious attempt to harass and handicap the work of the Irish revolutionaries. But the revolutionaries will go on. If, in a few short months they have become a menace to the governing class, if they have set the pace, as it has not been set since Connolly's death, for Irish Labour, then their justification is apparent. These arrests are but a pin-prick compared to what they expect in establishing their purpose of emancipating the Irish working class. Nothing can daunt them or imperil their ardour because they know that the new economic order is with them. The thin line which has painted Russia red has begun its trail across this island. It bears the last sacrifices of the Irish workers like seeds in its stream—we can but work and speed the harvest of revolution.

On Friday, before a Special Crimes Court, presided over by two Dyson types of resident magistrates—Mr. John Gray and Mr. Alan Bell—the case was tried.

O'Hagan came first. In answer to a question as to whether he was legally represented he replied, "I am conducting my own case." Mr. Florde, (who on another occasion defended Captain White), instructed by Mr. J. R. Moorhead, Crown Solicitor, appeared for the prosecution. Opening the prosecution counsel said:

Defendant was a man who came over to this country for the purpose of openly and frankly preaching extreme Russian revolutionary doctrines, in order to win over the working men of Belfast to that form of policy which had accomplished revolution and chaos in Russia. The principal meeting at which he spoke took place on Sunday, 4th May, at the Custom House Steps at which there were about 500 people. O'Hagan spoke at some length and with great force. Among other remarks he referred with apparently great approval to what had taken place in Russia. He pointed out, from its point of view, the admirable results achieved in Russia—namely, the complete destruction of the social organism, not only of the old regime, but of the constitutional regime which was set up in its place, and approved of the control of capital, the control of the social machinery by the extreme Red faction, and he appeared to gloat over the results of complete anarchy. He had attempted to win over the Belfast workmen to these methods.

Proceeding, counsel stated that when apprehended accused had in his possession a card of membership of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland; also literature which included a copy of a Bolshevik manifesto; documents purporting to be written by Karl Marx, and a pamphlet entitled "Collapse of the Second International," by Lenin. Everything, said counsel pointed to the fact that defendant was saturated with extreme Russian ideas, which, in the old days, were associated with Nihilism.

What the Constable Heard. The first witness called was Constable Terence Kelly, who said he was present with other officers at the meeting at the Custom House Steps referred to. There would be an audience of about 500. Defendant was the principal speaker. Charles O'Meagher also addressed the meeting. Witness took a careful mental note of what O'Hagan said, and this he put in writing immediately after the meeting was over.

Tell the Court some of the remarks made by the defendant. Did he refer to the Russian revolution and Russian propaganda?—Yes. He said: "In Russia the spirit of the workers arose and they had the courage to declare a revolution. The Allies, Lloyd George, Carson, and Milner, and the ring of financiers saw there was a chance of a Republican Government being set up under Kerensky; that they would get their millions that they had invested there back; that the war would be continued on the battle front, and they hailed the Republic with delight, but when Kerensky did not withdraw the capital punishment inflicted on soldiers for deserting from the front, the Bolsheviks said there was no freedom in Russia. The capitalists and the ring of financiers are still in power.

The Bolsheviks said we can command the means of production, and the peasants can command the production of food. What more do we want? With the aid of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils and the Peasants' Councils they set about the overthrow of Kerensky and his Republic, and established Soviets instead. The Russian soldiers refused to fight. The Bolsheviks released the prisoners of war from Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria, and gave these men friendly advice to go home to their own countries and establish councils similar to that they had done in Russia. They did not shoot them down or kill them. Now these are the Russians that England, France, Italy, and America are sending in troops to shoot down and kill, and are asking you to go and shoot down; but remember they are workers like yourselves. They are out to kill the wages system; they are out to secure the means of production, and secure for themselves the full fruits of their labours. You see they got their eyes opened—they found out the capitalist gang in Russia, and when they got the opportunity they took it, and all honour to them. We require the aid of the soldiers; I want you to get them to come with you! I want you to get them to come into your ranks, so that they will not shoot you down when you go on strike; and mark you, I do not advocate what other people do in other parts of Ireland for political reasons—that is stealing the rifle and ammunition. I will ask you to do more—steal the soldiers themselves; they are your brothers, and let them bring the rifles with them, and with their experience they will be able to instruct you in the use of such weapons, which can be used in your interests and against them. Trade Unions as are at present constituted, and organised are too slow. What we want and what I advocate is a committee formed in each industrial works or plant—appoint your delegate from there to the principal councils and your grievance can be remedied at once.

In answer to the Bench, witness said there were perhaps four or five soldiers in the audience. O'Hagan's cross-examination of witness was a mere matter of technical obstruction, as he did not attempt to score any points or to question the veracity of any of his statements. He asked witness if he (defendant) had advocated bloodshed?

"No."

"What then, in your estimation, was the motive in bringing over the soldiers with their rifles and experience into our ranks?"

"You stated, in order that they should not shoot down the workers, who were their brothers, on strike."

"I was not out to kill?"

"No."

"What about the wages system? Did I say anything about killing in connection with that? What did you think I meant . . . ?"

Witness began "I . . . " then shifted uneasily, and turned his pale, pleading eyes to the magisterial authorities. "I . . . leave that to the Court."

The faces of the Socialists gleamed with silent merriment.

An altercation arose between defendant and prosecuting counsel over the names of the Sinn Féin employers connected with the Limerick strike. Counsel protested against the mention of names. O'Hagan pointed out that these employers were prepared to act contrary to their Sinn Féin professions, and to side with the coercive forces of the British Government when it came to a question of their interests as employers against the interests of their employees. He waived the mention of names.

Addressing the magistrates he said the prosecuting counsel had laid great stress upon the phrase stealing the soldiers, that special emphasis had been put on this aspect of the examination for the Crown, and that an effort had been made to insinuate that he had incited to bloodshed. The opposite was so—he was out to prevent, as far as possible, the slaughter of his class. The capitalists would see to it that blood would be shed in due course. He was accused of Bolshevism. The word Bolshevism was a bastard term which dated back to a Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party held in 1903. The Bolsheviks were the revolutionary working class who had seized the means of production in Russia at a point when the capitalists had rendered these means, for all practical purposes,

only fit for the scrap heap. They had saved Russia for the working people of Russia . . . At this point the magistrates interrupted that they knew what Bolshevism was, and that defendant must keep strictly to the charge preferred against him.

O'Hagan continued: "I am charged with illegal assembly, that I am an evilly-disposed person. I put it to you, gentlemen, that in order to prove that I am an evilly-disposed person you must prove that my motives and associations were evil. The meetings in question were undesirable to the British Government. In that lay their unlawfulness. An assembly that would be desirable to the British Government would be futile, as far as the working class is concerned, because the working class and the British Government have nothing in common. Any attempt at improvement of our conditions is unlawful by the same ruling, which we are to obey—law or the will of the people? I tell you, gentlemen, we do not consider the legality of the question, we only consider the necessity of tactics, and if your law does not meet that necessity then it is the law which is at fault. We must have a new law. It is not you who are trying me, it is I and the purpose I represent that is trying you. Necessity controls all policy. If you are logical as cir-

Mr. Florde said this was another of those gentlemen who seemed to think he was entitled to upset the existing social conditions of the country. After relating the circumstances of the meeting, counsel said when arrested accused had in his possession a large number of pamphlets.

A copy of a leaflet was handed to the magistrates, and Mr. Gray remarked that it did not bear the name of the printer.

Counsel—No, they do not in these cases. In O'Meagher's possession, added counsel, were also found military service exemption certificates, one of which bore an address at Rotherham and another at Ealing.

Sergeant Mooney said on the night of the 11th May, he was at a meeting at Peel Street, held in connection with the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Ireland. O'Hagan was chairman of the meeting, and introduced O'Meagher—who was described as a comrade—as the principal speaker. In his speech O'Meagher dealt with Socialism generally, and concluded by saying: "It is necessary for you to be organised before you can fight capitalism. Capitalists are only one-third of the population; we are two-thirds of the population, who produce the whole of the wealth, but only get one-third of it. The capitalist gets two-thirds. We are

a farce to bring a man into that Court and tell him that on a certain date he had committed an offence. I tell you, my dear gentlemen, that I am ready and willing to go before any section of the working class, defend my case, accept and abide by their judgment. I refuse to abide any judgment of this Court whose findings are based upon coercion. All through this age members of my class have stood before similar tribunals to this one before which I stand to-day, and justice has never been meted out to them. I am proud to take the same road as them, proud to belong to them, because in the end the righteousness of our cause will prevail.

O'Meagher sat down in the midst of a great burst of applause.

He was convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

O'Hagan was sentenced to six months with hard labour. As he left the Court he turned and shouted back into the furtive faces of the magistrates: "Some day, I hope, a revolutionary tribunal will try you."

It was interesting to watch the attention of the highly skilled legal Mr. Florde when these Socialist working men were delivering their pointed and concise speeches—he was apparently intrigued into the psychology of the forces which made them such professional black-legs in his lofty domain of the Crimes Court, and as for the poor magistrates—it was dirty work. Pilate, at least, in the search for truth had the decency to wash his hands.

BELA KUN TO ALLIES

FINAL NOTE ACCEDING TO AN IMMEDIATE ARMISTICE.

Paris.—Bela Kun has forwarded to M. Clemenceau the following reply to the latter's second Note:

"The Hungarian Republic of the Soviet declares frankly and openly, and without hesitation, that not only will it comply with the demand of the Associated Powers immediately to discontinue hostilities, but that it has already in all respects complied with this demand.

"We are not the cause of the continuation of bloodshed, but the troops of the Czechoslovak Republic, who, taking advantage of the fact that at the behest of the Allied and Associated Powers we at once suspended war operations, took the offensives with the object of making it hereafter impossible for them to continue their advance. We point out that as the Rumanian Army did not recommence its attacks, we did not make a single forward advance in territory occupied by them.

"In order to effect the recalling of the troops and the evacuation of the territories without bloodshed we have to-day invited the Governments and commanders-in-chief of both Czechoslovakia and Rumania to send to our general headquarters or some other place military delegates fully empowered to lay down the formalities of evacuation in mutual agreement with your chief command.

"We desire to point out that, contrary to the declaration of the Allied and Associated Governments, according to which conquest cannot form the basis of the frontiers of the new States, these frontiers appear to us to be drawn solely by the right of the strongest.

"It is absolutely impossible to create normal economic life and production within these frontiers because it is impossible to ensure the very subsistence of the population living in the territories thus limited. We hoped to be given the opportunity to prove before the Peace Conference the truth of this assertion.

"We wish to emphatically state one point: viz., that under such conditions even a system of government as solidly founded as our own could hardly prevent the struggle for existence within these frontiers from degenerating into a war of each man against his neighbour. We ask you kindly to take the necessary steps with the Governments of Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

"BELA KUN."

—Exchange.

Radicals Gain in Italy; Form Pact With Russ

"Anything May Happen," Writes Noted Labor Leader; Parties of Workers Unite.

BY J. RAMSAY MAC DONALD, Leader of British Labor Movement.

London, July 12.—The faded and almost obliterated bills which I saw on the walls of Rome asking the people to assemble in crowds to give Orlando a great welcome when he left the peace conference in Paris seemed to symbolize the present position of the Nationalist movement there. It has to be refreshed from time to time; it has to be advertised; it has to be excited and demonstrated into vitality.

D'Annunzio leaves Rome; the walls tell of his going, and appeals are made for a crowd to see him off. Men in red shirts and other items of the proper costume stand at the Garibaldi statue and receive from the passerby flowers which they strew on the pedestal or stick in parts of the bronze.

The dilemma of the Italian government is that it has no support which it can call its own. What backing it has is independent and is conditional. Thus I found a widespread opinion among politicians that when the government meets the Chamber it will have no majority if it is seriously challenged. But no one will take the responsibility of filling the vacant offices. The financial position is too bad; the revolutionary forces are too strong; so the feeling was to let the government drift and to watch the drifting.

Radicals Keep Gaining.

That is a position of great danger. No party is growing except the Socialist, and it is increasing by leaps and bounds. It has now Milan, Bologna, Alessandra, Mantua, Cremona and the greater industrial centers in its control, and the Italian Socialist party stands on the extreme revolutionary left. It has come to a complete working understanding with the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, which is also steadily increasing its membership and altering its character from being purely Syndicalist to being revolutionary political.

Its one political interest at the moment is Russia, and it has joined the Moscow International in preference to the Berne one. It believes in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a necessary revolutionary measure. It is opposed to the league of nations as created in Paris, its trade union partners have declined to take any part in the international labor conference called at Washington in accordance with the labor charter, and it holds everything that is being done in Paris in angry contempt.

It, with its trade union allies, has decided upon a general strike as a protest against the allies' policy in Russia, of which Lazzari, its secretary, has said: "The purpose of that policy is not to displace one revolutionary government by another, but to crush out all movements of the proletariat in Europe."

The party is, therefore, the friend of every revolutionary section, and in places like Bologna, where it rules in municipal affairs, it advertises its sympathies by giving streets such names as the Via Spartaco.

Force the Only Reply.

The only reply that the authorities can make to the Socialists is a display of force. A band of soldiers called the Arditi, named during the war because they were chosen for dare-devil work, are now organizing themselves for riotous services of a super-Nationalist kind in various towns, and though in places like Naples, Rome and Bologna these bands have come into conflict with the gendarmes, the government looks on without interfering.

It was these men who, practically under official protection, wrecked the offices of the Avanti in Milan when the staff was absent and the Socialists engaged in a meeting in another part of the town. In Milan I saw several displays of this intimidating military force.

Motor lorries were driven furiously about the streets full of armed men, and the crowds coming out of a perfectly orderly political meeting were met by regiments of soldiers standing with fixed bayonets, while that same evening the center of the town, by the Duomo, was held by troops, fire engines and water hose.

New Clerical Party.

The drift of opinion in Italy is further shown by the creation of a new popular clerical party, the Partito Popolare, which in the towns has been in favor of the war, but in the country districts opposed to it. Its program is the minimum Socialist program, but it has no outstanding leaders. The old Liberal and Radical parties are now out of touch with the great popular movements, and are divided and weakened by the war.

It is impossible to say what may happen.

Koltchak in Flight

The following wireless was sent out by Chicherin on May 25th:

The Entente is circulating impudent lies about our position. We are said to be on the verge of collapse; it is alleged that Pétain is about to be taken by the White Guards and that Koltchak is advancing into the heart of Russia. All such lies make a comical impression, since Koltchak is in full flight, and we are advancing against our enemies. The British Government is apparently lying deliberately, in order to deceive the public as to the real state of affairs.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST PICNIC

will be held

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 27th.

at the

WORK PEOPLES' COLLEGE—RIVERSIDE—91st Avenue West

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor of OBU Monthly

will speak on:—

"Aims and Methods of the O. B. U."

The Finnish Workers Band will play during the afternoon. There will also be some real fine singing.

ALL THE PROCEEDS GO FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE DEFENSE OF THE CLASS-WAR PRISONERS.

JOHN SANDGREN will also speak at:—

Finnish Workers Opera House, 314—6th Ave. East. Sunday Evening, 401 Tower Avenue Superior. Monday July 28th Workers Hall. Two Harbors, Tuesday July 29th.

ATTEND THE PIC-NIC AND ENJOY YOURSELF. YOU WILL ALSO ASSIST THE FELLOW-WORKERS WHO ARE IN JAIL.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR.

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA



State Secretary, Jack Carney Rex Hotel Duluth, Minn.; State Treasurer Joseph Ungar, 1080 Park Avenue St. Paul, Minn.; State Executive Board, Comrades, Emma Gordon, A. A. Larson, O. E. Thompson, Joseph Ungar and Jack Carney.

This page is under the supervision of the Left Wing Press Committee.

Emma Gordon)
D. E. Earley) Press Committee
Jack Carney)

All matter for this page must be in by first mail Tuesday. Left Wing locals are invited to send in a report of their doings.

THE NATIONAL LEFT WING

The working class today is confronted with two outlooks, one absolute slavery of the lowest and most oppressive kind or industrial freedom. It is a matter of which way the working class go about their affairs. If the workers are prepared to allow their bosses to think for them and keep them divided, then the future is going to be a miserable one for them, but if on the other hand the workers are going to organize themselves and educate themselves, then the future looks very promising.

The recent war has left society with two alternatives. Capitalist anarchy or working class freedom. No matter what editors may write or rulers may say, the fact still remains that capitalist society is bankrupt and cannot carry on. Driven into a mad world war by the social conditions of society, the capitalist find themselves unable to cope with the problems that now confront them. Chaos is not the word for it all. Millions of people are starving and industries are closing down. The next few months are going to be months of starvation and unemployment for many workers. Capitalism creates a war, but capitalism can never cure the effects of a war. The responsibility of revolutionary Socialists was never greater than what it is today. Today we live in a revolutionary epoch, when all workers must come together and understand what road to travel and how to travel it. The responsibility of organizing and educating the workers rests upon each and every one of us who have pledged our allegiance to the Left Wing. The acceptance of the manifesto and program of the Left Wing means more than merely attending local meetings and passing resolutions. It means the active participation of all of you in the work of the Left Wing. Many of you will be unable to engage in the official work of the organization, but you can assist those who have been appointed to carry on that work. We need finance and we need at this time, more than any other. How many of you are prepared to donate one dollar per month to the Left Wing? Comrades, this appeal must be answered and answered now. Ask your local to send in the finance left in the treasury. It is no use allowing it to lie idle in the treasury, let us spread our propaganda and we can do that if we have the finance.

The following appeal has been issued by the National Secretary of the Left Wing, and comrades Mr. and Mrs. Truth have decided to donate two dollars, will other comrades please follow suit.

Dear Comrade:

August 30th will mark the turning point in the history of the socialist movement in the United States. Either there will be a state of disastrous confusion, arising from the outrageous lies and trickeries of the present party officialdom; or the membership will be effectively mobilized to take control of the party for the purpose of giving it leadership in the militant working class array against American Imperialism.

The Left Wing triumph in the party elections makes emphatically clear what the membership wants. By the highest vote in the party history there is a membership call for a party of revolutionary socialism in this country, a party fit to take its place in the councils of the Communist International. This must not be permitted to be undone by the campaign of unscrupulous lies and personal slander now being carried on from the National office of the party. It must not be annulled by the brazen dictation of a repudiated National Executive Committee which insists upon ruling the party in spite of the ending of its term on July 1st.

As a result of the National Left Wing Conference held in New York, June 21st to 24th, the work of publicity and preparation on a national scale for the August 30th Convention now developed upon the National Left Wing Council. This work, of inestimable importance to the future of Socialism in America, must be done within a few weeks. The Left Wing must control the regular party Emergency Convention, with the delegates instructed by the membership to undo the manipulations of the old N. E. C., to join the party unreservedly with the Communist International, and to adopt a program of revolutionary socialism for all party activities. Or, if three-fourths of the party shall be expelled or suspended by August 30th, as appears now to be a definite possibility, or if the Emergency Convention shall be sidetracked by the rump N. E. C., the Left Wing delegates from all over the country must be brought together to organize an American Party of Communism.

Failure to mobilize the Left Wing forces during the intervening two months will mean complications and loss of socialist usefulness in this country for many years. At this time in world history such a failure would be a disgrace and a tragedy.

The main financial dependence for this work must be upon direct contributions by individuals and locals. Special Propaganda Stamps will also be issued, and Emergency Dues Stamps for expelled organizations, but, without access to the regular party means of communication it is impossible for us to reach all the membership immediately.

We ask, first, for donations, from individuals and locals. Second for orders for Special Propaganda Stamps, to be sold at 25c. Third, for new subscriptions and bundle orders for the Revolutionary Age; also orders for pamphlet containing Manifesto and Program of Left Wingers, and for pamphlet containing condensed record of the Left Wing Conference (pamphlets now in preparation).

There never was a call for funds which meant more for a real socialist movement in the United States. In this emergency the quickest help is the best help.

Yours in Communist Comradeship,
I. E. FERGUSON, National Secretary.

TERM OF OLD NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ENDED

National Constitution Outlaws "Stand Pat" Officials.—New National Executive Committee Should Be Called Upon to Function.

When the despots upon the national executive committee began their program of party wrecking upon May 30, they overlooked a provision of the national constitution which cuts short their tyranny and DEFINITELY ends their term of office.

Section 3 (a) of Article 3 of the national constitution reads: "The call for the regular election of members of the national executive committee shall be issued on the first day of January, 1918, and on January first of each odd numbered year thereafter. MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1918 SHALL RETIRE JULY 1, 1919."

This constitutional provision can not be interpreted two ways. It means just what it says. Read that last sentence again, "members elected in 1918 SHALL RETIRE July 1, 1919." The present "stand pat" national executive committee was elected in 1918. It must retire July

1, 1919, the first of the present month. It MUST CEASE to function upon this date. All action taken after this date are null and void and will be put the acts of usurpers attempting to fasten themselves upon the party in direct violation of the will of the membership. The old national executive committee is no more. Good riddance.

The party despots are put in a very uncomfortable plight due to the fact that they overlooked this constitutional provision. They had hoped to expel enough state organizations to control the Emergency National Convention. They worked too slow. They should have expelled Ohio, Washington, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and other states BEFORE July first. They could have done this with the same kind of face and offrontery with which they expelled the other tens of thousands of members. If wholesale expulsions can take place without trials, then they can also be made without charges being presented, in fact without any cause except that they should be thrown out. Now the despotic seven have had their autocratic teeth pulled by the operation of this constitutional provision, and now the LEFT WING WILL CONTROL THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

In holding up the referendum which elected a new national executive committee those official czars also failed to take note of this constitutional provision. If their act in holding up this referendum is to stand, then the party will be without a national executive committee for months to come. An apathetic, incompetent national secretary will do as he pleases in the interim and complete the ruin of the party so well begun by the seven autocrats.

This should not be permitted. The newly elected national executive committee should step in and function AT ONCE. Enough returns are at hand to show which of the candidates have been elected. According to those returns the new national executive committee is composed of these members: Luis C. Fraina, N. I. Hourwich, E. L. Lindgren, C. E. Puthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Fred Harwood, Dennis E. Batt, John Keracher, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Patrick Nagle, Mary Roul Millis, Dan Hogan, L. E. Katterfeld, H. M. Wicks and Emil Herman.

Let this new committee immediately take up their official duties and conduct the party organization in harmony with the expressed will of the vast majority of the party's membership.

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM KATTERFELD.

Comrades of the Socialist Party:

There is real inspiration in the returns of the membership referendum on the question of affiliating ONLY with an International in which the Bolsheviks and Spartacists participate. By an almost unanimous vote the membership of the Socialist Party has thereby committed itself to breaking away from the Scheidemann International and decided to stand with the uncompromising revolutionary wing of the Socialist movement. By the same token and in the same measure has our membership rebuked the compromising opportunists that constituted the majority of the Ex-executive Committee and endorsed the revolutionary Left Wing of the party.

The vote on this question was so overwhelming that there seems little danger that the old repudiated national executive committee will be able to control the coming national convention, no matter how much it tries to handpick the convention delegations by revoking charters and "reorganizing" states in the meantime. The membership of our party as it stands today is ninety percent solid and sound to the core, and the convention will prove that fact.

The ONLY thing that might possibly effect a defeat of the revolutionary wing in the coming national convention is the proposition to organize a new party. There has been a dangerous tendency among some of the Left to give up the struggle in disgust, completely outraged by the actions of the Ex-National Executive Committee to refuse to participate in the convention that the old N. E. C. is now trying to "pack," and to organize a new party instead. This tendency is very natural under the circumstances, but it is pernicious and must be combatted and overcome. The splendid majority just rolled up by the party membership should serve to convince even the most pessimistic that our membership will repudiate the old N. E. C. that has been trying to straddle and evade this question and that is now trying to perpetuate itself in power. When the convention meets this little group of official autocrats will meet its Waterloo.

So take courage, comrades. Let not the expulsions by resolutions of the old N. E. C. dishearten you. Remember that they have no power to ENFORCE what they resolve. That will be up to the convention. Let not their refusal to count the referendum votes and submit to referendum motions reversing their outrageous acts discourage you either. You may be sure that comrades in other states resent this just as much as you and that from the East, West, North and South will come, convention delegations firmly determined to right these wrongs and to punish those that have thus been guilty of violating the expressed will of our party's membership.

And if that bunch of bureaucrats on the Ex-National Executive Committee tries to postpone the party convention, as they surely will when they find that they can not control it, then just remind them that according to the party constitution their terms of office expired July first, that they have done all the damage that they will be permitted to do, and that they are now out of business as far as our party is concerned and that you will hold that party convention on the date set, August 30, may it please their lordship or not.

That is the way to victory for revolutionary Socialism, comrades. Let no one break away. Permit no one to talk "new party" in your presence without calling him down,—don't even think about it. It isn't necessary. It would be most foolish. The membership of this party of ours is O. K. I for one am proud of it. I have more faith in it than ever before in my life. The vote for the Third International justifies that faith. It now merely remains to make the national officialdom of our party conform to the splendid revolutionary fervor expressed by the membership.

Because of the character (or rather, lack of character) of our official autocrats this is a disagreeable task. All who take part in the campaign to insist that the national officials serve instead of boss the party will be abused and attacked. It will take time to accomplish it, but it will be accomplished. If any one quits or runs away from this task he merely convicts himself of being a piker. In these days of crisis in the party, let no one show a yellow streak and run away into a "new" party, but stay on the job within the Socialist Party to help enforce the will of the party's membership upon the national officialdom that is trying to perpetuate itself in power.

The immediate question that now confronts us is the election of delegates to the coming national convention. At this convention more than ever before, we shall need delegates who are positive and sure of their ground—delegates that can neither be cajoled nor intimidated—delegates that will see justice done our outraged comrades who were expelled and suspended by the reactionary officialdom—delegates that are not opportunists and trimmers but revolutionary Socialists who will not go home until their job is done and our party's national official machinery made to conform to the expressed will of our membership and made worthy of affiliation with the Proletarian International. The election of such delegates is our supreme duty today.

(We trust that all Left Wingers will accept the sane counsel offered by Comrade Katterfeld. To talk "NEW PARTY" at this time, is to play into the hands of the Ex-N. E. C. Therefore just keep on with your party activities and when the opportune moment arrives, you will find that the advice tendered by Katterfeld was sane and sensible.—Ed.)

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Statement by Superior Finnish Socialist Branch on the New International, the upbuilding of the American Socialist Party and the issues presented therewith.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL.

1. We declare as disruptionists of the international socialist movement those leaders and groups of the socialist parties in different countries, who already in 1914, immediately after the first bomb exploded on the battlefield of the imperialistic world war, abandoned the principle: "The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common," upon which principle our international movement has been built since 1864. We further declare that the workers have nothing in common with these renegades, who even after that, instead of returning to the revolutionary viewpoint emphasized by the decisions of the Second International at the Stuttgart and Basel Congresses, have joined the ranks of the counter-revolution as the apologists of the capitalists, to oppose and murder the workers struggling for power.

2. We refuse to give any support to the attempts of these traitorous leaders to reorganize international unity. We condemn the Berne Conference for its bourgeois-chauvinistic spirit, which controlled it, and contend that it was nothing else but an attempt of opportunistic socialists, playing into the hands of capitalists, to centralize their powers against the real class struggle of the proletariat. We condemn all international conferences and endeavors toward with these traitors and renegades.

3. As a natural result of the above, we, with the greatest of pleasure, desire to give our full support to the new communistic Third International, organized at the Moscow Conference, with which among others the Italian and Norwegian Socialist Parties, the Swedish Left Wing Socialists, the German, Hungarian and Finnish Communist Parties have affiliated themselves. We desire that our party be affiliated with it by inseparable ties on international proletarian brotherhood and solidarity. We contend that this Third International is the only international organization which is founded on revolutionary working class principles as represented by Marx and Engels. It is innocent of the bloodshed of capitalistic imperialism, and it promotes and serves the power of the working class in those countries where it has already won out, and aids the workers on to the road of victory where the workers are still under capitalistic tyranny and dictatorship. That is the reason why we demand that we be affiliated with the New Third International. It is the only international organization of the oppressed, exploited and enslaved proletariat of to-day. To it belongs victory, to it belongs the future.

II. THE PROGRAM AND TACTICS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

We demand the renewal of the program of the American Socialist Party, and demand that the general principles outlined below be taken into consideration therewith:

1. The Socialist Party shall reject the view points of petit-bourgeois socialism and shall adopt Marxian revolutionary socialism.

Capitalistic society is in the greatest crisis of history. The bulwarks of the capitalistic system, whose existence is based on the private ownership of the instruments of production and on the exploitation of the working class, take advantage of the most violent methods, terrorize society, and carry out the most cruel dictatorship of the exploiting class against the working class movement. The dictatorship protecting capitalistic exploitation is made possible by the fact that the capitalistic class uses political power, and we demand that this power be taken into the hands of the working class by means of the class struggle.

The Socialist Party declares that its final purpose and aim is a social revolution.

A social revolution means nothing more or less than the adoption of a system of production, distribution and consumption which is based on social ownership in place of the present inconsistent and anarchistic system of private ownership based on the brutal power of capital, which has passed its historical period. These inconsistencies in the economic system have been followed by the awful suffering and misery through which the world has lived during the past few years.

Democracy, i. e., the equality of rights and duties of citizens in a political significance, can be fully realized only when a social revolution has abolished the inherited privileges of private property and the slavery of the working class.

During the existence of capitalism we demand the extending of the economic as well as the political rights of the working class. But we realize that capitalistic democracy is only capitalistic dictatorship in a covert form and against it we get the absolute dictatorship of the working class, which, as the most important and the largest portion of humanity—the great majority of the people—will only then bring about real democracy.

We cannot define the method by which the social change will occur. The methods of revolution are dependent largely upon the blindness or the clear-sightedness of its opponents in their attitude towards this necessary progress in history.

But even now, during this stage, the Socialist Party does not confuse revolution and violence with one another. Violence and bloodshed do not make any movement revolutionary, and essentially they have nothing in common. We are aware of the fact that events are of a revolutionary nature more on the basis of their results than on their forms. Being a party which stands for the brotherhood of humanity, and directing its activities toward the attainment of general happiness and well being, the Socialist Party hopes that its victory will be accomplished by systematic and peaceful organization. But in its attempt to capture political power the working class cannot reject any weapon and the form of its revolution will finally depend upon prevailing conditions, and especially upon the opposition directed against its right of suffrage, other political rights, and against all other activities for gathering the forces of the working class, and against its endeavors for social reform.

Our Party, the American Socialist Party, is also aware of the fact that the success of the social revolution is guaranteed only when it occurs at a historic moment, at the moment when the minds of the people and the events have matured for it. The realization of the system which the working class is planning depends on the stage of development of the working class organizations and institutions, organizations which form the first organism of the socialistic system. Therefore, our greatest duty is to educate and organize the working class so that it will become capable of carrying out this historical duty. But just as we cannot define the form of the revolution, neither can we determine its moment. The Socialist Party cannot overlook any opportunities which the failure of the bourgeoisie may present. On the other side the social revolution is the hope of the oppressed people. Those upon whom the working class has set its faith must not betray this hope.

Be the form whatever it may, by which the transfer of power will occur, the rise to power of the organized workers will be followed by an era of proletarian dictatorship. Bourgeois dictatorship has made this necessary. By it the proletariat keeps counter-revolutionists in control, crushes the opposition of the bourgeoisie, upbuilds the new society, and thereby finally makes all class domination and the centralized establishment of the bourgeois system—the State—unnecessary. The first real democracy will then take

its place, a system serving the cause of the producers and the common good of all.

The proletarian dictatorship cannot be a condition selected arbitrarily, but it is the result of the progress of the struggle between the classes; and the same is true in regard to bourgeois dictatorship. Such is the doctrine which is continually slandered in the reactionary press. History presents sufficient proof that the new society, let it be social or political, when drawing up a new legal system, can never act within the legal limitations of the old system, a system which it will replace. The revolutions of the nineteenth century succeeded and failed in accordance to the extent that they complied with this principle. This transition from the old to the new forms the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The socialist system, which the working class conscious of its mission is planning, will be carried into power by one class, the proletariat; but it will be carried into power for the benefit and the well being of all people. In the same way as the new legal system which it precedes and for which it is preparing the way, the unpersonified dictatorship of the proletariat is used in the name of all humanity and for its benefit.

We hope that the transition period from capitalism to socialism will be as brief as possible, but the issue is not dependent upon our hopes. Its length will fluctuate with the conditions of economic production, the preparedness and the stage of the organization of the working class, as well as the nature and the violence of the opposition.

The Socialist Party works for the revolution when it struggles for the well being, for the self-respect and for the self-consciousness of labor. It works for increasing the value of their labor power whenever it endeavors to obtain for the working class still larger political liberties for the expression of their opinion, and whenever it endeavors to preserve social wealth from capitalistic exploitation. In all its endeavors, however, it takes into consideration the limited possibilities of the capitalistic system, and secures reforms therein principally for the purpose of strengthening its power for the decisive struggle.

We approve only such reforms which the working class can obtain by its own efforts, adhering strictly to the principle of the class struggle. Such view points which bind the workers to absolute parliamentarism or to one-sided antiquated methods of the strike movement must be condemned. The mass action of the working class is shown by history to be the principal form to which the struggle between the classes will lead. In fighting for reforms it is our duty to measure them with this yardstick of the mass movement, to determine if they hasten its rise and whether or not they benefit it otherwise.

At a time like this when the course of events is so uncertain and so full of surprises no one can foretell when the hour of the working class shall strike. But be it near or far, the same practical work is necessary of educating and organizing the working class and continually upholding its faith in the success of its aims. Being the heir of the capitalistic world, a world whose riches are composed of the accumulated wealth of generations of labor, the present duty of socialism is to preserve this inheritance and to prepare to receive it.

The party's declaration of principles in our opinion should be in accord with the above. The practical program should be renewed in accordance with the demands of the present time, and in drawing it up the foregoing declaration should be adhered to. In regard to the demands in the program and the more definite practical duties the following view points should be considered among others:

1. The party should put into ef-

fect a more stringent and uniform discipline in regard to its representatives in state legislatures, in Congress and in municipal governments, so that they shall at all times consistently comply with the strict principles of revolutionary socialism, and not act inconsistently and in contradiction with one another, and not relax from these principles in their practical activities.

2. Agitation against imperialism must be made more pointed and a still greater pressure should be exerted to push through the demand that American soldiers shall not be sent to fight against the revolutionary comrades of Europe and against the real democracies built up by them.

3. The struggle for the liberation of political prisoners must be continued to the last vestige of strength and the struggle must be broadened and every party organ and newspaper must be obligated to give it more attention.

4. We deem unadaptable to the principles of socialism the method by which party officials affiliated with and bind themselves for cooperation with various petit-bourgeois and religious associations and their leaders for the promotion of certain issues of a political nature, and thereby always cause the struggle, carried on and aided by the Socialist Party, to come under the auspices of some other organization and not the party itself. Such methods do not aid the bringing together of the masses of dissatisfied workers, but instead the Socialist Party is estranged from them and from the duties of a class nature which are in accord with the interests of the proletariat. We must get rid of the notion that the Socialist Party is some kind of a holiday article. The Socialist Party is the fighting and the active party of the struggling working class.

5. Our relation to economic organizations.

In our opinion the unionistic movement of America is still under going its period of upheaval and formation and no model union is in existence. Therefore we must always make our selection in a conditional manner.

The official leadership and the policies of the American Federation of Labor, based on craftsmen and on elements of the working class possessing petit-bourgeois ideas, are today more conservative than they were twenty years ago. While others have made progress these have become more reactionary and have been driven into more and more detestable association with the great opponents of the working class in this country, and are doing their best to aid the mortal enemies and the murderers of our brothers and comrades in foreign lands to retain their power. The recent actions of the A. F. of L. form the greatest stain upon the labor movement of this country and the most humiliating shame in an international way. The criticism of such criminal policies must be emphasized within the Socialist Party, first for the purpose of upholding a more stringent discipline for these opportunistic bargainers who sympathize with the view points controlling the A. F. of L., and secondly to aid the dissatisfied elements within the A. F. of L., who now form quite a numerous group therein, to carry on their struggle against the leading policies of the Federation.

We greet with pleasure every sign of revolt within the Federation which represents an independent class-conscious attempt of the membership, and shall aid them to the best of our ability to attain a form of unionism based on the class-struggle, whether this be accomplished by the class-conscious workers at some decisive moment obtaining control of the Federation as a whole, when the old principles, tactics and official machinery are cast aside, or by the more radical groups and national unions withdrawing, or being expelled from the Federation and forming an economical organized workers, and adopting the principles of industrial unionism and the class-struggle. The unprogressive and reactionary hull of the A. F. of L. shall be left adrift, first as a counteractive element, but later as a dead letter in the economic class struggle movement of the country.

Of the independent unions of national significance outside the A. F. of L. we shall mention the Industrial Workers of the World. In comparison with the A. F. of L. it has assumed a more progressive stand in that it has declared in favor of the industrial form of organization and for the principle of the class struggle. But in its practical activities and in its agitation for the principle of the class struggle it is confused by ideas of revolt that are

based on a line of thought related to individualism and coming from the decaying petit-bourgeoisie. For that reason its policies, and especially so among certain groups, have been controlled by an agitation founded on blind instincts, and connected with the defending of desperate anarcho-syndicalistic methods and view points which are foreign to industrial unionism. Their zealous but vain struggle is founded on these foreign view points, in opposition to class-conscious socialistic political action, and for that reason they have not received our full support. While we insist that the political struggle—socialism—and the economical struggle—industrial unionism—are necessary for the working class, and that close and solidified relations should be built up between the two to promote the best interests of the workers, we also contend that the I. W. W. in order to succeed, must abandon all its syndicalistic features; i. e., unless it ceases its reckless fight against Marxian socialism it will not receive the support of large masses of workers, and will not even be able to uphold the leading standard of industrial unionism in the development and formation of economic organizations in this country.

In reference to the immaturity of the unionistic movement in this country, it is the general duty of socialists to promote industrial unionism with their agitation and to aid the unions and federations already based on that principle to free themselves of all tendencies which are injurious to the class struggle of the workers. It is the duty of socialists to do their best to fill the endeavors of economically organized workers with the spirit of socialism.

III. THE LEFT WING MOVEMENT IN THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

1. When we are beset with the question, "Do we belong to the Right Wing or to the Left Wing?" we declare that we belong to the Left Wing, insofar as the significance of these denominations is understood in accordance with the doctrines of Marx and Engels, the soundness of which have again been proven by recent world events. This does not signify that we do not notice among the present Left Wingers certain view points which are erroneous, but they concern only tactics and their ultimate intentions are correct. On the one hand their declaration of principles is clear of all that is injurious, of all compromising opportunism, of too great a faith in the possibilities of the development of bourgeois democracy, of absolute and solitary parliamentarism, and of politics for courting trade unionists, which have formed the shoals upon which the socialist parties of different lands have been wrecked; and on the other hand it is clear of anarcho-syndicalistic endeavors which are foreign and injurious to the socialistic movement obligates us to join them. And insofar as this movement still contains socialistically immature understandings, it is our duty to trim them away to promote the formation of the movement on a clear Marxian foundation.

2. As to the Left Wing Manifesto, adopted in New York during February, we wish to state that we do not see anything harmful in its leading principle, although a party program as a whole be more comprehensive and all the most urgent duties of the present moment must be taken into consideration more definitely. Considering it only as a declaration of principles we realize that it is, to a great extent, in accord with the above statement. In the Manifesto we consider as the most inconsistent and erroneous clause the one wherein all action toward so-called immediate reforms is rejected. The party must be ready and able to take advantage of every opportunity to gain relief and reforms for the living conditions of the workers, for in that manner alone the party presents itself as the party of the proletariat; but in the respect that the party must not stop to covet reforms alone, but must use the reforms to its best advantage to develop revolutionary power and ability, we are in accord with the Manifesto. And this important fact must also be publicly expressed in clear words in the program of our party.

3. We desire also to take advantage of this opportunity to state that, insofar as anarcho-syndicalist and elements opposing political action and the political struggle are attempting to drift along with the Left Wing movement, we sternly oppose such elements and tendencies, knowing full well that they are in contradiction with socialistic view points and Marxian foundations, upon which we desire to build. And furthermore, we are of the opinion

that the renewal of the party program, and making it more radical, which is the demand of all Left Wingers, is the best antidote for all the doctrines of revolt which estrange themselves from the socialist movement, insofar as such doctrines receive support among the working masses.

IV. PRESEVING THE UNITY OF THE PARTY.

1. first of all we desire to state that the unity of the party is the all important matter in our opinion. We do not look favorably upon acts which destroy this unity. We have noted, however, that the collisions of different view points have brought about an unheard of split in the socialist movement of the whole world, and that the undulations reach even here. Marxians and opportunistic barterers within the socialist movement differ from one another in principles and in the determination of the leading principles of organization and agitation work. And the more critical the class struggle has developed the greater this distinction has become. The old opportunistic view point, vested in different parties, has become completely bankrupt insofar as Marxian principles are concerned, and has been driven into the ranks of the counter-revolutionists. At the same time, those standing on the unalterable view point of the class struggle, have, as a result of the effect of present occurrences, rapidly attained a commanding position everywhere among the workers. Co-operation between these two groups can only be possible by the surrender of the former for the benefit of the latter.

2. From this view point we look upon the present crisis in the Socialist Party.

We do not know to what extent the Left Wingers in New York and elsewhere have violated the party constitution and of what nature these violations are, but we are ready to believe that the organizing of a distinct organization within the party as such is crime against the spirit of the party constitution. And we believe that the Left Wingers elsewhere have not always been able to select for themselves the best methods for the promotion of their view points. But on the other hand, we do not know how much the official leadership confronting them has opposed and hindered the promotion of reconstructive tendencies within the party, thereby assisting in the creation of a situation where violations of the rules become the order of the day.

3. Nevertheless it is now clear that petit-bourgeois opportunistic socialism has its representatives in the leadership of the party. It is impossible otherwise to understand the decision of the National Executive Committee by which it expels almost one third of the party membership, not daring to leave the matter to be decided upon at the party convention. The intolerance which the Committee showed by its decision toward the Left Wingers, a large group of the party membership, is the best proof of the fact that the Committee is of the Right Wing and that its view point is erroneous. We condemn the expulsions absolutely and demand that those expelled shall be granted their full rights until the National Convention is held, and also in the convention. It is contended that the expulsions are based upon technical violations of the constitution, so we contend that the National Executive Committee understands its duty incorrectly, if it, for reasons of this nature and in the greater part for reasons existing as mere contentions, and without any formal investigations and hearings, strikes a blow with a few strokes of the pen which disrupts the party completely. For its autocratic nature and its fundamental purpose the expulsion becomes a crime against the socialist movement. We consider the expulsion the greatest crime of opportunistic socialism against ourselves.

We realize fully the necessity of unity and solidarity within the working class struggle, but on the other hand we realize also that the working class cannot attain its purpose with actions of such nature which are not directed by principles of the socialistic doctrines of the class struggle. If the internal crisis created within the Socialist Party unavoidably leads to a division of forces, we join without hesitation those that follow unalterably in the wake of the uncompromising class struggle. There shall be our place.

Adopted in the meeting of the Finnish Socialist Branch, Superior, Wis., June 22, 1919.

KARL HINTIKKA,
Chairman.
WILLIAM MARTTILA,
Secretary.

Dear Comrades:

The order to start out may be served on Comrade A. E. Georgian any day now, and everything must be kept in readiness for it.

As you were informed by this committee before, the case has already been decided, and the verdict was—Georgian must be deported. He was let out on bonds until the Ellis Island Office should arrange for his transportation with the least possible expense. ONLY HIS transportation; the U. S. Government does not care about what becomes with his wife and two children, about BREAKING UP HIS FAMILY.

To prevent this outrage WE MUST RAISE SUFFICIENT MONEY to pay the transportation and expenses of Mrs. Georgian and the two children. And we must raise it AT ONCE.

What has your local done for it?

Send in your contributions NOW.

If you received a subscription blank from this committee, and have not sent it back yet, be sure to do it RIGHT AWAY.

Remember, Comrade Georgian may have to start out on the long journey tomorrow, or the day after, (there is no assurance that he will be given any time for getting ready), and you want to be sure to get in your money in time, for it is the only assistance you can give him now.

Send all money to the treasurer, Chas. Dirba, 1217 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

Yours for Immediate Action,

DEPORTATION DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

A. C. Mattson, Sec. Chas. Dirba, Treas.
J. E. Smoleroff H. H. Seff
J. Lobush Fred Buck
C. Rendul A. A. Larson

PREPARING THE WAY

By J. T. MURPHY.

There appears to have grown up in the Socialist movement in this country a stereotyped method of training newcomers into the movement.

A heavy dose of economics is offered, to be followed or accompanied by a dose of industrial history. Literature in abundance is also thrust upon them, and about five years reading expected in the course of six months. Now no one recognizes more than I do the value of a course of study of economics. No one recognizes more than I the value of books, but I often think that many Socialists are so occupied with books they know nothing of the social conditions around them. Socialism has become a hobby to them, and plays the same part in their lives as the little Bethel does in the lives of other sections of the community. Marxism has become to them a method of analysis of books rather than a method of analysis of social relations.

Books should be an aid to development, not stumbling blocks to action. It is because of these things I want to call attention to the practical demands of a revolutionary period: If my reading of history is correct then it appears clear that revolutions are not pre-arranged but are thrust upon us. The initial activity is not usually even national in character, but takes upon itself a local character and spreads and spreads until it has reached from one end of the country to the other. But even if it were not so, even if a general movement of the workers took upon itself a completely ordered national form, and simultaneously happened throughout the country it would not do otherwise than emphasize the points I am about to make.

The times demand, with all their revolutionary potentialities, attention to the actual conditions around

us, not simply for the purpose of focussing the grievances of the workers, but for the purpose of being prepared for the development of revolutionary situations. It is foolish to wait for spontaneous generation of organization and equipment which experience has taught us will be needed in a crisis. To the degree that we anticipate the needs of a revolutionary crisis and prepare the way, to that degree do we make easy the success of our activities.

It is one thing to act in negative fashion, to stop production, for example. It is another thing to control production and distribution. For the first any old or new organization will do. For the latter purposes, however, definite organization is required, and also a knowledge of all the resources to hand. Glasgow, Belfast, and Limerick have clearly shown the potentialities of the mass movements and the needs when the issue shifts in the course of the struggle. To feed the masses out on strike is a far different proposition from the cessation of work, and that problem is thrust more and more forcibly upon the strike committees the longer the strike lasts. It is in that change of issue that there looms up the possibility of a revolutionary situation leading to a revolution. To anticipate the requirements of such a situation, therefore, demands a knowledge of all the local resources which are likely to be of value in such a crisis. Food, warmth, light, are essentials to all. How they can be organized and distributed becomes a practical problem which should not be left to hamper a critical situation but should be anticipated and prepared for in an organized fashion.

Much more can be said, but sufficient for the moment to indicate the demands of these critical situations and to call for more attention to the actual task of preparing the way for the march of the masses.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By J. T. Murphy.

War and revolution have shattered many things besides cathedrals and thrones.

Old theories of social development were blown to the winds with the first shot of the world war. What were considered up-to-date notions of progressive development went the way of the obsolete with the burstin forth of the world revolution in 1917.

Even the professed revolutionists have had to shift their ground and review afresh the relationship of their ideas on industrial organization to the achievement of a social revolution.

The class struggle has been proclaimed, Industrial Unionism has been advocated, and a variety of methods adopted to achieve the organization desired. But in most cases it has been assumed that before a revolution could be achieved it would be essential for the working class to adopt Industrial Unionism.

History has proved this idea to be as wrong in experience as the theory that it would be necessary for all countries to go through a stage of highly-developed Industrial Capitalism prior to a revolution leading to Socialism.

Industrial Unionism is a theory of organization arrived at as a result of the examination of industry, and a consideration of what would be the most effective manner of waging the conflict against the Capitalist class.

That this theory has contributed valuable assistance to the workers in their struggle none can dispute.

But it must never be forgotten that organization is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end: a weapon, something with which to wage a fight for an objective other than itself.

However desirable a perfect weapon may be, we are compelled by the force of circumstances to accept the weapon which history provides.

The economic antagonisms in society provide the impelling force which drives us to fight. The conception of a new social order derived from human experience and demanding a social revolution provides us with the objective which must be the determinant of the nature of our activities in the fight.

The failure of many industrial unionists to appreciate these facts has nullified their activities.

A subject class cannot choose either the ideal moment to move or the ideal weapon with which to fight.

Its subjection compels a continuous struggle against odds.

Such has been the struggle of the

working class throughout its history. Hampered by its wide distribution, its lack of consciousness of itself as a class, disintegrated by a multitude of minor interests, it has fought onward through the years.

It has never yet set out to achieve anything as an organized class, and never will do, so long as it is a subject class.

Such a movement pre-supposes a general intellectual revolution prior to a social revolution, the thinking in terms of a new order not yet in existence.

Mankind does not act in this manner. Its movements are urged by its elemental needs, and when any social order fails to meet them, it is superseded by another.

The mass moves intuitively in response to the pressure of circumstances and is launched into revolutionary deeds, unconscious of the fact that they are revolutionary.

It does not follow from these observations that none are conscious of the direction of these movements. But it does follow that they who are conscious of the direction in which things are moving, and are confessedly out to achieve a social revolution, have before them a clearly defined responsibility, i. e., to harness these intuitive movements of the masses that they may lead to social revolution.

When the masses move it is useless to tell them they cannot do anything until they have embraced industrial unionism.

Certainly it is all to the good for industrial unionist ideas on organization to be applied. The workers, however, will not move because they are industrial unionists or trade unionists, but on account of the pressure of circumstances. Under such stress they will use any organization, old or new.

The movement of the masses towards socialism is the thing that matters.

The value of all ideas on organization will be tested by the degree to which they can be applied in a crisis, in a revolutionary transition, and in the maintenance of the revolutionary victory.

A year of revolution will teach the masses more of industrial organization than fifty years of propaganda.

Eocial Revolution should be the objective determining our activities.

Industrial Unionism should be the armoury from which can be drawn valuable ideas to help in the conflict.

Industrial and political crisis should be regarded as the revolutionary situations to be harnessed for social revolution.

THE GERMAN FLEET

To the Editor of the London Daily Herald.

Sir.—The dramatic stroke of the German sailors in sinking their warships will be admired by the true manhood of our own race. It was an act of honour for the Germans to destroy their navy rather than hand it over to a tyrannous foe and increase the power of an already dangerous navy.

Such men as Nelson, Collingwood, or Drake would have swelled with admiration at this last proud act of a dying enemy. Our own sailors would have destroyed their ships rather than place them to the credit of a vicious conqueror.

Only the tolling section of humanity can understand an act of honour; the Capitalist Imperialists cannot be expected to understand, for they possess neither honour nor manhood.

RUPERT P. EAMES,
(late B. E. F. France).

QUARREL OVER SEA LOOT.

French Protest Against Division of German Tonnage.

Paris.—The Naval League to-day publishes a manifesto, in the course of which it says:

"The French merchant fleet has emerged from the war in an exhausted condition, and France having lost two-thirds of her tonnage is now dependent upon other countries.

"The two milliards of francs which France has to pay out abroad for freight, in addition to what she has to pay for imports and to foreign lenders, are seriously paralyzing her industrial life.

"France's Allies have suffered less than she. In fact, some of them have even strengthened their maritime position, as, for instance, the United States, which has dou-

bled her merchant fleet and, in spite of this, in the distribution of the German vessels the United States shares with Brazil the privilege of keeping all German tonnage that had taken refuge in its ports, which means double its losses."

The Naval League protests against this injustice, and claims complete reparations for France's losses, recalling the many promises and declarations of disinterestedness which have been made to France in the past by American statesmen.

The League finally calls upon the Peace Conference to revise the agreements in question, which would reduce France to a state of commercial servitude.—Reuter.

Socialist Successes in Bohemia.

Considerable Socialist successes were obtained at the recent municipal elections in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

In many important towns the Socialists obtained a majority, while in Prague itself they polled 96,000 votes, which were divided among the National Democratic Party (40,000); the Czech Socialists (27,000); the Czech Socialists (27,000); the Social Democrats (26,000); and the Progressive Socialists (3,000). The results are all the more significant in view of the fact that the principle of universal suffrage was for the first time adopted.



CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKER JAILED

(Continued from page 1)

go in, too. A man cannot get justice, or expect to get it in the courts, constituted as they are at present.

His Worship: I wish to get the idea into your head that I am a workman, too.

Parker: Oh, you never produced anything in your life. (Sniggers from the back).

His Worship: If you qualify for my job you can have it or one like it. You have had an equal chance.

Parker: My son has the same chance as your's, I don't think!

He is Working on the Wharf.

His Worship: My sons are not quite old enough yet, I am afraid.

Parker: Oh, you're a little George Washington. You done it all on your own!

Harking back to the pamphlet, Parker commented on the references it contained to shareholders by saying: "You cannot rob shareholders. You might take what they have already stolen from some one else in the first place."

His Worship: I will not admit that.

Parker: I did not think you would, any way!

His Worship: This document is seditious. Have you any justification for publishing it?

Parker: I have lost all faith in the government of the country and the capitalist class. The police never would have taken any action

against me, if they had not been put up to it by capitalists and shipping companies.

Chief-Detective Boddam: Unfortunately, said the chief-detective, Parker was a married man with a comparatively young family.

Parker (scornfully): Cut that stuff out!

Unfortunately, also added the chief-detective, he had been previously before the court on a seditious charge.

His Worship: The circulation of documents of this kind is regrettable at present, more so, as it appears from the papers that efforts are being made to arrange a conference between Labor and employers, with a view to arriving at a settlement in regard to various industrial disputes.

Parker: Yes, the workers forced the other side to come along.

His Worship: One would not like to see employers resorting to lock-outs, or see Labor resorting to strikes.

Parker: That is exactly what I said, "Strike on the job." You get wages on the job.

His Worship: From the point of view of some workers may be there is some satisfaction in drawing wages without doing any work. The usual point of view is that a certain amount of work entitles one to a certain amount of wages.

Parker: No such thing! The contract is to take the wages. But I can't expect you to see the same way as me. You are at one end of the pole and I am at the other.

His Worship: Documents of this sort might undo all the good a conference might bring about.

Commenting on the economic aspect of the "go slow" policy, his Worship said: "If a 'go slow' policy was started and no surplus created, there would be no money to pay wages or dividends, and, moreover, the country itself is carried on by a 'surplus.'"

KOLTCHAK'S POG- ROMS IN SIBERIA MASS WHIPPINGS OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN

SHOOTING IN BATCHES.

A correspondent in Vladivostok has communicated the following account of the White Terror under Koltchak's Government.

Some time ago (he writes) an All-Siberian Jewish conference at Irkutsk protested formally against a series of articles in the official paper, "The Russian Warrior," issued by the Omsk General Staff, on the grounds that they incited to pogroms. The article specially objected to was one headed "The Hour of Vengeance Draws Nigh." Russian officers here whom I have heard speak make no secret of the fact that they want revenge for what they have suffered, after they have overthrown the Bolsheviks.

Parker: The only thing you can do is to pass sentence. I say there is no case against me, but I am pleading guilty because there is no use in me fighting against the statute law. You are not paid to deal out justice.

His Worship: I have never been accused of that before. It is very hard to reason with this sort of man unless you reason as he wants you to.

Turning to the body of the court, Parker said: "Look at all This Fat, Greasy Lot Here! They ought to be working. (It was civil sitting day and the court was full of legal lights).

His Worship: I can only look on this case in one way. The offence is a dangerous one, especially at the present time, and it is very unwise for a man to circulate such literature. Parker was sentenced to undergo twelve months' hard labor, and as he left the dock he shouted: "Thanks, very much, you have done your best for me!"

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The Omsk Government is, as you know, sending out quantities of priests to the front to preach a crusade (this although General Knox admits he has hitherto failed to find a man fit to head the holy war, all the priests he met being either timid reactionaries or narrowly and exclusively concerned with the interests of the Church). I have heard some of the prominent military leaders of the Omsk Government—General Romanovsk, head of the "special mission" in Vladivostok; General Ivanov Rinov, Military Commander-in-Chief of the Maritime Province; and General Sakharov, former head of the school on Russian Island, now raising divisions up country, to be exact—discussing the question of propaganda.

Koltchak's Aims.

They said the church was the one spiritual engine with which to fire the anti-Bolshevik army. What this means is indicated by a Russian officer's opinion, quoted as the summing up of the official report on Bolshevik atrocities at Ufa. "Bolshevism is created and sustained by the Jews, with a view to destroying religion, civilization, and the nation." The meaning is made clear beyond peradventure by a monstrous pamphlet I have seen, one of the series of pamphlets, leaflets, and newspaper articles used as propaganda at the front and among the peasantry.

The essence of the pamphlet is the same as the sentence just quoted, but it goes on to say that the church should be encouraged to preach this doctrine among the peasantry and in the army, and propagate it among the Reds, in order to concentrate the energy of the "Russian people" on destroying their real enemy, the Jews. This, of course, is a revival on a huge scale of the favorite tactics of the old regime—when the people turn against the authorities, distract their attention to killing Jews, and when they are tried of it you will (a) have got rid of a lot of Jews; (b) be in control of the situation once more.

But description of the contents gives no idea of the spirit of the document's mystic fanaticism, a breath of the Middle Ages, like a maddened Jesuit preaching a Crusade.

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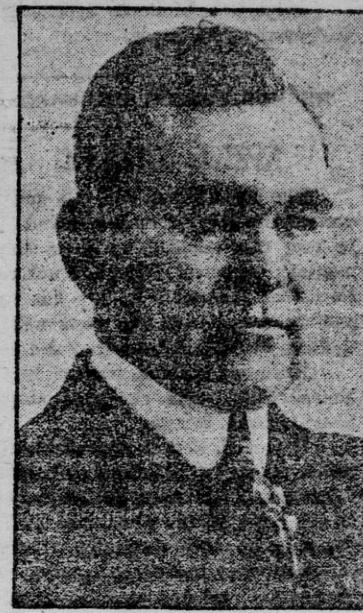
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SCANDINAVIA'S APPEAL

WHAT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET WOULD MEAN TO ALLIED LABOUR.

An appeal addressed "To the workmen of the Allied Countries" has been issued by the Provisional Committee for the Scandinavian Left Socialist workmen's organizations:

After recording the fact that after more than ten years' struggle the Russian proletariat has succeeded in achieving a workmen's revolution the appeal goes on:

International Capitalism is doing all that is possible to put down the Soviet power in Russia, in order to help reaction again to power there, and thus erect a strong point of support for West European Capitalism.

If the Capitalists succeed in this, they will have gained a matchless victory. If the workmen of the Entente countries do not now take common action, internationalism will die.

We, the representatives of the workmen of the Scandinavian countries, now address ourselves to the workmen of all Entente States. We

will start a blockade against all the States which are at war with Soviet Russia, in order to paralyse the attack of the Imperialists.

We appeal to you to take part in this blockade. The Capitalists of your countries have been victorious in this grand universal battle. This position the workmen have to attack, and in this attack the workmen of the Entente countries have to be the first. And we do not doubt that your well-organized forces will succeed, if you only have one common will.

Soviet Reverses; Gains

The British War Office reports that the Soviet forces on the Ar-changel front, after their three fruitless counter-attacks on the night of June 29-31, on the Allied new positions on the Dvina, withdrew from Troitska. They are now holding positions with advanced troops along the banks of the Solamenga river. On the left bank the Russians have retired after a hurried retreat in the course of which many rifles and much ammunition and engineer stores fell into Allied hands.

The Soviet military communique reports almost unbroken success on the Eastern front. Koltchak's troops have been flung back into region of Orenburg, and the Red troops, continuing their advance towards Perm, are now about 35 miles from that city.

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"FOREIGNERS"

"Six workers were burned, four of them painfully, at midnight, at the blast foundry of the Zenith Foundry Company, West Duluth."

None of the four could speak English. Two other men "also were foreigners."

The above announcement appeared in the News Tribune, July 22nd and as usual created no excitement. They were just foreigners, who could not speak English. You will notice that they were working during the hours, when their masters were either feasting and wining at the Kitchi Gammi Club or in bed.

The Duluth Herald, the organ of simon-pure Americanism, is always eager to pounce on some news item, that will furnish them with material for a "scorching" editorial, wherein they can severely chastise the poor foreigner, who dares to call his soul his own. But read the Duluth Herald for the next few weeks and see whether there is a word of sympathy expressed for the poor foreigners that were so severely burned at the Zenith Foundry. The words of sympathy will be conspicuous by their absence.

An attempt is being made at the present moment, and we regret that such a liberal-minded person as Mayor Magney, should have allowed himself to be used as a tool by the bigots of this city, to prevent our holding meetings on a Sunday evening. It does not matter what arguments the opponents of our Sunday evenings may advance, we realize only too well the cause of these attacks. If the churches of these cities cannot hold their congregations, then the fault is entirely their own. If their parishioners would rather hear a Socialist lecture, than a dry sermon, then they must dismiss their minister, he is lying down on the job. You cannot expect to draw people to church, if after working for six days in a hot steel plant, you consign them to hell on a Sunday. It is foolish, because after a week in the steel plant, hell has no fears for the average man. The churches of this city are losing out, because they are out of tune with the happenings of today. You cannot preach "Thou shalt not kill," then refuse to say a word against those people that take out the foreigner and lynch him. You can't expect to draw a crowd if you talk about the expect to interest the people, if you drive the woman off the streets and have her sent to the work-farm and then preach about the Samaritan woman at the well with Jesus. Churches today are losing their hold because the workers are growing to realize, more each day, that if prayers are to be answered, they must be answered by those that make them.

Regarding the Herald and its insistence upon telling the people that we are a foreigner, we want to say that if all the foreigners will stand up like men and women and take their place in the ranks of a militant labor organization they have nothing to fear. Unfortunately the average American is born with the silver spoon of democracy (?) in his mouth, that is the reason why you never find him in a radical organization. Many of us were feeling the lash of capitalism when the average American was just graduating from the high school. That is why we can always scent oppression, no matter where it happens to locate. Study the personnel of Loyalty Leagues, etc., and if you are an American you must be filled with a deep sense of disgust at the matter in which the spirit of Americanism is prostituted. If you employ girls at starvation wages and some agitator comes along and attempts to organize them, all you got to do is to call yourself AN AMERICAN and the agitator a FOREIGNER and you are still at liberty to go on driving girls on to the streets. It is a good game played slow and it is a better game when you can get the workers to join in with you. But rest assured the game is not going to last very long. The foreigners are not going to lie down. If we see anything wrong, then we are going to right it. The mere fact that some fathers and mothers remained in Europe and others came to America, is not going to alter things in any way. So long as we are workers, working for a boss, doing the dirty work of the country as we do, we are going to stand up and tell the boss that we demand better conditions all round. Furthermore we are not going to trust in a resolution, but in a strong organization of the working class, whether it be the I. W. W. or any other militant labor organization. The I. W. W. are rounded up in this state. Their officials are arrested merely for distributing literature, but the conditions under which women work in the I. W. W. restaurant on East First street, might well be copied by the restaurant owners of this city.

The so-called spirit of Americanism means nothing. It is not what you say you are that counts. It is what you do. If Americans are prepared to allow their masters to walk over them, the foreigners are not. And furthermore they might deport a few foreigners, but they will not deport them all, because they NEED them.

Say Herald, What Are You Going to Do About It?

Let us rally round and organize ourselves. By the strength of our organization we will COMMAND respect. The only reason why we are insulted is because we are not standing together. Let us, come together. Let Mayor Magney close up the hall and deny us the right of free speech and we will take up the issue. We do not ask for extra privileges, we only ask men and women of the working class to stand up for their rights. Allow no person to filch any rights from you. Always stand up and act like a worker who can think and act for himself. In Europe the day of the working class is dawning. Over there the fires of human liberty are burning and men and women guided by their light march on to the tunes of the songs of a new day. No master over there can overawe them. They march on, possessed of a spirit of self-confidence and inspired by the brave acts of their Russian comrades. We too must march on, but we must march together. If we have confidence in ourselves, no one can dictate to us. We must get together

and in no uncertain tones send forth our ultimatum, "Leave us alone or be responsible for the consequences."

John Gabriel Soltis speaks at the Woodman Hall Sunday evening as usual.

DO NOT FORGET COMRADE GEORGIANS' APPEAL.

WILL CREEL APOLOGISE?

The local press and the press throughout the country carried the story that Lenin and Trotsky were Pro-Germans. In fact they backed up their story with supposedly documentary evidence. Who did not read the Sisson documents? Now that Raymond Robins has exploded the lies of Sisson and Creel, we trust the press will give as much publicity to the story of Robins, as they did to the lying story of Creel.

Raymond Robins, writing in the August number of the Metropolitan, tells the real story of the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

Raymond Robins appealed to Lenin and Trotsky NOT to make peace with Germany. Robins promised Lenin, as did Francis and Lockhart, British representatives, that the Allies would come to the assistance of Russia, providing they did not sign up with Germany. Lenin agreed to withhold the ratification of the peace treaty. The American and British representatives appealed to their respective governments. Lenin waited for the replies. But no reply came. Robins begged for two more days and still no reply. The German troops were massed thirty miles from Petrograd. Russia was without ammunition and her troops were starving and many were dying from tuberculosis. It was manifestly impossible for Russia to keep back the Germans. Robins knew that and so did Ambassador Francis. They again appealed to the American Government and again Lenin waited. But NO REPLY CAME.

The Russians met in conference to discuss the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Before a representative gathering of the Russian people, and by the way, Robins examined the credentials of every delegate, in order that he might see for himself that the conference was not a packed one, but a representative conference, the treaty was debated. The debate lasted for thirty-six hours, with a few intermissions. Every person assembled there, was allowed to speak and express his opinion. At 11:30 on the night of March 16th, Lenin rose to close the debate. He realized the tremendous responsibility that lay upon his shoulders. Turning round to Raymond Robins, who was sitting upon the steps of the platform, he said:

"What have you heard from your government?"

Robins said:

"Nothing . . . What has Lockhart (British representative) heard from London?"

Lenin said: "Nothing."

Then Lenin said: "I shall now speak for the peace. It will be ratified."

The peace treaty was ratified by a vote of 724 to 127. Peace was signed with Germany! What a howl went up from the press of this country and what lies were manufactured by Creel! Standing alone, Russia begged of the Allies to support her in her war against Germany. The Allies did not deign to even make a reply, one way or the other. Without ammunition and with a starving populace, Russia could do no other than make peace with her bitterest foe, the Junkers of Germany.

The world today realizes that the signing of that treaty by Germany, was the most costly mistake she ever made during the war. Little did those representatives of the Junkerdom of Germany realize that before many more months, they were to find themselves driven from office and their ruler, the Kaiser, an exile in another land.

Liberals wonder why the Allies did not help Russia. We know why. The capitalist class fear the revolutionary working class far more than they do dominion seeking members of their own class. They realize that as a last resort they can come to an agreement with the members of their own class, but never with the revolutionary working class. They know that war between the classes must go on until the triumph of the workers is assured. For that reason the Allies deserted Russia and left her to the tender(?) mercies of the German rulers.

The truth about Russia is gradually being published. Some day the workers of this and all countries will have cause to thank the Russian workers for what they are doing today. The Russian revolution was the beginning of the end of Imperialism. The abolition of Imperialism means the triumph of the working class.

SPEED THE DAY!

DO NOT FORGET COMRADE GEORGIANS' APPEAL.

BRAVO!! SWEDISH PRINTERS

The capitalist class of Sweden are now waking up to the fact that the workers of Sweden mean business. The workers for a long time have passed resolutions condemning the capitalist press in its unfairness with regard to any events connected with the radical and labor movement. It has been left to the Swedish printers to take the first REAL step in dealing with the unfairness of the capitalist press.

At the last convention of the Swedish printers it was decided to refuse to print any news that lied about the workers. This is a RADICAL step and will be keenly appreciated by all radical workers and we trust that the members of the International Typographical Union will take a lesson from their Swedish fellow-workers.

Imagine if you can, the printers of America looking over the copy of the editor and saying this will go in and this will NOT go in. This is a step that must be taken by the printers of this country. Read the lying reports of the Mooney case and the despicable editorials set up by UNION PRINTERS and you will then feel all the prouder of the Swedish printers in taking the action they did. If the papers of today were compelled by the printers to print the truth, just think of how soon we could organize the workers and bring about a social revolution. "The truth will set you free," says the old saying and if the union printers of the country will take the same step as their Swedish fellow-workers, then the truth WILL set us free. Suppose the truth were told about this war, how many men would have gone and fought? Suppose the public knew the truth about governments, think of what a chance Woodrow Wilson would have, in chloroforming the people?

Swedish printers, we take our hats off to you! You are real men and women. You are showing us the way out and soon the thrones of autocracy will rock with the mighty power of labor rising from its knees. To that day we will work and in doing so we will work all the harder and with a renewed energy, inspired by your act.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONALE!

LONG LIVE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

DO NOT FORGET COMRADE GEORGIANS' APPEAL.

"Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labors of others by means of such appropriation."

THE FINNISH FEDERATION GOES LEFT

It is with a great amount of pleasure that we publish the manifesto of the Finnish Federation. It is a sign that the Finnish comrades are recognizing the logic of events and formulating their propaganda accordingly. We trust that the English and Scandinavian Locals of Superior will endorse this manifesto, so that in next week's Truth we can inform our readers that the whole Superior Socialist movement has gone Left.

The manifesto of the Finnish comrades is one that should be read and carefully studied by all radicals, especially so by the Finnish members of the I. W. W. The purpose of the framers and supporters of the manifesto is to bring about the solidarity of the working class, but it must be the solidarity of workers who are in agreement as to the necessity of abolishing capitalism.

No matter how we may fool ourselves, we can never fool those in power. If we are wise in our time, we will recognize the forces of capitalism that are at work today and do our best to nullify their effects, so that our work may go on ahead. The first objective of the working class is the State. It is the State that backs up the capitalist class in all its workings. If any attempt is made to deprive the capitalist class of their power to oppress the workers, it is the State that steps in and uses the strong arm of the law, to suppress those that seek to emancipate themselves from wage-slavery. Therefore if we are to free ourselves, we must deprive the capitalist class of that power that keeps them in power, and that power is the State. You may argue that the ONE BIG UNION can by the withholding of its economic power, render the State powerless. If we had the ONE BIG UNION of the workers, we know full well that the State could be rendered useless, that is providing the members of the ONE BIG UNION were class-conscious. But in the meantime, the capitalist class are sensing the growing power of the workers and they are using the powers of the State in order to suppress the One Big Union of the workers. That is plain to be seen in Winnipeg and any part of the country where the I. W. W. operates.

It is no use the radical members of the working class, who are anarcho-industrial unionists, getting peeved about this. They must face facts like men. If the trend of modern developments compels you to revise your ideas, then do so. The courageous man is the man who changes his views, when he recognizes that times have changed. It does not require courage to stick to old ideas, because every man likes to be classed as a consistent believer in his ideas. Much abused as the word "consistent" is. The future is not going to be a bed of roses. The rising power of the workers is going to be resisted by the masterclass. They allow us to conduct our fights in the open, at present. At every election we will preach the gospel of the social revolution. On the job we shall preach the necessity of industrial unionism. If we are outlawed by the master class, we shall still propagate our ideas and methods of organization, but until that time we shall go ahead.

THE PEACE CARNIVAL

Last Friday evening Duluth witnessed a Peace Carnival, held in the Duluth Armory. Truly a fine place to hold a PEACE carnival in an ARMORY!

What is all this celebration about? Does any person really imagine that the war is over and that peace reigns supreme? We are more in the thick of war today, than we ever were. At the present moments there are twenty-four wars in being. New hatreds, new issues have sprung up as a result of this war, and yet there are people who celebrate the coming of Peace. Think of the Imperialists of the world, with their hands dripping with the blood of seven million workers, making a peace that was a peace! How easy we are fooled and how we loved to be fooled!

Remember the blockade that is now being used against the German women, mothers of Duluth? While you danced and celebrated last Friday evening, the Angels of Death were dancing in Germany. They took little children to their bosoms, while you made happy. Just think of it, while Wilson smiles and makes soft speeches, he is responsible for the million people who have died in Germany as a result of this blockade. Yet you celebrate peace! Peace while children are dying for the want of milk! Peace when men go mad from shellshock and in their dreams at night they tear at their very throats. Peace when fifty per cent of the European women are caught by that foul and loathsome disease that sends out its tentacles and lays hold of the generations yet to be born. Peace you say, quit your fooling. While you celebrate peace, your ruler prepare for more wars. Big armies and big navies! Come and see the world! "Nice girls to meet with," says Sec. Baber. Sure, soldiers and sailors to kill and girls to satisfy their brutal lusts. Is that Peace? There can be no peace, until every ruler is cast off his throne. Peace means the ending of strife and until the CLASS WAR has been fought to a finish and every shirker made into a worker, there can be no peace. The only PEACE that will come, will be when the working class seize hold of the powers of Government and reorganize society. When that day arrives then celebrate peace, but in this day of the blockade and intervention in Russia, you fool yourselves when you celebrate Peace.

DO NOT FORGET COMRADE GEORGIANS' APPEAL.

OURS IS THE FUTURE

Never in the history of the Socialist movement of this country, or of the world for that matter, was there such a responsive situation for revolution as exists at present. For the mass of the workers the war, in the toll of life it has exacted, has been a terrible calamity. Not only has that toll been exacted on the battle fields of Europe, it has been taken from industrialism as well. Nevertheless, having said as much, we cannot but look forward to the future with hope that these sacrifices have not been in vain. Not in the sense that our lying Press and politicians would have you believe, viz., in the consolidation of allied imperialism, but in the sense that the whole edifice of capitalism has received such a shock as will render permanence in its structure absolutely impossible. Try as our rulers may to gild the chains and sugar-coat the evils of their rotten system, they are bound to fail. The consciousness of the workers as to the direction in which their efforts should be put towards obtaining that social and economic security for which they yearn, is gradually awakening. They are beginning to see through the deceit and trickery which has been practised upon them so long, and to demand their rightful place in society as the sole producers of wealth.

How otherwise can we explain the growing insubordination in the Army and the Navy? How otherwise can we explain the growing spirit of rebellion, not only against the autocracy of our industrial barons, but against those political tricksters of all labels who counsel caution, patience and constitutionalism to the workers undoing. These mutinies, revolts, and angry protests which are abroad to-day are all to the good. They act but as the mercury of the

thermometer and register the condition of capitalism as a sick and dying patient. The future is undoubtedly with us, but let no one slacken on the rope because of that. Depend upon it our masters will seek to circumvent every move of labour towards consolidating their own position. A hint in that direction may be taken from the proposal of the American financiers Vanderbilt, Davidson and Morgan to liquidate European capitalism's debts. They have been to Europe. They have seen the peril in which their confreres are in and they come to their safety with a proposal to "cut the loss" and save their precious system. Here we may learn a valuable lesson. That lesson is that there is no dogma more fatal to the activity of the Labour movement than that which preaches automatic collapse.

The brains of our masters are never idle. Scheming, planning and arranging how best the world can be made safe for profit-making, even to the sacrifice of part of their ill-gotten gains, they offer a valuable lesson to the working class.

And just as our master class are prepared to arrange international differences to their mutual advantage, so must the workers learn to do the same.

The workers of all countries are brothers. The capitalists of all lands are their enemies and exploiters. Between the classes there never can be peace. Peace can only be assured by the overthrow of profit-making. Therein lies the goal of all class conscious workers. To achieve that goal must all our efforts be concentrated. Is it a wage grievance? We must be there. Is it an hour's question? We must be there. Is it a political issue? We must seek to harness it against the forces of reaction. There must not be any grievance too big or too small for us to tackle, be it industrial, political or social. Our mission is the liberation of the toilers. Our motto all power to the workers. —Glasgow "Socialist."

DO NOT FORGET COMRADE GEORGIANS' APPEAL.

REVERIES ON MURDER

By Covington Ami.

The Earth is choked with murdered men, and murdered Nations lie

As thick beneath the dust we tread as stars upon the sky; The lamentations of unnumbered murdered Races fill Unnumbered histories; the cries of murdered Savious shrill Adown the centuries; the graveyards of the skies are blocked Up with the corpses of the murdered Gods; all life is locked And chained to murder.

Unto murder is the brain of Man

Attuned and harmonized; his soul's salvation and its plan Are based upon atrocious murder; all his mighty States From murder rose, on murder rest, to murder pin their fates;

On all his works the cold abhorrent hand of murder leaves Its stain; all tirelessly he, across the ages, weaves The web of murder.

Day by day the Arch-assassins gain,

And wider grow the Dreadlands where the Lords of Murder reign.*** How long, for Scarlet Empires, shall Earth's mothers bear And weep!

How long, O Adonal, shall the God of Justice sleep!

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

By Covington Ami.

I saw the "Whore of Babylon" go reeling to her death, And all the world was poisoned by her fetid dying breath; The rottenness long in her bones surged outward thru her skin,

And o'er her painted features broke the syphilis of sin.

I heard the panic in her court, the wailing and distress, And, snarling at the Copping Age, her loathsome jackal press;

I saw her boasted wise men fall, her kings and captains fall,—

The acid test of destiny found wanting one and all.

The cloth of gold and purple that so long had hid her form, Like rags were stript and scattered by the World War's mighty storm;

The tinsel from her forehead gone, her eyes bloodshot and wild,

In terror of her terror stood Starvation's petted child.

Her power born of violence no longer served her will, Her every word bred woe for her, her every act brought ill; Unsung, unswept, all-hated, curst, the frightened Demon went,

The cycle of her evil closed, her reign of fury spent.

Amid the cheers of millions, lo! she staggered to her tomb, Thru rapine, blood and famine plunged the Great Beast to doom;

And everywhere, in all the lands, where'er her death knell tolled,

Triumphant thru the New World's dawn the drums of Freedom rolled!

ON AMERICANIZATION

By Covington Ami.

We are heirs of all the ages, of all peoples 'neath the sun,— We are the wide world's rebel spirits fusing into one. Weary of their folly, of the meaninglessness of their life, We are those who left the king-curst nations to their senseless strife.

Here we came, as came our fathers, dreaming of a refuge vast,

Where the future was not strangled by the dead hands of the past;

Here we came to build a freedom, such as Mankind never saw,—

Here to make the scorned word, labor, one with liberty and law.

Here the feet of men and women thru ten generations turned,

And their eyes, our banner sighting, with a strange new vision burned;

Here the hopes of freemen centered, here the longings of all time,—

Here the ermined wrong would never in the robes of justice mime.

But here the Land Lords followed, here the silent Shylocks came,

And we knelt before their altars, and we bowed to Mammon's name;

Now, we laud the daring fathers, while we creep around their graves,

And the hand of God bears heavy on the kismet of the slaves.